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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Post-Reform Democracy in Indonesia; A Systematic Literature Review and Bibliometric Analysis

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
        *Corresponding Author: didikgsuharto@staff.uns.ac.id	From 2009 to 2019, the Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI) released a national index of democracy in Indonesia, which increased to 74.92 points. This achievement is in the medium category, meaning that democracy in Indonesia has not yet reached the good category. Meanwhile, at the global level, the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) released the 2021 World Democracy Index, in which Indonesia is categorized as a country with a flawed democracy. The data shows that the great enthusiasm of the 1999 Indonesian Reform Movement to build a strong democracy is still far from its goal. This study aims to get an overview of Indonesian democracy and the causes of the slow growth of democracy in Indonesia by analyzing democratic discourse in Indonesia through published studies on Indonesia's post-reform political environment. PRISMA's systematic literature review method and bibliometric analysis were used as research methods. Through filtering articles based on publication year, keywords, and document type, 16 relevant articles were used for further analysis. The results of the research show that democracy in Indonesia is weak. The existence of differences and views on the diversity of ideologies, political behavior, and democratic culture is the underlying reason, considering that the type of democracy adopted by some people in Indonesia has different views from the political elite.

INTRODUCTION

Democracy is the most idolized regimes nowadays (Tudor & Slater, 2021). The yearning for liberty, equality, and fraternity has emerged as the moral ideal of democracy (Nickel, 2021). Democracy does not revolve around the use of power purely for selfish reasons, in contrast to other systems of governance. Democracy, on the other hand, is the only system of administration that is founded on a

moral conception of the society (Müller-Rommel & Geißel, 2020). In other words, democracy is a distinct social and political order, or higher "empire," that is essentially different from previous social structuring methods. Democracy is considered to give equality of power between people in the community structure and a governmental system that is closest to achieve justice for everyone (Goldman, 2015). This comes from its basic rule–the governmental freedom and for people to vote for their right (Hamdani & Fauzia, 2021). Through the building of civil society and the encouragement of responsible and positive citizen-government involvement, this endeavor aims to increase public participation, foster tolerance, combat violent extremism, and promote democracy (Goldman, 2015). Democracies must adhere to the principles of freedom, human rights respect, and the periodic, legitimate election of all eligible voters. Democracy, in turn, creates a setting where human rights may be effectively protected and realized (Fotiadou, 2016).

The core element of modern democracy is citizens with basic rights supporting each other equally, functioning as the end decision maker in public constitution, and choosing the ones who will be entrusted with legislative and executive power, while at the same time holding the ultimate veto right over the power over the current government (Han, 2008; Pureklolon, 2021). Considering this, in democratic state, all the people in the state have the rights to express opinion, to contribute to the government, and to vote without discriminating an individual's status (Zulfadli, 2022). At least, it is this that is expected in full democracies.

A political system is considered to be a "full" democracy if it allows for substantial public involvement in governmental decision-making and holds that government accountable to the people it is meant to represent. The rule of law is respected and people's rights and liberties are safeguarded in a fully functional democracy (Beckman, 2021). On the other hand, a "flawed" democracy is a political structure that in some respects falls short of the requirements of a genuine democracy. This may involve problems like limitations on one's capacity to cast a ballot or take part in the political process, corruption, a lack of transparency, or a lack of responsibility on the part of public servants. A faulty democracy can also struggle to maintain the law or safeguard the rights and liberties of its people (Schwemlein, 2019). It's critical to remember that no democracy is flawless and that all democracies have certain shortcomings. However, from one nation to another, there can be significant differences in the severity of these defects and how they affect the democracy's operation. To confront and overcome these issues and develop a more inclusive and representative democratic system, it is the duty of people, public servants, and other stakeholders (Beckman, 2021).

Democracy has been practiced in almost half the world. At most of the countries, this is shown with election of leaders by the people. Although electoral democracy has increased, constitutional democracy has not always been the end outcome. Indeed, dictatorships, fascism, and authoritarianism have frequently resulted from elections. The Middle East, Central Asia, and portions of East Asia, including Southeast Asia, spring to mind as possible locations. Although certain countries in Asia, like North Korea, Laos, Vietnam, and China, still have "entrenched authoritarian governments," according to the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), democracy has been spreading across the continent over the past 20 or so years (Gomez & Ramcharan, 2014). Nonetheless, democracy is still a never ending struggle (Dibley & Ford, 2019). Nearly a quarter of the nations that identify as democratic have previously experienced complete democracies, while the others are classified as "flawed democracies." One of them is Indonesia (Beckman, 2021).

Indonesia has acknowledged itself as the democracy country since its Independence Day in 1945. This is captured from their national constitution, stating Indonesia independence is on behalf of Indonesian people which describes leadership by the people, or in other words, democracy (Nwogu, 2015). Since winning independence in 1945, Indonesia has made considerable strides in bolstering

its democratic institutions and practices. For instance, Indonesia has worked to increase the openness and fairness of its electoral process and has held regular, competitive elections since the 1950s. With its three departments of government (executive, legislative, and judicial), it has also built a system of checks and balances. Additionally, it has a thriving civil society and media that aid in holding elected officials responsible. Any democracy can always be improved, thus it's critical for individuals to continue participating in politics in order to support their nation's progress towards a more democratic and just society (Hamdani & Fauzia, 2021).

Indonesia is a democratic state with plural society and thereby faces a distinctive challenge, particularly in achieving ideal democracy (Wahyono & Sri Meutia, 2017). Many areas in Indonesia still show territorial subculture domination still held on tightly by the local people. Democracy in Indonesia has a long history in maintaining the state's sovereignty. Indonesia in its early independence period still faced hard challenge in dealing with rebellion, such as G30SPKI incidence (Permata, 2015), DI/TII rebellion (Soraya, 2019), *Republik Maluku Selatan* (South Maluku Republic) rebellion (Leirissa et al., 1993), and PRRI rebellion (IKPNI, 2019).

It's crucial to keep in mind that a democracy is a form of government that relies on the active engagement and participation of its people to run smoothly. To safeguard and advance the principles of freedom, fairness, and equality that form the foundation of democratic regimes, it takes time and the combined efforts of many people. It's also critical to acknowledge that every nation has an own history, culture, and set of difficulties that might influence the growth and development of its democracy. Like any other nation, Indonesia has seen its share of ups and downs as it works to create a more democratic society. Even though Indonesia has declared itself as a democratic country, Indonesia still experienced dictatorship under Soeharto's leadership (Jenkins, 2015). This period is considered as the darkest part of Indonesian politics (Hakim, 2016). A patronage-client culture emerged in Indonesia under President Soeharto, affecting the military, bureaucracy, and government as well as the economy. Indonesia has lost its grasp on the democracy principles at that time, to think of transparency and fairness.

However, Indonesia has experienced much progress compared with its counterparts in those periods, particularly the achievement in reformation era (Ulum, 2020). Since decentralization changes started during the Reformasi era, Indonesia has achieved considerable strides in advancing democratic processes, enhancing local public services, and increasing civic engagement. The advances gained thus far, however, are under danger due to a lack of government competence at the province and local levels, low accountability, inadequate civic participation mechanisms, and rising intolerance. Indonesian democracy does not indicate significant progress in following the reformation (Chen, 2022). Nationally, democracy in Indonesia is measured using Indonesian Democratic Index (IDI). National IDI in 2019 indicated the highest rate (74.92 point) in 2009, but the rate decreased in 2020. In addition, based on the index Indonesia has not achieved a good democratic category yet in the last 11 years (BPS, 2018, 2020b, 2020a; UNDP, 2011). Meanwhile, globally the report published by EIU indicates that Indonesia is on the 52nd rank with score of 6,71, belonging to the state with flawed democracies (EIU, 2021). This condition certainly proves that, both in terms of substantive terms, Indonesia has not touched a democratic life because the declining quality and quantity have caused many problems, including future violations, to be threatened (Marta et al., 2020).

After the collapse of authoritarian government in 1998, Indonesia has undergone tremendous political transformation. A new constitution was adopted, a more decentralized form of administration was established, and regular, competitive elections were held as part of these reforms. Indonesia has thereby strengthened its democratic structures and practices, making

substantial progress in this area. According to studies on the consequences of these reforms, Indonesia now has a political system that is more democratic and inclusive (Ulum, 2020). It has been discovered that the decentralization changes introduced in Indonesia following the overthrow of the Suharto dictatorship have contributed to a rise in both local officials' accountability to their people and access to government services, particularly in rural regions (Chen, 2022). The development of press freedom and the emergence of a thriving civil society, according to some studies, have contributed to an improvement in the openness and accountability of Indonesia's administration (Lan, 2011). These adjustments have helped to build a more stable and inclusive society as well as a more open and democratic political climate in Indonesia. But it's crucial to keep in mind that there are still problems and difficulties to be solved as Indonesia works to create a more democratic society. For instance, corruption is still a major issue in Indonesia, and several elections have raised questions about fairness and integrity. To continue to establish a more robust and inclusive democracy in Indonesia, these concerns will need to be continually addressed. The emergence of the post-reform era of freedom is basically a breath of fresh air for the development of democracy in Indonesia, but demands and conflicts still often arise in the process of strengthening democracy (Romli, 2019). The implementation and comprehension of democracy as a single identity is an attempt to be taken thoroughly and cautiously, recalling the heterogeneous condition of Indonesian people that can trigger sub-cultural conflict and dissension (Lan, 2011; Leirissa et al., 1993; Permata, 2015; Soraya, 2019).

This research is an in-depth analysis of previous studies that are linked to practice of democracy in Indonesia. Thus, the analysis in existing studies could find out the cause of inhibited democracy in Indonesia. The objective of research is to analyze democratic discourse in Indonesia contained in a number of articles published in post-reform era. The novelty of research lies on the literature review system using PRISMA 2020 model constituting the substitution for PRISMA 2009.
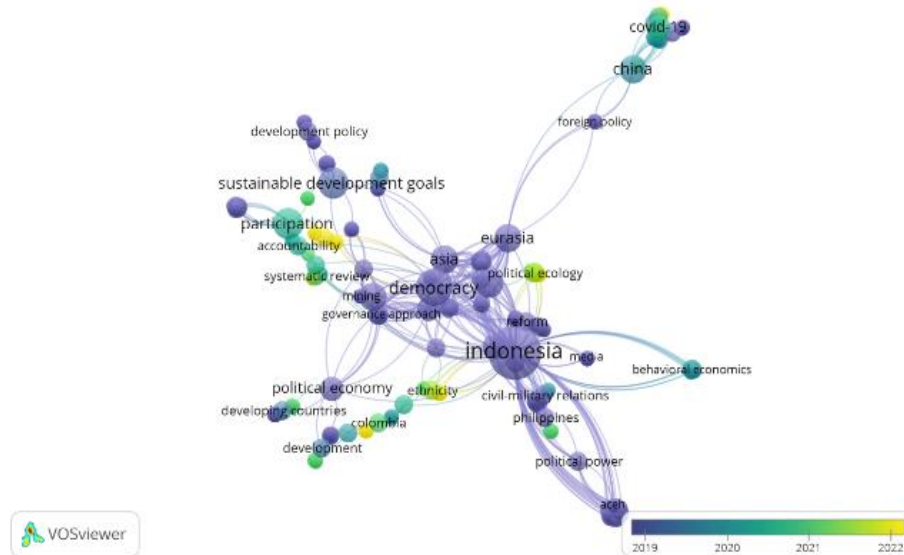
Figure. 1. Overlay Visualization Network

Source: Article data clustering with VOS viewer software.

In Figure 1, the results of clustering based on the overlay visualization network show historical traces or years of publication for the selected articles. These results can be used as a reference for the state of the art of research on democracy in post-reform Indonesia conducted in various fields of research

within a certain period of time. On color visualization on a node or development network, year of publication (Nurul & Winoto, 2022). The figure shows that the research on several articles was mostly carried out in 2018 with purple node networks, while the articles with the least number of publications in 2022 were yellow. If we observe further, the distance between the nodes of the variables "democracy" and "Indonesian" is indeed close together and a lot of research was carried out in 2018, but for the variable "post reform", it has not been seen in the network. This shows that the novelty in writing our variables in articles on democracy in post-reform Indonesia is still not widely done, especially in 2022. We can use this as proof of the novelty of this research.

Previous studies on post-reform Indonesian democracy were usually limited to a certain phenomenon, a certain passage of time, or in the form of review reviewing one article or one book only (Bachtiar, 2017; Yutthaworakool, 2021). This research addresses the practice of democracy in Indonesia and what are the setbacks of full democracies in Indonesia. By identifying the problems in the practice of democracy in Indonesia, it will make it possible for Indonesian government to design a strategy to achieve a full democracy for the country.

RESEARCH METHOD

The current study used SLR because the procedure underlying its execution is systematic, reproducible, transparent, and iterative (Mengist et al., 2020). Furthermore, it gives an objective foundation for excluding works that are not the focus of the research (Xiao & Watson, 2019). The increased accessibility of electronic databases makes it simpler for scholars to conduct systematic study in a timely way. The current study combines SLR with bibliometric analysis. First, we ran the SLR by entering the needed keyword into the Scopus database, and then we extracted the sample set of research papers systematically using the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The current SLR was aided further by within-study literature analysis, which analyses the whole text of a research publication. The Scopus database was used to find the best research papers for our current investigation. Scopus is the world's biggest abstract and citation database of peer-reviewed literature, with articles from the world's major publishers. A keyword search is a good technique to identify articles that are related to your research (Almeida, 2018). The Scopus—Title, abstract, keyword database search string was a combined search to find the most relevant study in our research topic. In the second step, we conducted a bibliometric study of the Indonesian democracy post-reform literature to better understand the intellectual structure of the research area. We utilized VOS Viewer for bibliometric analysis because it allows us to present bigger bibliometric maps in an easy-to-understand format, which was not feasible with earlier bibliometric tools. Furthermore, the program has capabilities for zooming, scrolling, and searching, which greatly aids in the deep examination of a map.

SYSTEMIC LITERATURE REVIEW

We used *systemic literature review* to get a broad in-depth description on the implementation of Democracy in Indonesia. Some theories explain the use of systemic literature review in conducting observation on certain phenomenon (Page et al., 2021; Snyder, 2019; Xiao & Watson, 2019). The author used PRISMA model as suggested by Page (Page et al., 2021). PRISMA guidelines have been developed from the previous PRISMA (2009) and replaced with PRISMA 2020. The latest change lies on the number of checklist points, in which the previous one consists of 20, and the latest one consists of 27 checklist points. The procedure of research is conducted according to PRISMA 2020 consisting of checklist, explanation, and elaboration, as well as flowchart.

The initial approach conducted consisted of searching for study in the database. In this stage, the author applied some inclusive and exclusive criteria in the process of searching for studies. The

inclusive criteria of research were studies reviewed, keyword of searching, period, and location of study. The type of studies reviewed is all types of studies coming from all sources. All studies focusing on post-reform Indonesian democracy also belong to inclusive criteria, despite different title (e.g. concerning general election, presidency, and territoriality. It is because the author is interested not only in discussing post-reform Indonesian democracy directly but also in the situation that can describe the democratic celebration existing in Indonesia comprehensively, despite chronological and direct discussion about democracy in some studies.

Keywords that are used in the search process are 'Democracy' AND 'post-reform' AND 'Indonesia'. Meanwhile, the period of study belongs to inclusive criteria, limited to the last ten years (2012-2022). This period is too long to find out the democratic condition in Indonesia currently. The author attempts to describe in-depth the democratic condition in Indonesia without avoiding novelty factor; thus, the discussion keeps on the track, corresponding to the focus of research specified.

The location of study belongs to inclusive criteria limited to the studies conducted in Indonesia, or the region existing in Indonesia (e.g. in certain city or region in Indonesia).

The exclusive criteria of research include the focus of research out of post-reformation democracy (e.g. guided democracy, liberal democracy, and etc). The period of studies before 2012 is also excluded from the search for study. In addition, the location of research out of Indonesia is excluded from the search for studies, including the studies on Indonesian people out of Indonesia or in other countries related to Indonesian Democracy.

The data source of research derived from Elsevier (World Development, Land Use Policy) and Scopus (Asian Politics and Policy, Central European Journal of International and Security Studies, Journal of Asian Public Policy, Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, Journal of The Asia Pacific Economy, Opcion, and Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, Taiwanese Political Science Review) databases.

Then, the same results of search from different databases were removed. The author continued the research by reviewing and coding the data. The code used in the reviewing process includes the theme appearing on the data, such as *democracy, post-reform political, electoral.* The author highlighted the relevant texts and specified the code for the studies reviewed.

Following the reviewing and coding process, the author traced the codes specified. This was intended to compare those codes with library studies that have been studied to ascertain that the codes reflect accurately the topic of research. This step is needed to ensure that the review process can be reliable. Finally, the author searched for the relationship between ideas found, and then combined the relevant concepts to construct a bigger theme.

Bibliometric Analysis

Bibliometric methodologies have been employed by several scholars. Individual researchers, research institutes, nations, specific themes, and specific media such as journals are typically the focus of bibliometric studies. The application of bibliometric methodologies to examine the knowledge structure and scientific aspects of a certain journal gives a good guide for its potential contributors as well as some guiding references for the magazine's future development. It may also indicate its present state and development trend, as well as serve as a foundation for further increasing its quality (Xu & Yu, 2019). Bibliometric is currently considered as the most important method in domain analysis (Zupic & Čater, 2015). Bibliometric analysis is a popular and accurate

approach for inspecting and evaluating vast amounts of scientific data (Donthu et al., 2021). This method is aimed to grasp the interconnection of journal citations and summarize the existing situation in terms of a current or emerging research subject.

Scopus is utilized in the research to retrieve data for bibliometric analysis. The Visualization of Similarities (VOS) viewer, which attempts to make it simple to create and visualize bibliometric maps, is gaining prominence in bibliometric research. This strategy enables us to collect literature more effectively and to determine the interrelationships between selected articles inside the alternatives.

Title keywords that are used for search are (TITLE-ABS-KEY (democracy) AND (TITLE-ABS-KEY (post) AND (TITLE-ABS-KEY (reformation) AND (TITLE-ABS-KEY (Indonesia). The search results show 49 documents with the keywords used.

All of the findings were chosen and downloaded as CSV files so it could be processed in the VOSViewer tool to see and evaluate the bibliometric term trends. VOSviewer allows the production of nation maps based on a network (co-citation), develops a keyword map based on shared networks, and creates maps with numerous objects. The VOSviewer program may be used to do data mining, mapping, and grouping of articles extracted from the database.

RESULT

Figure 1 shows the literature review process using PRISMA 2020 related to post-reform Indonesian democracy. It can be seen that the researches related to the topic has substantial demand, 459 articles. However, the author reduced the number of articles to be analyzed based on eligibility and the compatibility of study to this current research. Based on this narrowing, the authors found 16 articles relevant to the research topic.
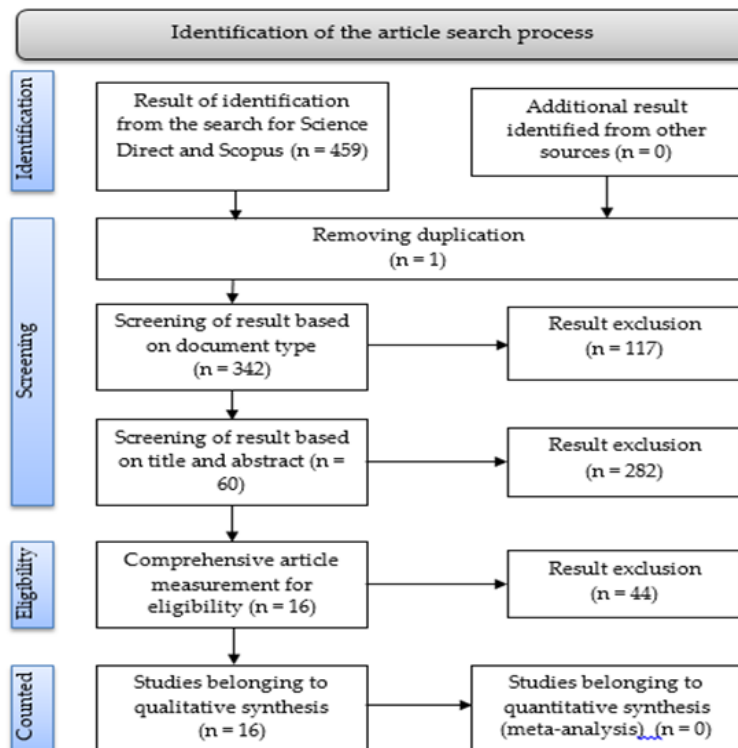

Figure 2: Identification of Studies through database

Most influential works

Analysis of prolific authors provides key insights into the author's contribution and influence in the field of research. In addition, it is considered important to identify highly cited research articles that have given new avenues to the research field. The number of citations per year compares the influence of articles regardless of the year in which they were published. We use the publish or perish app to find the top most cited articles in Scopus database using keywords 'democracy', 'post reform', and 'Indonesia'. The results of the most cited works with those keywords are shown in table 2.

The most cited work related to democracy post reform in Indonesia is a research by (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014). This is an interesting work, reminded how intense the presidential election in 2014 was. This became a milestone that determines whether the politic practice in Indonesia really is a democracy or just a name. The author's analysis clearly describes the political conditions in Indonesia. Different timeframes before and after 2014 presidential election regarding Indonesian politics was captured by (Slater, 2018). Meanwhile, a more thorough explanation was presented by (Bhakti, 2004). Indonesia, despite government promotion of democracy through rules, the practice of democracy itself is still requires a lot of effort. military domination is one of the problems before the reformation that still carries over to this day. Another problem is discrimination by the dominant religion which explained in a more detail setting by (Fossati, 2019). These studies are showing the democracy practice from different viewpoint yet thorough and portray Indonesia democracy appropriately.

However, the results of cited works regarding to democracy post reform in Indonesia is limited. We only find 17 articles cited related to the topics. The number of citations is also low. Indeed, the research coverage area is very narrow, only in Indonesia. This also shows that awareness of democratic practices in Indonesia is still low.

Bibliographic coupling

When an article refers to a common third work in its reference list, it is said to be bibliographically coupled (Ma et al., 2022). The number of references that two articles frequently refer to in their reference list strengthens the bibliographic coupling. Thematically similar documents are grouped together in bibliographic coupling. Using VOS Viewer, studies were classified into four groups. The bibliographic coupling of documents is depicted in Figure 3.
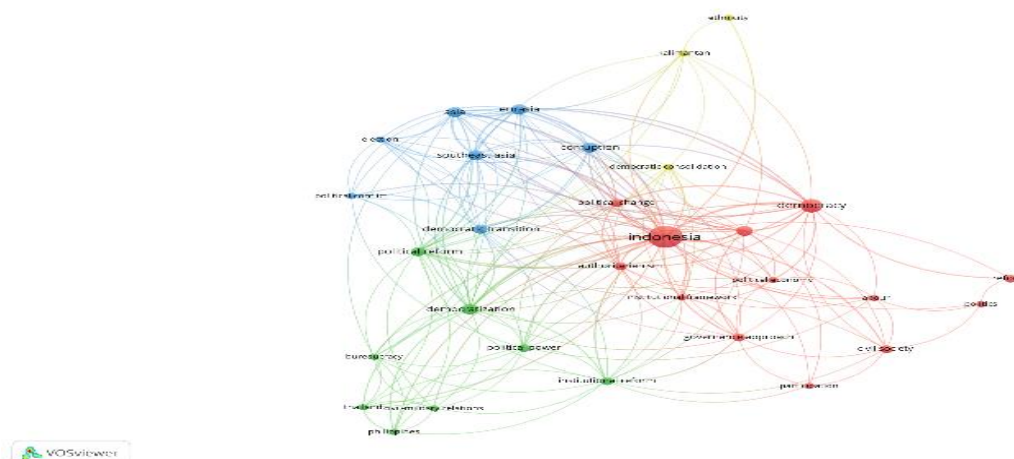
Figure 3. Bibliographic Coupling

Figure 3 shows in bibliometric analysis using co-occurrence keywords provide summary of the patterns in data trends. It consists of four clusters.

The cluster 1 in figure 3 is shown as red lines that consists of 13 items representing 'institutional frameworks and social structures' regarding democracy in Indonesia. All of 13 keywords are including: 'authoritarianism', 'civil society', 'decentralization', 'democracy', 'governance approach', 'Indonesia', 'institutional framework', 'labor', 'participation', 'political change', 'political economy', 'politics', and 'reform'. Cluster 2 is shown as green lines consists of 8 items consisting: "bureaucracy", "civil-military relations", "democratization", "institutional reform", "Philippines", "political power", "political reform", "Thailand" These keywords are mainly discussed about 'bureaucracy and civil-military relations' in Indonesia regarding to its democracy practice. Cluster 3 is shown as blue colors consist of 7 items representing 'conflict and barriers of democracy' in Indonesia. "Asia", "corruption", "democratic transition", "election", "Eurasia", "political conflict", "Southeast Asia". Cluster 4 represented by the color of yellow that is mainly discussed about 'ethnicity consolidation' in Indonesia. The keywords in this cluster including: "democratic consolidation", "ethnicity", "Kalimantan". Each cluster is representing certain information. We further analyzed each of these cluster to find the relationships between different keywords.

Cluster 1 (institutional frameworks and social structures): The interdependence between institutional frameworks and social structures can be complex and dynamic, with each impacting the other in different ways. Institutional frameworks, for example, can shape the operation of democracy by establishing rules and procedures that facilitate or obstruct the participation of various groups within society (Wisnaeni & Herawati, 2020), whereas social structures can influence the operation of institutional frameworks by shaping the attitudes and behaviors of those involved in the political process (Ma'arif, 2019). When studying the functioning of democracy in Indonesia, it is critical to analyze both institutional frameworks and social structures, as they are interconnected and can have a considerable impact on the country's political system (Slater, 2018).

Cluster 2 (bureaucracy and civil-military relations): In the framework of Indonesian democracy, bureaucracy plays a critical role in influencing the operation of the country's political system, as it is responsible for enacting the government's laws and policies. In a democratic state, civil-military relations refer to the interactions and ties between the civilian government and the military. The military has traditionally played an important part in Indonesia's political system, and the nature of the relationship between the military and the civilian administration can have an impact on democracy's functioning (Fossati, 2018, 2019).

Cluster 3 (conflict and barriers of democracy): The cultural and social context of Indonesia, as part of the Asian region, can also pose challenges to the functioning of democracy in the country (Gonschorek, 2021). For example, certain cultural values and norms may conflict with the principles of democracy, such as the belief in strong hierarchy or the importance of group harmony over individual rights.

Cluster 4 (ethnicity consolidation): Ethnicity consolidation in Indonesia refers to the process of uniting distinct ethnic groups inside the country into a coherent whole. This might include attempts to foster a sense of national identity and unity among Indonesia's varied people, as well as measures to alleviate prejudice and inequity across ethnic groups. Democratic processes and institutions can aid in the process of ethnicity consolidation by facilitating conversation, negotiation, and dispute resolution among various ethnic groups (Fossati et al., 2020). Democratic elections, for example, can facilitate the peaceful transfer of power between various political parties or leaders, even if they

represent different nationalities. Ethnicity consolidation, on the other hand, might be viewed as a fundamental precondition for the establishment and preservation of a democratic government. Political parties or leaders that can successfully unify multiple ethnic groups under a single flag may be more likely to win elections and wield power in countries with high levels of ethnic diversity. This can generate incentives for political actors to prioritize concerns of national unity and commonality over those of distinct ethnic groupings (Chen, 2022).

Table 1. The literature review findings

No	General Findings	Findings in Detail
1	Competing ideological views	Indonesian people's perception of democracy tends to be non-liberal; The element that increases Indonesia's democratic stagnation is the strong role of the military in the political arena (Yutthaworakool, 2021); The ideal democracy for the Indonesian state is Pancasila democracy, as stated in the Preamble to the Constitution, which states that democracy is led by wisdom in representative deliberation and states that sovereignty is in the hands of the people and implemented according to the Constitution (Wisnaeni & Herawati, 2020)
2	Political behavior	President Jokowi does not take sides in promoting democracy and argues for maintaining the country's socio-political stability while limiting freedom of speech through laws (Setijadi, 2021). There is a transition from "descriptive" forms of political representation to more "substantive" forms in various constituencies—seen as the most important dimension of ideal representation, although ethnic politics still exists (Chen, 2022) (Gonschorek, 2021), As long as the Indonesian president finds it strategically advantageous to share power with any party that expresses his support, the opposition will remain difficult to identify and vulnerable to being completely suppressed in Indonesia (Slater, 2018), Prabowo and his supporters now control a large enough number of parliamentary seats to cause a setback for democratic reforms(Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014), Political knowledge, trust in local electoral institutions, and the process of attribution of responsibility are important factors in moderating the relationship (Bhakti, 2004; Fossati, 2019).
3	Democratic culture	The emergence of a number of rigid religious expressions that contradict the democratic values and culture of pesantren (Ma'arif, 2019), the dynamics of post-Islamist Indonesia and its contestation not only help to strengthen democratic praxis in the post-reformation era but also divert public attention from the temptation of radicalism and violence in the name of religion (Ansor, 2016; Rahma Bachtiar, 2017). There are four phases of democracy in Indonesia: Parliamentary Democracy, Guided Democracy, Pancasila Democracy, Reform Era Democracy (M. Rahman, 2021), The lack of a democratic culture among students and elite politics, and the army's tendency to see itself as a "guardian of the state', threatens the transition to a consolidated democracy in Indonesia (Bhakti, 2004).

Table 2. Research Papers on Democracy Post Reform in Indonesia Based on Most Cited Documents

Author(s) & Year of Publication	Title	Source Title	Cited by	C/Y
(Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014)	Indonesian Politics in 2014: Democracy's Close Call	Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies	109	12.11
(Bhakti, 2004)	The Transition To Democracy In Indonesia: Some Outstanding Problems	The Asia Pacific: A Region in Transition	92	4.84
(Fossati, 2019)	The Resurgence of Ideology in Indonesia: Political Islam, Aliran and Political Behaviour	Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs 38 (2)	80	20.00
(Herlambang et al., 2019)	Jakarta's great land transformation: Hybrid neoliberalisation and informality	Federal Law Review 50 (3)	54	13.50
(Ansor, 2016)	Post-Islamism and the Remaking of Islamic Public Sphere in Post-Reform Indonesia	Studia Islamika	32	4.57
(Fossati et al., 2020)	Ideological representation in clientelistic democracies: The Indonesian case	Electoral Studies 63	24	8.00
(Slater, 2018)	Party Cartelization, Indonesian-Style: Presidential Power-Sharing And The Contingency Of Democratic Opposition.	Journal of East Asian Studies 18 (1)	22	4.40
(Ma'arif, 2019)	Reinventing Pesantren's Moderation Culture to Build a Democratic Society in the Post-Reform Republic of Indonesia.	Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities	20	5.00
(Gonschorek, 2021)	Subnational favoritism in development grant allocations: Empirical evidence from decentralized Indonesia	World Development, Elsevier	9	4.50
(Fossati, 2018)	A Tale of Three Cities: Electoral Accountability in Indonesian Local Politics	Journal of Contemporary Asia 48 (1)	8	1.60
(Wisnaeni & Herawati, 2020)	The Politics of Law of Pancasila-based Democracy in Indonesia as the World's Third Largest Democracy.	Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies 9 (4)	3	1.00
(Setijadi, 2021)	The Pandemic As Political Opportunity: Jokowi's Indonesia In The Time of Covid-19.	Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies 57 (3)	2	1.00

(R. A. Rahman & Tang, 2022)	Fake News and Internet Shutdowns in Indonesia: Symptoms of Failure to Uphold Democracy	Constitutional Review 8 (1)	1	1.00
(Yutthaworakool, 2021)	Article Review: Explaining Indonesia's Democratic Regression: Structure, Agency and Popular Opinion	Jurnal Ilmu Politik dan Administrasi Publik 13(1)	0	0.00
(Chen, 2022)	Representing Chinese Indonesians: Pribumi Discourse and Regional Elections in PostReform Indonesia	Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs 41 (1)	0	0.00
(Bachtiar, 2017)	Indonesia's Democracy in the 21st Century: A Book Review	Urban Studies 56	0	0.00

DISCUSSION

Indonesian people have gotten their right and freedom as citizens, compared with those of other states (Yutthaworakool, 2021). However, the implementation of democracy in Indonesia still needs struggle to achieve full democracy. Indonesia is considered incapable of following the reformation (Chen, 2022). Based on the studies reviewed, three big themes are found from the result of final analysis on the studies explaining why democracy in Indonesia post-reform has not been achieved successfully. The division of themes does not contain similarity or interconnection but contains different causes.

Ideological competition

The first theme is the competition of ideologies. This factor is due to the composition of society or originates from Indonesian people. Indonesia is a unique democratic state as it has some names representing its society composition: plural country and a state with majority Muslim populations. Such society composition encourages the emergence of alternative ideology phenomenon among Indonesian people.   The different ideologies are largely due to different ethnics, races, and religions, particularly in the dominant group.

Alternative forms of identity in Indonesia are shown by belief in certain religions. The Indonesian people are predominantly adherents of the Islamic religion. The large number of adherents of Islam in Indonesia has created groups that influence the views of certain people (Ma'arif, 2019). For the wider general public, this religious view is not necessarily above democracy, but the elected leader must still comply with the rules of the religion adhered to. For example, people still want their leaders to follow the same religion (Fossati, 2019). This form of tolerance is better than the smaller but highly influential faith-based extremist groups (Ma'arif, 2019). This group is known as a political mover through educational institutions and Islamic activists.

The competition of ideologies requires the state to attempt harder to inculcate democracy as a single national ideology into the people's heart. The domination of a certain group based on ethnic or religious identity is due to one considers that its identity is superior to the other, even compared with the democracy itself. Some studies express urgency in dealing with a rigid religious expression (Ansor, 2016; Fossati, 2019; Fossati et al., 2020; Ma'arif, 2019). Such condition also takes the government's energy as it should accustom itself to democracy amid the society because it should muffle radicalism and rebellion risks, recalling that those risks have occurred several times in the past (e.g. G30SPKI, DI/TII, Permesta rebellions, and etc.). The risks of the emergence of extremism

and violence in the name of religion are increasing when the government fails to embrace post-reform democracy and post-Islamist dynamics in Indonesia (Ansor, 2016).

Political behavior

The second theme is political behavior. This factor originates from executive government in Indonesia. The author in Indonesian government, particularly in the executive institution existing in Indonesia, has a strong effect on democratic development in Indonesia (Rahma Bachtiar, 2017; Setijadi, 2021). President, as the holder of the supreme power in executive institution often has its own agenda in governing, ignoring the implementation of democracy that prioritizes the people's rights comprehensively (Rahma Bachtiar, 2017; Setijadi, 2021). The holy objective of executive government in the period soon after the election consistently indicates the repetition of same pattern in the end of tenure, ignoring the people's right for the sake of bigger interest (its own political ideology). This habit is supported by military power (Bhakti, 2004) with the spirit of "*NKRI harga mati* (Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia is Undisputed)". The transition to a consolidated democracy in Indonesia is also hampered by the lack of a democratic culture among students and political elites, as well as the tendency of the army to view itself as the protector of the country (Bhakti, 2004).

History records the end of the Suharto government as the end of authoritarian rule in Indonesia (Bhakti, 2004). However, the political behavior of the Indonesian government can still not be separated from the large role of the military behind the government (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014; Bhakti, 2004). The dominance of the military in the seat of government inevitably takes a big toll on the obstacles to democracy in Indonesia. Apart from Jokowi's victory in 2014 as a representation of the victory of the people's vote and democracy, the future of democracy is still uncertain. This is related to Prabowo as the military representative and his supporters now control parliamentary seats in large enough numbers to continue to push back democratic reforms (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014). Prabowo is adamant about undoing changes made after 1998 while still running for president. After Prabowo's campaign to abolish direct local elections, coalition members signaled that they intended to repeal additional democratically enforced laws and regulations, including the direct presidential election system (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014). These steps can, of course, be an obstacle and even a setback for Indonesian democracy.

In recent years, Indonesia has witnessed a significant expansion of the responsibilities of the military, police, and intelligence services in civilian life, even in times of pandemic (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014). Jokowi has given the military, and in particular the army, a much larger role in society over the past few years. These include positions reminiscent of the New Order's dual function (dwifunction) theory, such as positions in community infrastructure and welfare efforts and public ideological campaigns to advance Pancasila. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Jokowi uses the military to a whole new level. The government through Presidential Instruction 6/2020 greatly expanded the role of the Indonesian National Army (TNI), including by giving them the authority to patrol villages throughout the archipelago in the context of assisting the TNI in the community to ensure the right behavior of the community in dealing with the pandemic and distributing vaccines (Setijadi, 2021). This raises concerns about the emergence of elements of the old status quo trying to regain power through military force (Bhakti, 2004).

Democratic culture

The third them is democratic culture. Democratic culture can be seen from the Indonesian democratic development stage and culture in democratic feast conducted routinely. Constitutional democracy building on Pancasila implemented in Indonesia has been the most ideal one (M. Rahman,

2021; Wisnaeni & Herawati, 2020). Generally, Pancasila is considered as having embraced all populist values, corresponding to the principle of democracy in which people are "the holder of supreme power". However, some studies indicated that Indonesian democratic culture has not removed completely yet the aspect of discrimination from the society (Chen, 2022). Indonesian people as plural society still have strong self-identification to their territorial identity, even in the voting. Indonesian democracy is still partial to ethnicity and rigid conservative Islam aspects (Chen, 2022; Fossati, 2019). The contradictory minority groups find more difficulty in attending or winning the vote in democratic feast, but in certain situation like identity politics (Chen, 2022).

"Partiality" in Indonesian democratic politics is demonstrated not only by the people broadly but also by the holder of power at regional level (Gonschorek, 2021; Herlambang et al., 2019; Slater, 2018). Regional government tends to make decision benefiting its political position (Slater, 2018) or to allocate much more resource to its "favorite" region, such as its birth region rather than considers the even distribution of development. Gonschorek points out that the government initially provided an impartial increase in funding. This is in contrast to the government in the second period or local governments which do not have sufficient opportunities to re-nominate themselves and usually l governments which do not have sufficient opportunities to re-nominate themselves and usually specialize in regional funds in their area of birth or other "favorite" areas. This can come from the encouragement of political parties (Bhakti, 2004), pleasing voters, the desire to fulfill previous commitments, or the desire to advance one's political future at the national level (Gonschorek, 2021).

The situation of the development gap in Indonesia can be clearly seen from the very different city facilities. The territory of Indonesia, which is closer to the capital city, has a very advanced transformation in the development of facilities and infrastructure (Fossati, 2018). Meanwhile, development in areas that are further east does not get enough attention and even has very limited accessibility. The value eventually leads to the gap later generating discrimination against minority or poor people group. Consequently, Indonesian democracy cannot achieve the ideal one because some of the people's rights are neglected.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Indonesian democracy tends to the weak one. This democracy has not achieved yet the ideal one because of three factors: diverse and competitive ideology, political behavior, and democratic culture. Society heterogeneity still becomes an issue inhibiting the full democracy in Indonesia post reformation. The presence of label and self-identification related to territorial identity and certain religious attribute still clearly inhibit the nation unity.

In a democratic society, elected officials must be open in their acts and choices and answer to the voters who gave them the power to represent them. This can make the playing field more equitable for all residents and help avoid corruption and the misuse of authority.

Finally, democracy can contribute to the preservation of peoples' rights and liberties. An independent court upholds the rule of law in a democratic government, and citizens' rights are safeguarded. By treating everyone equally and with respect, this can contribute to the development of a more stable and just society. Overall, democracy may offer a foundation for efficient and responsive government in Indonesia, as well as contribute to the development of a society that is more equitable, inclusive, and reflective of all of its members.

The author recommends all elements of the nation, including government and all the people, to establish intergroup communication in the attempt of breaking the border of territorial or religious identity. It, of course, needs preparedness among the people, the government, and the political elites,

to be opened to democracy, full democracy; thus it is not strange to identify ourselves as Indonesians rather than to hold on certain attribute identity.

This research has some limitations, among others: literature reviewed still limited to the topic of democracy, particularly in Indonesia, and the period of research is limited to post-reform era. Further research is recommended to use the method that can explore the data depth.

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