

Understanding Democracy and Election

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Abstract

In the debate of the substantive and procedural conceptualization of democracy, or the understanding of a democratic or non-democratic state, it is not understood as a dichotomy but as a process phenomenon so that there are levels. In the concept, regarding the most minimal procedural definition of democracy in a democracy, must contain substantive rights and freedoms. Thus, the separation or dichotomization between procedural democracy and substantive definitions becomes irrelevant. An understanding of the definition of procedural democracy in conducting election, for example, cannot be separated from the definition of substantive democracy, because even in the understanding of procedural democracy, there must be substantive freedom for voters to vote. Furthermore, there is also an understanding of the implementation of election to procedurally vote the leader in both the executive and legislative bodies. In the implementation of the elections, in order to fulfill the understanding of substantive democracy, it must be carried out fairly and justly.

Keywords: *democracy, election, government, voter, political freedom*

1. INTRODUCTION

The right to self government is neither a trivial nor merely a procedural right. Election is very important in the context of the distribution of power and authority. In this case, the power and authority to govern Indonesian is limited every 5 years and therefore there must be a process for its replacement [1]. Election is a mechanism in implementing succession of government. In this process, citizens must be involved in determining who is the most elected to govern, both in the executive branch such as the President, Governor and Mayor / Regent as well as in legislative institutions, namely in the DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD and Regional DPRD.

Thus, the procedural mechanism in election, namely how the succession is carried out must meet the requirements among other things, namely how citizens are involved to participate in the succession process and the result must also be binding on all citizens or have legitimacy [2]. In this case, the framework in implementing representative democracy in relation to the election of people's representatives is carried out by election. Whatever the definition, this democracy has a model in conducting election as the only form that is considered democratic to conduct election from political decision-making [3]. Election is a very important procedure to get a substantive value in the succession process.

In the political context in Indonesia, an election has been known since 1955. Likewise, during the reign of President Suharto, 6 general elections were held (1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997). Then it was continued during the reign of President Habibie, an election was held in 1999 as a transitional period. Thus, it did not follow election procedures every five years. Through the Habibie Presidential Decree, the Election was held in 1999. The system and procedure also used a different law from the previous election. The laws used were Political Law No. 2, 3, 4 of 1999. After that the election was held 5 years after 1999, namely in 2004, using Political Law No. 31 of 2002 on Political Parties. In addition, Law No. 12/2003 on Election and Law No. 23/2003 on the Direct Election of the President and Vice President were used and 22/2003 on SUSDUK.

2. The Quality of Democracy

In every election, the quality of democracy is always a matter of debate, so the study of election and democracy is very important. How do indicators such as participation, competition, and the legitimacy of the election process become the indicators to see the quality of democracy through election [4]. In studying democracy and election, apart from discussing the participation, competition, and legitimacy, it is also necessary to look at the country's political context. In Indonesia, the dominance of the authoritarian regime has changed since the 1999 election. The 1999 election changed the political landscape in Indonesia. First, with the acquisition of the party that was in power during the Suharto regime, namely the Golkar party in the 1999 election, the gains of the New Order government party decreased (landslide). Meanwhile, other parties received significant votes, namely PDIP, PPP, PKB, PAN, PBB, PKS. This shows that there was a change in the political map after the 1999 elections.

In the next political journey, most political scientists optimistically built an extraordinary model of political democracy [5]. The MPR, led by Amin Rais, who has a background in political scientists, built the foundation for political reconstruction through constitutional amendments. The political map that changed in 1999 resulted in a relatively safe process of amending the 1945 Constitution. An important change was the direct election of the President and Vice President in 2002. Another amendment that is closely related to the election is that the election organizers are the general election commission which is national, permanent, and independent, in accordance with Article 22 E paragraph 5 of the 1945 Constitution. From national, permanent, and independent election organizers, a General Election Commission is formed down to the Regency / City level.

Meanwhile, in the context of authoritarian politics, election is carried out only to legitimize the regime in power. Thus, election is held in the framework of maintaining power [6]. In Suharto's rule of 32 years, it proved only to maintain the power of President Suharto. It is shown that during the 32 years of the election process, the implementation of direct elections were under the coordination of the government power without any control from other political forces or the civil society.

3. The debate of Democracy's

The debate of Democracy's direction in Indonesia after the 1998 reform is of course mixed. Optimists still think that constitutional democracy through changes to constitutional amendments is still very important to enforce [7]. Activists and academics came together to demand a New Constitution and direct presidential election. In political debates in the public sphere, both commentators in various mass media and in various opinion papers are divided into two groups, namely the first group had very high optimism in laying the foundations of constitutional democracy [8]. Meanwhile, the second group saw the importance of street democracy in terms of fighting for freedom through demonstrations on the streets. In other words, namely by applying political pressure through demonstrations. Meanwhile, constitutional democracy places more emphasis on the process of change through the legal and political rule of the game, namely through constitutional political and legal rules. Thus, the political process through the legislature is very important. Therefore, the changing game rules from the changes of the 1945 Constitution and the Law which became the implementing rules under the 1945 Constitution. Thus, at that time there was a debate whether street democracy or constitutional democracy should go through after the regime change. Absolutely, these two options have their respective groups and followers. It is proven that constitutional democracy through amendments to the 1945 Constitution, namely through constitutional amendments, goes hand in hand with the demands of street democracy followers and it is mutually needed in a democratic political process [9]. At least the downfall of President Abdurahman Wahid was also carried out through political pressure from street democracy. Previously, street democracy could also influence the MPR Session in August 1999 to reject President Habibie's report. The pressure of street democracy has succeeded in influencing President Habibie's decision not to run for President again after the 1999 elections. Political developments with the emergence of a central axis of Islamic party

groups led by MPR Chair Amien Rais to elect President Abdurrahman Wahid are another indicator of the influence of street democracy.

As activists and political scientists at the same time, they see developments that lead to an orientation towards political establishment only for the sake of power struggle. Was it because some members of the DPR and the MPR at that time did not find it easy to keep up with the progress of the democratization process taking place in Indonesia? This is proven by the absence of clarity and the task of the Constitutional Commission which is mandated to harmonize constitutional changes or amendments to the constitution since reform. Apart from that, the process of amending the constitution in the 1945 Constitution is a right of the MPR, but in a democratic political convention, a broader process of society's participation should be carried out. At least, the model in South African countries that involves 2 million citizens in the process of changing constitutional amendments in South Africa.

4. Political Freedom

Political freedom seems to lose its optimism in a short time. The democracy is not followed by political consolidation, so that the political process appears incomplete and half-hearted [10]. The process of constitutional amendment was not carried out in a comprehensive manner, on the one hand, the amendment process was quite numerous in a relatively short time, but it was not accompanied by political consolidation for the vision, direction and goals of the nation and state. Thus there was pessimism among activists and also among political scientists [11].

Meanwhile, foreign scholars have seen from several perspectives in the post-Suharto elections. Several domestic analysts see it all coming back to "business as usual, big man neo-patrimonial, clientelist, informalized and disordered politics". The DPR / DPD / MPR in turn are not only on the party line, but they are more focused on individual interests. Meanwhile, some 1998 student activists and some NGO activists saw that there was no progress. They were very pessimistic. The debate on democratization in Indonesia can be said to be a dialogue between "deaf" people, the debate on democratization came to resemble a 'dialogue of the deaf'. What I mean as dialogue of the deaf is everyone speaks and everyone tells the truth. However, no one in the dialogue has the ability and the patience to listen [12].

As a result, the references were pretty much full of contradictory hypotheses based on approaches using various conceptualizations about democracy [13]. The study of the partiality of the democratic process is important to see to what extent the democratic process of succession of government is carried out in an honest and fair manner. Election is a phenomenon that is relatively measurable in terms of indicators with high validity. Likewise, the data used can also formulate a comparative approach. Studies on the characteristics of elections with a multiparty system and DPD elections as well as direct presidential and vice presidential elections coupled with regional head elections for both Governors and Regents and Mayors are important to study the relationship between democracy [14] and elections in Indonesia.

The study of elections and democratization has become an important subject in the development of political science in Indonesia. The study conducted by several scholars on the 1999 election was said to be a democratic election, although there were quite a number of mistakes and violations and the election results were not validated by the KPU. The decision on the results of the 1999 elections was decided by President Habibie. Many other studies have looked at how voters behaved in the 1999 elections, whether they still used the flow model like in the 1955 election. The political changes that occurred during the Suharto era, it can still be concluded that there is a pattern of voters in choosing their political parties. Meanwhile, this changed during the presidential, governor, and regent / mayor executive elections. The candidate figure is an important element in the executive election [15].

Election is basically a process of changing the rulers periodically without violence. Election is the only mechanism for the process of changing power in a democratic manner. Although the process of holding elections does not automatically provide democratic qualities. What about the quality of the election, is it getting better after the first and second election or the re-election of dishonest and fair elections?

5. Election and Democracy

The approach of substantive democracy and procedural democracy or the conflict whether procedural is not important compared to the substance of democracy loses its meaning, because the concept of democracy can be better understood by not carrying out a dichotomy of procedure and substance [16]. The question is how democracy has meaning. This also occurred in the debate between the quantity and quality of the importance of women DPR members when women activists fought for a 30% quota for women in the DPR. In making a decision, a significant quantity is required. Therefore, from this perspective, quantity is important which does not then marginalize quality. If we need a 30% quota for women, it doesn't mean forgetting the quality. Therefore, the quality of women and men parliamentarians is still needed. The Election Law only mentions high school graduates [17].

Even in the most minimal context of democracy, it must integrally have substantive variables, namely between rights and freedoms. Thus, the definition to fight the procedural democracy and substance is not important. Thus in a democracy, election is the most important process to change the regime or government both the legislative and executive levels. In the election, a distributive of justice will be obtained related to the distribution of power and authority [18].

To rule the people, there must be the right way to have the legitimacy to be a government. The legitimacy of the government is obtained by the election. In the election, all adult citizens are involved in the determination process, both executive and legislature. Election is an important instrument in democracy to elect representatives of the people who are tasked to represent the citizen's interest during the period specified in the law [19].

The study of election, especially in Indonesia, is a very important study in the development of democracy. Indonesian political science experts who live on other countries are forced to see the election process into a new study. However, not all Indonesian political experts later developed studies on elections. This can be seen by Indonesia as an unattractive study compared to the study of Indonesia which was under a military or authoritarian regime. Therefore, the political developments that occur in the realm of political science studies, the issue of election must be an important issue for political science experts in Indonesia. The decolonization of Indonesian political science has become an important part of the democratic process. One thing that is interesting to see is that there are a few studies like the former USSR countries' studies. The building of new democracies in the former USSR countries is a study and example of the democratic process in the late 20th and early 21st centuries today [20].

Indonesia should be a great example in practicing the democratic model through the election. The election in Indonesia was the largest elections in the world. In addition, for Indonesia, a peaceful election was held for the first time in Indonesia's political history. Therefore, as a political study it is interesting to continuously follow how the election process was carried out from one period to the next. The data per polling station can be accessed in sufficient detail that can be conceptualized in theories of democratic transition relating to changes in the political landscape. The election results data as in the table below can then be used to hypothesize a theory.

Table 1.Data Submission Results

Polling stations	Legislative	President I	President II
Manual	559,77	566,159	565,515
IT	458.672	513,596	547,419
Percentage	81.94%	90.72%	96.80%
Voters			
Manual	113,462,414	118,656,868	114,256,054
IT	93.339,36	106,914,209	110,616,726
Percentage	82.26%	90.10%	96.81%
Municipalities			
Manual	5,106	5,106	5,108

IT	4,157	4,639	4,826
Percentage	81.41%	90.85%	94.48%

The democracy quality can be seen from its participation, competition, and legitimacy. It differs between studies of authoritarian regimes, because authoritarian regimes dominate the political landscape. Meanwhile, the political changes that occurred in 1998 provided new space in the development of political science to see in detail the various democratic processes that took place. Election for DPR, Provincial DPRD, Regional DPRD and DPD in 2004. This was followed by the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Election. In 2005, the regional head election took place during the period of non-years elections, between the 5 years there were local elections in 456 districts / cities and 33 provinces between 2004-2009. After the 2009 elections, there were nearly 507 regional head elections at the provincial and regional level.

6. CONCLUSION

The problem that arises is how the process of political change occurs. To what extent does the election directly have a significant impact on the welfare of the people, or is the election a space to continuously test the leaders or representatives of the people periodically to have the right and authority to lead? Because the election that occurred resulted in the building of neopatrimonialism, neo-clientelism and the emergence of a new dynasty in politics. The election is an arena in building new clients which were previously only limited to cliques and ideological groups in the limited parliamentary space among DPR members, now the political arena is expanded by directly involving the people in determining executive leaders and legislative members between parties with the names of legislative candidates both in DPR and in the DPD. The study of elections becomes interesting to see the extent of participation, competition, and legitimacy of the ruling regime. Although indeed in the development of political science in the West, the study of how the election is not very developed. Using Francis Fukuyama's concept, in a society that already had a high level of trust, the study of election administration is not a big issue. However, for a society that is categorized as a low trust society, who is the organizer, what institution is holding it, government intervention in power, it is constantly an important political issue in the implementation of election. Competitive election is an important part of the democratic regime. Election is a phenomenon that can be conceptualized and measured with more certainty, indicators which have high validity. Data should be easily obtained. Democratic election is theoretically very significant. The study of multiparty election of Indonesia's election is very important in building a theory about succession of government.

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