

Action Coalition to Save Indonesia in the Indonesian National Political Constellation

Abdul Rahman^{1*}, Nurlela², Mauliadi Ramli³

¹²³Department of Sociology Anthropology, Universitas Negeri Makassar

Abstract. The method used is a library research method by browsing library sources in the form of books, journals and online media sites. Data were analyzed by comparing one information with another, then analyzed using relevant social theories. The results of the study show that the main purpose of the establishment of KAMI is to save Indonesia from bankruptcy because the government is considered to have failed in overcoming corruption, rising prices of basic commodities, and the covid 19 outbreak. Noisy national politics as well as disrupting the performance of the government, which is struggling to overcome the COVID-19 outbreak and maintain economic stability. The KAMI movement received support from civil society, especially groups that were against the government, but on the other hand it also received opposition from the state and several elements of society. This can be seen from the rejection of KAMI figures in various regions, as well as being opposed by Jokowi-Maruf volunteers who are members of the Indonesian Homeland Density (KITA).

Keywords: Democracy, Indonesian Politics, Civil Society

1 Introduction

As Indonesians, we have known the term democracy for a long time. Democracy is a form of government of the State of Indonesia. This term is also often mentioned by our national leaders in their efforts to form the State of Indonesia [1]. The word democracy itself comes from the Greek, namely from the word Demos which means people, and the word Kratos, which means power [2]. One of the most famous notions of democracy was put forward by Abraham Lincoln [3]. He said that the meaning of democracy is a system of government organized by the people, by the people and for the people. The meaning of democracy as the basis of life in society and the state implies that it is the people who provide provisions in matters concerning their lives, including in assessing state policies, because these policies will determine the fate of people's lives. Thus, a country that adheres to a democratic system is a country that is organized based on the will and will of the people.

Based on data from the Democracy Index Report 2020 released by The Economics Intelligence Unit (EIU) it shows that the world democracy average index stands at 5.37 [4]. Especially for Indonesia, the democracy index stands at 6.3 [5]. This figure puts Indonesia in the 64th position out of 167 countries in the world. This figure also shows that the quality of democracy in Indonesia in 2020 is the lowest position since the last 14 years. The indicators used by the EIU in measuring a country's democracy index are the

electoral process and pluralism, government functions and performance, political participation, political culture, and civil liberties. This data was further strengthened by data released by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) [6]. This institution assesses that Indonesia's democracy has experienced a decline and is categorized as poor since 2005. Indonesia recorded a red color on three indicators, namely public involvement, equality of human rights, and impartial administration [7].

On the other hand, Executive Director of the Indonesia Public Institute (IPI) Karyono Wibowo, the decline in the quality of democracy in Indonesia is caused by the rise of identity politics echoed by a group of social organizations. Identity politics in the end always leads to acts of intolerance and hate speech. The strengthening of identity politics has actually become a threat and even leads to acts of violence committed by adherents of a single truth who have no desire to accept differences of opinion in society. The thing that caught the public's attention the most was the dissolution of FPI and HTI by the government, which was seen by some as a form of shackles to democracy and freedom of association [8]. However, on the other hand, this step is an attempt by the state to maintain democratic stability from the undermining of groups that tend to impose their will and promote acts of violence. Democracy is indeed a system that is constantly moving; it is dynamic and not always linear in the direction of substantive democracy. Therefore, democracy is highly dependent on

* Corresponding author ; abdul.rahman8304@unm.ac.id

democratic actors: from government actors to civil society [7]. The number of Indonesia's democracy index which continues to decline every year is a warning. Democracy must be secured not limited to general elections, but also to open political control so that the tyrannical tendency of the majority can be suppressed. Amnesty's records show the decline in the quality of freedom of expression, starting from the freedom of expression of citizens, freedom of the media, and also the freedom of expression of citizens who want to oppose. Of all the records, according to Usman Hamid, what is most worrying is the use of criminal rules in responding to citizens' expressions of being critical of state officials and institutions. Also cyber-attacks against them. The Executive Director of the Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network (SAFE-net) Damar Juniarto added that the quality of democracy in Indonesia also appears to be declining, not only because of the many arrests by the police, but also in digital attacks. SAFE-net noted that hacking continued to increase throughout 2020 [9].

The government also responded to the decline in the quality of democracy. The Presidential Staff Office said that the data released by the EIU can be used as a starting point for improving the quality of democracy in Indonesia [10]. The state will continue to provide guarantees to every citizen to express their aspirations responsibly and not be accompanied by acts of violence [11]. On the other hand, the government is also trying to establish communication with various elements in this country, while at the same time creating the rule of law, especially in preventing and taking action against corrupt behavior that harms the public interest. The assessment of the Indonesian democracy index from the EIU and IDEA deserves the attention of the government and all Indonesian citizens to continue to improve in improving the quality of democracy in Indonesia. However, this assessment does not seem to be in accordance with the conditions of reality that exist in this country. According to the assessment of political communication observer from Pelita Harapan University, Emrus Sihombing, democracy in Indonesia has been going well. This is evidenced by the freedom of citizens to criticize the government accompanied by data and facts. Even the government has succeeded in carrying out the 2020 post-conflict local election even though in the midst of the Covid-19 crisis [12].

Guarantees for the implementation of democracy can also be seen from the public's participation in the movement of association and gathering in conveying aspirations to the government. One proof that democracy is still running in Indonesia is the gathering of a group of individuals from various backgrounds to establish a movement organization known as the Coalition of Action to Save Indonesia (KAMI). This organization was founded as a form of concern for the condition of the nation which is considered to have deviated from the principles of democracy as mandated by Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The establishment of KAMI is one proof that the power of civil society is still worthy of consideration in the political constellation in Indonesia. The strong position of civil society, one of which is represented by the

presence of KAMI in guarding and strengthening democracy in Indonesia, will be further elaborated in this study.

2 Research Methods

This research was conducted by applying the historical method. The first stage of the historical method is heuristic, namely searching, finding, and collecting sources/evidence. Sources are the main element for historical research. This study uses primary sources, in the form of online daily news and secondary sources, in the form of books and articles related to the theme of this writing [13]. The second stage is source criticism. This stage is carried out to assess the authenticity of the source and the reliability of the information contained in the source. Historical sources that have been criticized produce data which will then be linked to one another through a process of interpretation [14]. Historical interpretations are generalizations to a limited degree. At the stage of interpretation of the storyline building as well as the synthesis and analysis process is carried out. The last stage is to write a historical story. Reconstruction of historical events based on evidence is then poured into a coherent historical or historiographical work [15].

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 KAMI Declaration Background

Conceptually, democracy can be viewed as a system, where the outcome depends on what the participants in it do, but there is no single force that determines what the outcome will be. The outcome of certain conflicts is unknown to these political powers, because the impact of their actions depends entirely on the actions of other powers. In a democratic system, actors know what is possible, because the possible outcomes lie within the institutional framework. They can know what is possible, because the probability of getting a certain outcome is determined jointly by the institutional framework and the resources used by various political forces and competition. What they do know is which outcome will occur. They know what it means to win or lose in a competition, and how to win or lose, but they cannot know whether they will win or lose. In short, in the context of a democracy, all powers must fight constantly to realize their interests [16].

The emergence of the revival of the civil society movement in the era of Joko Widodo's administration in the second period cannot be separated from the perception from some community groups that the Joko Widodo government has harmed democracy with the issuance of various regulations that are considered to hinder the community's movement [17]. The formation of regulations during the era of the Joko Widodo (Jokowi) administration is considered to have tended to be out of control, one of which is indicated by a significant increase in the number of regulations compared to the 2000–2015 period. In fact, regulatory reform is one of the priority agendas promised by

Jokowi during the campaign period. This was stated by the Executive Director of the Indonesian Center for Law and Policy Studies (PSHK) Gita Putri Damayana in a discussion entitled "After Dark Comes Darkness". In addition to the issue of quantity, Gita also raises the issue of the quality of legislation products, such as the substance of a number of provisions in the Draft Criminal Code (RKUHP), which tend to be ambiguous and vague. The PSHK's projection of the situation for the next five years described by the Gita also shows signs of declining public participation as well as increasing consolidation of the political elite. This condition is shown by the recent legislative process which has been characterized by neglect of public participation. One of them is the process of revising the Corruption Eradication Commission Law (UU KPK) which looks very far removed from the dynamics of the public.

The Joko Widodo administration has also received assessments from non-governmental organizations, including the foundations of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (YLBHI), Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), and the Initiative Code. The Chairperson of YLBHI Asfinawati highlighted the issue of law enforcement in the police and prosecutor's offices. According to YLBHI, law enforcement has recently been misused as a tool for criminalization. This was due to several reasons, including the lack of accountability in determining suspects and arresting them, as well as restricting access to legal counsel. The practice of appointing legal counsel by investigators for suspects/defendants that has occurred so far is considered to interfere with independence and objectivity in the defense. Meanwhile, the Coordinator of ICW's Political Corruption Division, Donal Fariz, raised the issue of the stagnant development of the reform agenda in political parties, corruption in the judicial sector, and the second period of the Jokowi administration which he called the curse of the second period. According to him, in various government practices, the second period has a tendency not to run optimally. In the context of the current government, it is also unfortunate that Jokowi's achievements have never been discussed as a guide for running the government. In addition, issues related to reformed state institutions, including the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), are often not the focus, one of which is illustrated by the lack of progress in the settlement of the case against Novel Baswedan.

Democracy and civil liberties are interrelated rules, how they become important components in the life of the nation and state, even though democracy in a country will not suddenly disappear, but this needs to be realized that the democracy index is a benchmark for how a democracy can be measured. The state can respect its citizens. Furthermore, democracy here is not only about a system that can be taken from the government's point of view, but there are many factors that influence it, starting from the formation of a good political culture, massive political participation, to freedom of expression and assembly [18].

The deteriorating democracy index in Indonesia is inseparable from the wide variety of interests and

repressive government policies. This is triggered by the increasing pressure on civil liberties through violence and the widespread arrests of activists and indigenous peoples [19]. Presenting voices critical of the running of the government is actually a common thing in democratic life, but often restrictions and exceptions to civil liberties become stumbling blocks so that this raises the view that authoritarianism will strengthen. The narrowing of the civil liberties space or what we usually know as the Shrinking Civic Space is proof that the current government is more inclined towards anti-criticism which can kill the deliberative process. The government that is present in the community should be able to become an extension of the public interest of its citizens, but this has not materialized, because the government itself is sometimes still misguided in carrying out various approaches. The hard slap of the decline of democracy is evidenced by the results of a report by The Economist Intelligence Unit which made democracy in Indonesia ranked 64th [20] in the world and this achievement is something that is difficult to accept, because it is the lowest in the last 14 years and a turning point for the Indonesian government in monitor the development of the democracy index [21].

The narrowing of space for freedom of expression is also increasingly felt by students who often conduct a series of scientific discussions to respond to an existing problem, the essence of freedom of expression is actually an effort to understand the freedom of thought and opinion of others, both consciously and independently, we know that there is a big role that can be played by students by relying on the context of Agent of Change, Social Control and Iron Stock making students a critical partner of the government and the locomotive of progress. The pattern of guarantees for freedom of expression is in fact still not fully realized, this is reflected in the restrictions on freedom of expression that are also present in the scope of social media through the entrapment of the ITE Law to the existence of the Virtual Police which makes people increasingly confined in fear to express their opinions and aspirations. Seeing from the aspect of the current government, the fewer opposition parties also tend to be a factor inhibiting the pace of democracy, because they are the ones who have the dominant function as a tool that can control all existing policies.

The political role played by President Jokowi seems pragmatic, reflecting on the many repressive policies in the civil sphere without looking further at the impacts and consequences. Thus, this is also in complete contradiction with the statement of President Jokowi some time ago who wanted the public to be active in criticizing the government's performance. Repressive actions are also present in the community through the actions of the apparatus in handling mass actions, it is believed that the use of violence is also the right and easy choice to solve social problems. Furthermore, the government should have started to open up by prioritizing human rights in ways such as getting used to receiving criticism and input, especially since the constitution itself has provided guarantees and space for all people to participate in the development process and the progress of a government. Realizing a good

democratic pattern and system is in fact not as easy as one thinks, democracy is a dynamic system, this refers to the role of the democratic actors themselves, from the scope of government to civil society. The democracy index in Indonesia, which is currently declining, is a big task for the government in improving it, because this should also be followed by good and open political control so that the public can create an active and adaptive space in seeing the direction of steps and policies that will later be made. , so that harmonious relations can be created in building democracy so that in the future it will be even better.

One of the reactions of civil society groups related to the decline of democracy during the Jokowi administration was marked by the formation of the Indonesian Rescue Action Coalition (KAMI), which was initiated by Gatot Nurmantyo and Din Syamsuddin. Din Syamsuddin said that we were formed on the basis of a moral movement. There is no intent or purpose to impeach Jokowi's government. The KAMI movement was born on the basis of concern for the emergence of various regulations created by the government that contradict the democratic values of Pancasila, including the Pancasila Ideology Law, the Oil and Renewable Energy Law, and the Job Creation Law. Apart from Gatot Nurmantyo and Din Syamsuddin, several figures who were critical of the Jokowi government from the start also joined in KAMI, including: Abdullah Hehamahua, Rocky Gerung, Malam Sambat Kaban, Muh.Said Didu, Refly Harun, Syahganda Nainggolan, Prof. Anthony Kurniawan, Rohmat Wahab, Ahmad Yani, Adhie M Massardi, Moh Jumbuh Hidayat, Ichsanudin Noorsy, Hatta Taliwang, Marwan Batubara, Edwin Sukowati, Joko Abdurrahman, Habib Muhsin Al Atas, Tamsil Linrung, Eko Suryo Santjojo, Chusnul Mariyah, and Sri Bintang Pamungkas .

The Struggle of KAMI

Din Syamsuddin and a number of figures declared the Coalition for Action to Save Indonesia (KAMI). They call KAMI a moral movement that strives to create a prosperous Indonesian society. The KAMI Declaration was held at the Proclamation Monument, Menteng, Central Jakarta, Tuesday, August 18 2020. A number of figures who attended the event included Din Syamsuddin, Gatot Nurmantyo, Refly Harun, Said Didu, Rocky Gerung, Ichsanudin Noorsy, and Ahmad Yani. Based on information from Ahmad Yani, KAMI are a moral movement of the Indonesian people from various elements and components that fight for the establishment of state sovereignty, the creation of people's welfare, and the realization of social justice for all Indonesian people. KAMI carry out its struggle by moving to carry out social supervision and straighten the direction of the nation from all forms of deviation and deviation. KAMI strive to keep the constitutional path in mind, either through education, advocacy, as well as social supervision, moral politics, and dialogical, persuasive and effective political action.

At the time of the Declaration at the Proclamation Monument, there were several demands submitted by US. This demand is contained in the edict to save Indonesia which contains the points of our concern for national life in the political, economic, socio-cultural,

and human rights fields [22]. The edict consists of eight points, including:

1. Urge state administrators, in particular the government, DPR, DPD, and MPR to enforce the administration and management of the state in accordance with (not to deviate from) the spirit, spirit and values of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution which contains Pancasila which was stipulated on August 18, 1945, and reinstated by Presidential Decree 5 July 1959.
2. Demand the government to seriously tackle the COVID-19 pandemic to save the people of Indonesia by not allowing the people to save themselves, thus causing many victims by allocating an adequate budget, including to directly assist the poor who are economically affected.
3. Demand that the government take responsibility for overcoming the economic recession to save the poor, farmers and fishermen, teachers/lecturers, national workers, SMEs and cooperatives, as well as informal traders rather than defending the interests of large and foreign entrepreneurs.
4. Demand state officials, especially the government and the DPR to improve the practice of law-making that deviates from Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The government is required to stop the chaotic and discriminatory law enforcement, eradicate legal mafia, stop criminalizing political opponents, arrest and punish heavy looters of state wealth.
5. Demand state administration to stop systems and practices of corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN), as well as systems and practices of oligarchy, kleptocracy, dynastic politics and abuse/abuse of power.
6. Demand state administrators, especially the government, DPR, DPD and MPR not to allow the rise of communism, other anti-Pancasila ideologies, and separatism and to stop stigmatizing religious groups with issues of intolerance, radicalism, and extremism as well as efforts to divide society. Likewise, urging the government to enforce economic and foreign policy policies freely and actively, by not leaning towards certain countries.
7. Demand that the government investigate seriously and thoroughly against those who are trying to go through the constitutional route, changing the Pancasila State Basis, as a real effort to undermine the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as a result of the Proclamation of August 17, 1945, so that similar efforts will not be repeated in the future.
8. Demanding the president to be responsible according to his oath and promise of office and urging state institutions (MPR, DPR, DPD and MK) to carry out their constitutional functions and

authorities in order to save the people, nation and state of Indonesia.

KAMI demands contained in the edict above depart from the perception of the Jokowi government which has been hit by three damages. The first damage, according to Din Syamsuddin, is the occurrence of irregularities, as well as deviations from the agreed basic values, namely an independent, united, sovereign, just and prosperous Indonesia. On that basis, KAMI as a moral movement strive to straighten the direction of the nation and state towards a just and prosperous society. The second damage is the symptom of the state that leads to constitutional dictatorship. According to Din Syamsuddin, constitutional dictatorship is an act that violates the state's foundation. There are symptoms and signs of power in our country that lead to the strengthening of constitutional dictatorship, a dictatorship that wraps it up through laws even though it deviates from basic values. And the third damage is, arrogance by leaders who have power. According to Din Syamsuddin, the arrogance of the nation's leaders is now an obstacle to the fulfillment of the people's aspirations. Third degree damage, manifested in the form of arrogance of power. Arrogance, power, feeling big because they are considered to have an executive body, which then closes their eyes and ears to the aspirations of the people.

3.2 Reaction to KAMI

A number of national figures declared the Coalition for Action to Save Indonesia (KAMI) at the Proclamation Monument, Central Jakarta, Tuesday, August 18 2020. Wrapped in a moral movement, KAMI became a gathering place for leaders who often clashed with President Joko Widodo. The KAMI Declaration was attended by Din Syamsuddin and former TNI Commander General (Ret.) Gatot Nurmantyo. The figures who attended included Rocky Gerung, Ichsanuddin Noorsy, Jumhur Hidayat, Syahganda Nainggolan, and MS Kaban. In the management structure, Gatot, Din, and Rochmat Wahab fill the presidium. The KAMI Declaration at the Proclamation Monument was followed by similar declarations in a number of areas such as West Java, East Java, North Sumatra, Riau Islands, to Aceh. Declarations in the area sparked resistance. Also received protests because they are considered to trigger crowds during the pandemic.

Political reactions immediately sprang up from the government coalition parties to the presidential palace. One of them is from Ace Hasan Syadzily. According to Ace, as a rescue move, the question is what needs to be saved. The chairman of Golkar's DPP Ace Hasan Syadzily regretted the declaration of the Indonesian Rescue Action Coalition (KAMI) which gathered the masses in one place. According to him, this kind of declaration model is the same as ignoring health protocols in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic and not providing an example for the community. The declaration model by gathering large crowds or masses, let alone ignoring health protocols because it is difficult to avoid not keeping a distance, not only violates the

rules but really does not show an example for the people on behalf of him. This declaration, also assessed by Ace, is only a step from a number of political elites who are trying to find the stage but are deliberately wrapped in a moral movement. Ace deeply regrets these elites instead of setting a positive example to the community, instead doing the opposite. In fact, many people are trying to refrain from causing crowds in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Abdul Kadir Karding, a politician from the National Awakening Party (PKB). According to Karding, the emergence of KAMI was aimed as an opposition to the government. It can be seen from the figure behind the KAMI, they are the stronghold of the people who lost in the 2019 general election. However, Karding understands that such a movement in a democracy cannot be prohibited. However, Karding hopes that the opinions or criticisms made must be accompanied by concrete solutions so that it is healthy for the country and democracy in Indonesia. Karding said, in the midst of the current pandemic situation, it is better for all people to work together, work hand in hand and participate in solving existing problems. Including, he continued, the suffering of the community that occurred because of this pandemic is not an easy thing, so we need togetherness.

The political reaction also came from the presidential palace. One of them is from Donny Gahril Adian who works as the main expert in the presidential staff office. According to Donny, the movement carried out by KAMI is a form of people's aspirations guaranteed by the constitution. In a democratic country like Indonesia, every citizen has the same rights and positions in association and assembly. Unions and associations are commonplace as a form of community participation in building the country. KAMI, who claim to be the government's guards, in Dony's opinion are the private opposition, because they struggle to guard and criticize the running of the government outside the parliament.

The existence of KAMI also received attention from political observers, Denny J.A. To emerge as a political force in Indonesia, it is predicted that KAMI will take three scenarios. First, KAMI brought the Jokowi government down before the end of office in 2014. But this is difficult to achieve because it must be supported by two variables, namely the birth of an alternative political movement and the emergence of economic turmoil in the community. Second, KAMI may not overthrow the Jokowi government, but instead raise potential presidential candidates in the 2024 general election, but this is also difficult to materialize because behind KAMI strengths are also weaknesses. The diversity of characters and backgrounds will actually make KAMI experience internal divisions. Third, KAMI are present only as a mere democracy flower, and instead become a sweetener for the current government.

To appear as a force in overthrowing the Jokowi government, KAMI will experience difficulties. Indonesian Political Opinion (IPO) researcher, Dedi Kurnia Syah, considers that the KAMI group is difficult to turn into a political party. Influential figures who become initiators are judged to have difficulty emerging

as main characters. The current condition is different from the reform transition era. At that time, the opposition group received a response and public sympathy from the general public, students, and intellectual groups. Meanwhile, currently in the era of Jokowi's administration, his position is very strong because it is supported by dominant political parties, and not a few campus intellectuals who support Jokowi's government.

The existence of KAMI also received a negative response from the community. This can be seen from PMII's rejection of the KAMI declaration plan in the city of Surabaya. The Surabaya Islamic Student Movement (PMII) Branch Management is ready to deploy the masses to disband the declaration of the Indonesian Rescue Action Coalition (KAMI) in the city of Surabaya. General Chairperson of PC PMII Surabaya, Nurul Haqqi, emphasized that his party strongly rejected the KAMI declaration in Surabaya. According to Haqqi, the KAMI declaration could disrupt the conduciveness of the people of Surabaya who are currently still struggling to adapt to the new era during the Covid-19 pandemic. Haqqi sees the KAMI movement as leading to one goal, which is to make people distrust the current government. Currently still in a non-natural disaster condition Covid-19, all sectors of the economy, health, social, security are still disrupted, especially the economy. Therefore, PMII strongly rejects the declaration. According to Haqqi, if this movement is allowed to continue, it is feared that it will cause division in society. It is even feared that the movement will lead to treason from the ongoing government [23].

Not long after the KAMI declaration, there was also a declaration of the Indonesian Homeland Density (KITA) which was initiated by Maman Imanulhaq, Taufik Rahzen, Abun Bunyamin and Jhoan Souhokua. KITA's stance is not as a rival to KAMI, but to correct KAMI who are considered to be a line of groups disappointed with the results of the 2019 general election. KITA wants that after the 2019 general election, all groups must unite to build the country, not hold grudges and cynicism against the government. As a democratic country, the government is not anti-criticism, but the criticism is conveyed not wrapped in hate speech and slander. Constructive and argumentative criticism is needed so that the government is serious in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic, not throwing criticism that attacks personally. Therefore, KITA hope that the national leaders will give the spirit of unity and constructive national ideas.

4 Conclusion

The formation of the KAMI which was declared on August 18, 2020 at the Jakarta Proclamation Monument, according to the recognition of its supporters, is not a political movement, but only a moral movement. This movement was born as a form of concern for state administrators who have deviated from the basic values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. KAMI are present as a form of reaction to the government which is

considered to have failed in realizing the welfare and prosperity of the people. As a moral movement, KAMI are limited to absorbing, accommodating, and aggregating the interests of the community. However, there are some people who see that we cannot be separated from political interests. KAMI are even considered as a gathering place for people who are dissatisfied with the results of the 2019 general election. The negative response to us does not only come from the political elite, but also from the grassroots community. Various KAMI declarations in the regions have been challenged and rejected by the community. It is inappropriate when elite groups argue with each other in the midst of the current covid 19 pandemics. In fact, what must be done is for the political elite to work together in thinking about solutions to the problems of economic difficulties that are afflicting the community.

References

- [1] D. Webber, "A Consolidated Patrimonial Democracy? Democratization in Post-Suharto Indonesia," *Democratization*, vol. **13**, no. 3, pp. 396–420, (2006).
- [2] E. Aspinall, "Indonesia: The Irony of Success," *J. Democr.*, vol. **21**, no. 2, pp. 20–34, (2010).
- [3] E. J. Chaput, "Two Tales of Lincoln and the Meaning of Democracy," *Rev. Am. Hist.*, vol. **46**, no. 1, pp. 65–71, (2018).
- [4] J. R. Balmori de la Miyar, "Are OECD Countries in a Rule of Law Recession?," *Available SSRN 3892847*, (2021).
- [5] R. Benjamin, K. Laurin, and M. Chiang, "Who Would Mourn Democracy? Liberals Might, but it Depends on who's in Charge.," *J. Pers. Soc. Psychol.*, vol. **122**, no. 5, p. 779, (2022).
- [6] N. Okthariza, "5 Electoral Rules Effect: Explaining the Party System Stability in Democratic Indonesia."
- [7] C. Pangestu, "Jokowinomics: A New Developmentalism with Rising Skyscrapers and Sinking Indonesian Civil Rights Liberty," *J. Sentris*, vol. **1**, no. 1, pp. 1–14, (2020).
- [8] C. Kersten, *Islam in Indonesia: the Contest for Society, Ideas and Values*. New York: Oxford University Press, (2015).
- [9] J. Postill and L. C. Epafra, "Indonesian Religion as a Hybrid Media Space: Social Dramas in a Contested Realm," *Asiascape Digit. Asia*, vol. 5, no. 1–2, pp. 100–123, 2018.
- [10] M. Habibi, "Pandemic Democracy: Impact Regional Elections Held During the COVID-19 Pandemic," *J. Gov. Polit. Issues*, vol. **1**, no. 1, pp. 15–25, (2021).
- [11] T. P. Power, "Jokowi's Authoritarian Turn and Indonesia's Democratic Decline," *Bull. Indones. Econ. Stud.*, vol. **54**, no. 3, pp. 307–338, (2018).
- [12] C. A. Yulina, P. N. R. Sudarna, and W. Handayani, "A Comparative Analysis: The Social Wrongs Revealed & The Ideologies

- Brought In Editorial News Exposing The New Kpk Law,” *Bricol. J. Magister Ilmu Komun.*, vol. **7**, no. 2, pp. 213–242, (2021).
- [13] C. Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*. New York: JHU Press, (2013).
- [14] Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, (2003).
- [15] Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Bentang Pustaka, (2005).
- [16] F. Belinda and M. Puspitasari, “Hoaks and Resistance to Government Motion Case Study KAMI (Koalisi Aksi Menyelamatkan Indonesia),” *J. Sos. Sci.*, vol. **2**, no. 2, pp. 139–143, (2021).
- [17] H. Manurung, “Joko Widodo National Leaderships on Indonesia’s World Maritime Policy,” *Available SSRN 2510986*, (2014).
- [18] R. T. Nurhayati, “Assessing Indonesia’s Capacity for Preventing Mass,” (2020).
- [19] M. R. Asmawi and M. A. Fulazzaky, “Indonesian President’s Transformational Leadership in the Critical Era,” *J. Public Aff.*, p. e2715.
- [20] C. Basri and H. Hill, “Making Economic Policy in a Democratic Indonesia: The First Two Decades,” *Asian Econ. Policy Rev.*, vol. **15**, no. 2, pp. 214–234, (2020).
- [21] S. Mujani and R. W. Liddle, “Indonesia: Jokowi Sidelines Democracy,” *J. Democr.*, vol. **32**, no. 4, pp. 72–86, (2021).
- [22] L. N. A, “Resmi Deklarasi, Ini 8 Poin Tuntutan KAMI Bentukan Din Syamsuddin dkk Baca artikel detiknews, ‘Resmi Deklarasi, Ini 8 Poin Tuntutan KAMI Bentukan Din Syamsuddin dkk’ selengkapnya <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5137549/resmi-deklarasi-ini-8-poin-tuntutan->” Detiknews, Jakarta, (2020), [Online]. Available: <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5137549/resmi-deklarasi-ini-8-poin-tuntutan-kami-bentukan-din-syamsuddin-dkk>.
- [23] G. Fealy, “Jokowi in the Covid-19 era: Repressive Pluralism, Dynasticism and the Overbearing State,” *Bull. Indones. Econ. Stud.*, vol. **56**, no. 3, pp. 301–323, (2020).