

Coalition Expansion and Digital Democracy in Indonesia: Comparative Perspectives from Southeast Asia

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Abstract

Indonesia's presidential system operates within a fragmented multiparty political structure that continuously shapes coalition formation and democratic governance. In practice, presidents frequently consolidate political support by incorporating political parties and former electoral rivals into governing coalitions, thereby creating oversized coalitions that affect the effectiveness of parliamentary opposition and democratic checks and balances. This study examines the relationship between coalition formation, opposition dynamics, and digital democracy within Indonesia's multiparty presidential system while providing comparative perspectives from the Philippines and Thailand. This research employs a normative legal method using statutory, historical, and conceptual approaches, supported by qualitative analysis of political and constitutional practices. The findings reveal that coalition expansion has become a dominant political strategy for maintaining governmental stability and securing legislative support, particularly during the administrations of Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. However, the incorporation of opposition parties into executive coalitions has weakened the institutional role of parliamentary opposition and strengthened executive dominance. The study further demonstrates that digital democracy has transformed political participation by enabling citizens to engage more actively in political discourse, monitor government policies, and criticize coalition practices through digital platforms. Comparative analysis indicates that similar patterns of coalition pragmatism and weakened opposition are also evident in the Philippines and Thailand, although these developments are shaped by distinct political and institutional contexts.



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INTRODUCTION

The rapid development of digital technology has transformed democratic practices and political participation in many countries, including Indonesia.¹ The expansion of internet

¹ Fikri Gali Fernando Holqi and Awan Setia Dharmawan, "Jokowi's Powers and Shadow Party for Political Dynasty: A Socio-Political Studies in Indonesian Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections," *FOYER: The Journal of*

access, social media platforms, and digital communication has created new spaces for citizens to engage in political discourse, monitor government performance, and influence public policy. In the context of democracy, digital transformation has strengthened public access to political information and broadened opportunities for participation beyond conventional electoral mechanisms. Digital democracy therefore not only facilitates communication between the government and citizens, but also reshapes the interaction between political parties, state institutions, and society in contemporary governance.²

In Indonesia, the development of digital democracy has occurred alongside the implementation of a presidential system combined with a multiparty party system under the 1945 Constitution.³ The presidential system was constitutionally reinforced through the amendments to the Constitution after the reform era, with the intention of creating a stable and effective executive government. However, the coexistence of presidentialism and a fragmented multiparty system has generated persistent political challenges. The large number of political parties represented in parliament often prevents the president from obtaining majority legislative support independently, thereby encouraging the formation of broad governing coalitions. In practice, coalition-building has become a dominant political strategy used to maintain governmental stability and secure legislative support.

Scholars such as Juan J. Linz and Scott Mainwaring argue that the combination of presidentialism and a fragmented multiparty system tends to create instability, executive-legislative deadlock, and weak democratic consolidation. In the Indonesian context, coalition politics has increasingly produced oversized coalitions that include former political opponents and major opposition parties within the executive government. While such coalitions may strengthen short-term political stability, they also weaken the function of opposition parties as mechanisms of checks and balances in a democratic system. Consequently, executive dominance may increase, while parliamentary oversight becomes less effective.⁴

Several previous studies have examined presidentialism, coalition politics, and multiparty systems in Indonesia.⁵ However, most studies have focused on how the Indonesian presidential system maintains government stability in a multiparty context through the formation of political coalitions and the strengthening of presidential power. Therefore, existing research has not sufficiently examined how digital democracy influences coalition dynamics, executive-legislative relations, and public responses to coalition formation in contemporary Indonesian

Humanities, Social Sciences, and Education 8, no. 2 (2025): 187–226; Hariyanto et al., “The Communal Democracy of Yogyakarta Special Region’s Government on the Islamic Law Eclecticism Perspective,” *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 18, no. 1 (June 2023): 200–221, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v18i1.7403>.

² Marcus Mietzner, *Reinventing Asian Populism: Jokowi’s Rise, Democracy, and Political Contestation in Indonesia*, ed. Policy Studies (Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 2015).

³ Nyunsu Kim, *Perspective Scaling and Trait Detection on Social Media Data* (Arizona State University, 2018).

⁴ Dennis Grube, “The Gilded Cage: Rhetorical Path Dependency in Australian Politics,” *Studies in Australian Political Rhetoric*, 2014, 99–118, <https://doi.org/10.22459/sapr.09.2014.05>.

⁵ Aditya Perdana, Muhammad Imam, and Syafril Effendi, “The Coalitional Presidentialism and Presidential Toolbox in the Philippines and Indonesia,” *JAS (Journal of ASEAN Studies)* 12, no. 2 (May 6, 2024): 461–81, <https://doi.org/10.21512/JAS.V12I2.11449>; Mahesa Rannie, Retno Saraswati, and Fifiana Wisnaeni, “Does the Reform of the Parliamentary and Presidential Threshold Strengthen the Presidential System in Indonesia?,” *Sriwijaya Law Review* 8, no. 1 (January 31, 2024): 133–51, <https://doi.org/10.28946/SLREV.VOL8.ISS1.3157.PP133-151>; Dirk Tomsa, “Regime Resilience and Presidential Politics in Indonesia,” *Contemporary Politics* 24, no. 3 (May 27, 2018): 266–85, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2017.141350>.

politics. In addition, studies discussing coalition politics in Indonesia generally emphasize elite bargaining and pragmatic power-sharing, while the role of digital public participation in shaping political legitimacy and democratic accountability remains underexplored.⁶

This study therefore seeks to fill the gap in previous research by analyzing the relationship between digital democracy and coalition formation within Indonesia's multiparty presidential system. The novelty of this article lies in its attempt to connect the study of presidentialism and coalition politics with the development of digital democracy in contemporary Indonesia. Unlike previous studies that focus primarily on institutional incompatibility between presidentialism and multipartism, this article examines how digital platforms and public digital participation influence political coalitions, democratic oversight, and the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches.

This article aims to analyze the implications of Indonesia's multiparty presidential system on coalition formation and to examine the impact of digital democracy on opposition dynamics and democratic checks and balances.⁷ The main question addressed in this study is how digital democracy affects coalition practices and democratic accountability within Indonesia's multiparty presidential system.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative socio-legal research method with a normative and conceptual approach supported by critical analysis. Socio-legal research is used to examine legal norms alongside political and social realities related to the implementation of Indonesia's multiparty presidential system in the digital era.⁸ The normative approach focuses on the analysis of constitutional provisions, statutory regulations, legal doctrines, and theories concerning presidentialism, coalition politics, democracy, and opposition functions. Meanwhile, the conceptual approach is used to analyze the relationship between presidential systems, multiparty systems, coalition governance, and digital democracy within contemporary constitutional practice. Critical analysis is applied to identify the weaknesses and challenges of the multiparty presidential system, particularly regarding the phenomenon of oversized coalitions, weakened opposition functions, and the implications for democratic checks and balances.

The study uses primary and secondary legal materials consisting of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, legislation, scholarly works, journal articles, political documents, and relevant digital sources. In addition, this research incorporates case studies of coalition

⁶ Marius Guderjan and Mario Kölling, "The Political Legitimacy of Multilevel Crisis Governance: The EU's Recovery and Resilience Facility," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1111/JCMS.7006>; WGROU:STRING:PUBLICATION.the need for speedy decisions and the uncertainty of outcomes further favours executives and intergovernmental decision-making. As legislatures and subnational governments are pushed to the back, European crisis governance created issues of accountability and transparency with repercussions for the effectiveness and efficacy of its policy measures. The Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF)

⁷ Muhammad Taufiq et al., "Tengka, Identity Politics, and the Fiqh of Civilization: The Authority of Madura's Kiai in the Post-Truth Era," *Ijtihad : Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 24, no. 1 (July 2024): 139–65, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v24i1.139-165>.

⁸ John W Creswell and J David Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Sage publications, 2017).

practices during the administrations of President Joko Widodo and President Prabowo Subianto, particularly the inclusion of former political opponents and opposition parties within governing coalitions. The research also examines digital political practices, including political communication through social media, digital campaigns, and public discourse in digital spaces, to analyze how digital democracy influences coalition dynamics, executive-legislative relations, and political stability in Indonesia.⁹ Data were analyzed qualitatively through descriptive and critical interpretative methods to understand the interaction between constitutional design, political practice, and digital democratic participation.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Political Dynamics in the Digital Era

The development of digital technology has significantly transformed political dynamics in contemporary democratic systems, including in Indonesia.¹⁰ The expansion of internet access and social media platforms has changed the pattern of political communication from conventional elite-centered communication to a more participatory and interactive model. Political actors, political parties, government institutions, and citizens now interact within digital spaces that allow information to circulate rapidly and without territorial limitations.¹¹ This condition has created a new political environment in which public opinion can develop quickly and directly influence political decision-making processes.¹²

Digital technology has also altered the relationship between political elites and society.¹³ Previously, political communication was dominated by mainstream media and political institutions, but currently citizens can actively participate in political discourse through social media platforms such as X, Instagram, Facebook, TikTok, and YouTube. Through these platforms, the public can respond to government policies, criticize political elites, and mobilize support or opposition toward certain political agendas. This development shows that digital democracy has expanded the space for political participation beyond formal electoral mechanisms.

In the context of coalition politics, digital media has become an important instrument for shaping public perception regarding coalition formation and government policies. Coalition

⁹ M. Wildan Humaidi, Hariyanto Hariyanto, and Mabarroh Azizah, "Green Philanthropy: Islamic Activism on Indonesia's Environmental Democracy," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 24, no. 2 (December 2024): 167–91, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v24i2.167-191.alms>, and waqf, Islam is constructed as a philanthropic religion. The practice of philanthropy has been institutionalised as a religious social institution through the institution of amil zakat, infaq, and sedekah (LAZIS

¹⁰ Phramaha Wasan Hngokchai, "Youth Political Participation in the Digital Era: Trends, Drivers, and Democratic Implications," วารสาร วิชาการ สังคมศาสตร์ สมัยใหม่ (*Online*) 2, no. 2 (2025): 53–69, https://so19.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/J_ASS/article/view/1737.

¹¹ Hariyanto Hariyanto, Mabarroh Azizah, and Nurhidayatuloh Nurhidayatuloh, "Does the Government's Regulations in Land Ownership Empower the Protection of Human Rights?," *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System* 4, no. 2 (May 28, 2024): 391–421, <https://doi.org/10.53955/JHCLS.V4I2.222>.

¹² Thomas Banchoff, "Political Dynamics of the ERA," in *Changing Governance of Research and Technology Policy* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2003), 81–97, <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781781957790.00013>.

¹³ Hariyanto Hariyanto, Ahmad Rezy Meidina, and Mabarroh Azizah, "Decentralization and the Fulfilments of Children's Rights: Challenges and Opportunities for Local Government in Indonesia," *Lex Scientia Law Review* 8, no. 2 (November 30, 2024): 677–706, <https://doi.org/10.15294/LSLR.V8I2.14373>.

practices that were previously dominated by elite bargaining behind closed doors are now increasingly exposed to public scrutiny through digital platforms. Political decisions such as cabinet appointments, coalition expansion, and the inclusion of former opposition parties within government coalitions quickly become subjects of public debate in cyberspace. Consequently, coalition politics can no longer be fully controlled by political elites because public opinion in digital spaces increasingly influences political legitimacy.¹⁴

The practice of coalition expansion during the administrations of President Joko Widodo and President Prabowo Subianto illustrates how digital political dynamics shape public responses to government coalitions. The inclusion of former political opponents into the cabinet generated diverse reactions from the public. Some groups considered coalition expansion necessary to maintain political stability and government effectiveness, while others viewed it as evidence of pragmatic politics that weakened ideological consistency and democratic opposition. These debates were broadly expressed through social media discussions and digital political campaigns.¹⁵

The digital era has also strengthened political polarization in society. Social media algorithms tend to create echo chambers that reinforce political preferences and ideological identities among users. In Indonesia's multiparty presidential system, this condition influences public perceptions toward coalition practices and political alignments. Supporters and opponents of government coalitions frequently engage in political contestation within digital spaces, creating polarized narratives regarding democracy, government legitimacy, and opposition functions.

Digital political participation increasingly influences the strategies of political parties in maintaining public support.¹⁶ Political parties are no longer solely dependent on conventional organizational structures but also rely heavily on digital campaigns and social media engagement to shape public opinion. As a result, coalition formation is not merely a matter of parliamentary arithmetic or elite negotiation, but also involves public image management in digital spaces. Political parties must consider public reactions before joining or leaving governing coalitions because digital backlash may affect their electoral legitimacy.¹⁷

The increasing role of digital democracy has also changed the pattern of accountability in democratic governance.¹⁸ Public criticism toward government coalitions, cabinet reshuffles, and

¹⁴ Agus Faisal Asyha et al., "Analysis of Power Organization and Political Theory: The Dynamics of Complexity in the Era of Digital Transformation," *Journal of Multidisciplinary Academic Business Studies* 1, no. 4 (August 2025): 271–84, <https://doi.org/10.35912/jomabs.v1i4.3399>. power, and politics in the context of digital transformation, focusing on identifying new patterns in organizational power dynamics and their implications for management effectiveness Research Methodology: This study adopts a qualitative meta-analysis of 150 academic articles from reputable journals (2000-2024

¹⁵ M Nazaruddin and Ade Ikhsan Kamil, "New Dynamics and Challenges in the Digital Era," in *Proceedings of the 1st Joint International Conference on Social and Political Sciences: Challenges and Opportunities in the Future (JICSPS 2023)* (Springer Nature, 2025), 212.

¹⁶ Zainul Djumadin, "DYNAMICS OF DEMOCRACY: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE DIGITAL ERA," *Jurnal Ekonomi* 12, no. 04 (2023): 1669–74.

¹⁷ Dana-Marie Ramjit, "Citizen Empowerment in the Digital Era: Redefining Administrative Legitimacy and Power Dynamics," *Public Administration and Development* 45, no. 3 (August 2025): 313–16, <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.70002>.

¹⁸ Muhammad Mutawalli Mukhlis et al., "Regional Autonomy System: Delegation of Authority and Power of Regional Government in Indonesia in the Study of Fiqh Siyasah," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 9, no. 2 (September 30, 2024): 505–26, <https://doi.org/10.29240/JHI.V9I2.9709>.

political accommodation practices can now emerge rapidly through social media activism. Digital platforms enable citizens to monitor government policies and expose political transactions that are considered inconsistent with democratic principles. This condition creates indirect pressure on political elites to maintain public trust and political legitimacy.¹⁹

However, digital political dynamics also create several challenges for democratic governance. The rapid spread of misinformation, disinformation, and political propaganda in digital spaces can distort public understanding of coalition politics and government policies. Political actors may exploit digital platforms to construct populist narratives, manipulate public opinion, or weaken political opponents. Therefore, while digital democracy expands participation, it also creates vulnerabilities that may threaten democratic quality and political stability.

Implications for Digital Democracy Governance

The development of digital democracy in Indonesia has important implications for democratic governance, particularly in relation to coalition politics and the balance of power within the presidential system.²⁰ Digital democracy creates broader opportunities for public participation in monitoring government policies and influencing political discourse. Through digital platforms, citizens can directly criticize coalition practices, government policies, and the concentration of political power within executive institutions. This condition strengthens democratic oversight outside formal parliamentary mechanisms.²¹

One important implication of digital democracy is the increasing transparency of political processes. Coalition negotiations, cabinet formations, and political compromises that were previously conducted within elite circles are now more visible to the public due to digital media exposure. Public access to political information allows citizens to evaluate the consistency of political parties and government actors in implementing democratic principles. This transparency potentially strengthens democratic accountability because political elites are aware that their decisions are constantly monitored by the public.

Digital democracy also contributes to the strengthening of deliberative democracy.²² Citizens are no longer passive recipients of political decisions but become active participants in public discourse. Through digital platforms, the public can provide criticism, alternative policy proposals, and responses to coalition practices considered detrimental to democratic values. In this context, digital democracy creates a more participatory political environment where public opinion increasingly influences government legitimacy.

Nevertheless, the strengthening of government coalitions in Indonesia's multiparty presidential system continues to create concerns regarding democratic checks and balances.

¹⁹ Leti Karmila and Ani Yuningsih, "THE DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL IDENTITY IN THE DIGITAL ERA: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA, POLARIZATION, AND CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY," *TOPLAMA* 2, no. 2 (January 2025): 28–36, <https://doi.org/10.61397/tla.v2i2.306>.

²⁰ Amina Chege, John Mwakyusa, and Esther Wanjiru, "Digital Governance and Public Participation in Emerging Democracies: A Systematic Review," *Emerging Perspective in Social and Politics* 1, no. 1 (2026): 1–16.

²¹ Muhammad Ali, "E-Governance and E-Democracy: A Digital Revolution," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4623414>.

²² Sebastian Berg and Jeanette Hofmann, "Digital Democracy," *Internet Policy Review* 10, no. 4 (December 2021), <https://doi.org/10.14763/2021.4.1612>.

Oversized coalitions that dominate parliament tend to weaken the opposition's institutional role. When almost all political parties join the governing coalition, parliamentary oversight becomes less effective because political parties prioritize coalition solidarity over critical supervision of government policies.²³ Consequently, the democratic mechanism of control may shift from parliament to civil society and digital public spaces.

In this situation, digital democracy functions as an alternative mechanism of checks and balances. Public criticism expressed through digital platforms can compensate for the weakening of formal opposition institutions in parliament. Social media activism, digital campaigns, and online public discussions become important instruments for maintaining government accountability. Citizens can collectively mobilize public opinion to pressure the government regarding controversial policies or political decisions.²⁴

The role of digital society is increasingly important in preventing excessive concentration of power within executive institutions. In the absence of strong parliamentary opposition, digital public participation may serve as a balancing force against executive dominance. Public pressure in digital spaces can influence political parties to maintain their ideological commitments and avoid excessive political pragmatism in coalition formation. Therefore, digital democracy potentially strengthens democratic resilience within Indonesia's presidential system.

However, digital democracy governance also faces substantial challenges. The openness of digital platforms allows the spread of hoaxes, hate speech, identity politics, and political manipulation that may intensify polarization within society.²⁵ Political elites and interest groups may exploit digital media to shape narratives favorable to their political interests. In such circumstances, digital democracy may not necessarily strengthen democratic quality if it is not accompanied by digital literacy and ethical political communication.²⁶

Therefore, democratic governance in the digital era requires stronger institutional mechanisms to maintain the balance between political stability and democratic accountability. The government, political parties, civil society, and digital communities must collectively strengthen democratic ethics within digital spaces.²⁷ Public participation through digital democracy should not merely function as political mobilization but also as a mechanism for maintaining transparency, accountability, and constitutional democracy. In this regard, digital democracy has the potential to become an important instrument for preventing authoritarian

²³ Sveinung Legard and Sissel Hovik, "The Impact of Digital Participation on Democratic Urban Governance," in *Citizen Participation in the Information Society* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 167–90, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-99940-7_8.

²⁴ Michael L. Miller and Cristian Vaccari, "Digital Threats to Democracy: Comparative Lessons and Possible Remedies," *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 25, no. 3 (July 2020): 333–56, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161220922323>.

²⁵ Carolin Stötzl, "Political Implications of the Digital Transformation – The Role of the Democratic State in Multi-Stakeholder Internet Governance," in *Demokratietheorie Im Zeitalter Der Frühdigitalisierung* (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2020), 277–304, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-30997-8_14.

²⁶ Ben O'Loughlin, "The Political Implications Of Digital Innovations: Trade-Offs of Democracy and Liberty in the Developed World," *Information, Communication & Society* 4, no. 4 (January 2001): 595–614, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691180110097021>.

²⁷ Marco Deseriis, "Rethinking the Digital Democratic Affordance and Its Impact on Political Representation: Toward a New Framework," *New Media & Society* 23, no. 8 (August 2021): 2452–73, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820929678>.

tendencies and preserving democratic checks and balances within Indonesia's multiparty presidential system.²⁸

Comparative Perspectives: Coalition Politics and Digital Democracy in the Philippines and Thailand

The dynamics of coalition formation and democratic governance in multiparty presidential and semi-presidential systems are not unique to Indonesia.²⁹ Several countries in Southeast Asia, particularly Philippines and Thailand, also demonstrate similar political patterns involving fragmented party systems, coalition politics, executive dominance, and the growing influence of digital democracy. Comparative analysis of these countries is important to understand how coalition practices and digital political participation affect democratic stability and opposition dynamics in contemporary governance.³⁰

The Philippines adopts a presidential system of government combined with a multiparty political system. Similar to Indonesia, the fragmented party system in the Philippines often compels presidents to build broad political coalitions in parliament to maintain legislative support and government stability. Political parties in the Philippines are generally characterized by weak ideological foundations and high levels of political pragmatism. As a result, coalition formation is frequently based on political accommodation and power-sharing rather than long-term ideological commitments.³¹

In the Philippine political system, coalition-building commonly occurs after presidential elections. Political parties that initially oppose the elected president often shift their political alignment and join the governing coalition. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as "political turncoatism," where politicians and parties change political affiliations to gain access to government resources and political influence. Consequently, opposition parties tend to weaken because many political actors prefer joining the ruling coalition rather than remaining outside government power structures.³²

The administration of Rodrigo Duterte illustrates how coalition expansion strengthened executive dominance within the Philippine political system. During Duterte's presidency, several political parties and legislators joined the government coalition to secure political access and strategic positions. The dominance of the governing coalition reduced the effectiveness of

²⁸ Carlos E. Gallegos Anda, "Good Living as a Living Law," *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 47, no. 1 (2018): 30–40, <https://doi.org/10.1017/jie.2017.30>.

²⁹ Wolfgang Sachsenröder, "Party Politics and Democratic Development in East and Southeast Asia—a Comparative View," in *Political Party Systems and Democratic Development in East and Southeast Asia* (Routledge, 2018), 1–35.

³⁰ Pornnatcha Wongsas and Grichawat Lowatcharin, "Citizen Participation in the Digital Era: A Comparative Perspective between Thailand and South Korea," *Policy & Governance Review* 10, no. 1 (January 2026): 68, <https://doi.org/10.30589/pgr.v10i1.1357>.

³¹ K. Ruijgrok et al., "Towards the Comparative Study of Domestic Influence Operations: Cyber Troops and Elite Competition in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand," *Political Communication* 43, no. 1 (January 2026): 128–48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2025.2566098>.

³² Netina Tan, "Electoral Management of Digital Campaigns and Disinformation in East and Southeast Asia," *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 19, no. 2 (June 2020): 214–39, <https://doi.org/10.1089/ELJ.2019.0599>.

parliamentary opposition and increased concerns regarding democratic accountability, human rights protection, and executive overreach.³³

Digital democracy also played an important role in the Philippine political landscape. Social media platforms became central instruments for political mobilization, digital campaigns, and public opinion formation.³⁴ The Philippines is often described as one of the countries with the highest levels of social media usage in the world. Political actors actively utilize digital platforms to shape political narratives, mobilize supporters, and strengthen political legitimacy. However, digital politics in the Philippines has also been associated with the spread of disinformation, political propaganda, and online polarization.

The presidential election victory of Ferdinand Marcos Jr. further demonstrated the significant role of digital media in coalition politics and democratic governance. Digital campaigns through social media platforms were extensively used to reconstruct political narratives and shape public perceptions regarding political leadership. In this context, digital democracy simultaneously expanded political participation while also creating challenges related to misinformation and democratic accountability.

Meanwhile, Thailand presents a different but equally important example regarding coalition politics and democratic instability. Unlike Indonesia and the Philippines, Thailand has experienced recurring tensions between democratic institutions, military influence, and coalition governments. Thailand's political system is characterized by fragile coalition arrangements and repeated political crises that have often resulted in military intervention. This condition demonstrates the vulnerability of fragmented coalition systems in maintaining democratic stability.³⁵

Coalition politics in Thailand frequently involve complex negotiations among political parties, military elites, business groups, and monarchy-related networks. Political coalitions are often formed pragmatically to maintain governmental survival rather than ideological coherence. As a result, coalition governments in Thailand tend to be unstable and vulnerable to internal fragmentation. This political instability has repeatedly weakened democratic consolidation and public trust in political institutions.³⁶

The emergence of digital democracy in Thailand significantly transformed patterns of political participation, especially among younger generations. Social media platforms became major spaces for political activism, democratic campaigns, and criticism of government policies. Digital movements in Thailand increasingly challenged traditional political structures

³³ Andreas Ufen, "Political Party and Party System Institutionalisation in Southeast Asia: A Comparison of Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand," 2007.

³⁴ Aphinop Hadpakdee, "Decentralization and Democratic Governance: A Comparative Study of Local Government Reforms in Southeast Asia," วารสาร วิชาการ สังคมศาสตร์ สมัยใหม่ (*Online*) 2, no. 2 (2025): 38–52.

³⁵ Arun Swamy, "Sources of 'Sandwich Coalitions': Distributive Strategies and Democratic Politics in India, Thailand, and the Philippines," *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review* 13, no. 1 (June 2013), <https://doi.org/10.59588/2350-8329.1016>; Muhammad Solikhudin et al., "National Fiqh and Maqasid-Based Ijtihad: Reassessing Ahmad Hasyim Muzadi through Jamal Al-Din 'Atiyyah," *Marwaddah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 3, no. 2 SE-Articles (n.d.): 383–405, <https://doi.org/10.52496/mjhki.v3i2.38>.

³⁶ Reza Darma Al Fariz et al., "Good Environmental Governance Roles in Sustainable Solid Waste Management in Indonesia: A Review," *Journal of Community Based Environmental Engineering and Management* 8, no. 8 (March 2024): 45–56, <https://doi.org/10.23969/jcbeem.v8i1.12035>.

and demanded greater democratic accountability, constitutional reform, and limitations on authoritarian political practices.³⁷

One of the most significant examples of digital political mobilization in Thailand can be seen in the youth-led pro-democracy movements that expanded through online platforms. Social media enabled activists to organize demonstrations, disseminate political information, and mobilize national and international support. In this context, digital democracy became an important instrument for strengthening civil society participation in democratic governance.

However, the Thai experience also demonstrates that digital democracy may intensify political polarization and state responses toward dissent.³⁸ Government authorities have implemented digital surveillance, restrictions on online expression, and legal measures against political activists. This illustrates that digital democracy can simultaneously function as a tool for democratic participation and as a contested arena between state power and civil society resistance.³⁹

The comparative experiences of Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand show that coalition politics within fragmented political systems often produce oversized governing coalitions and weakened opposition institutions. At the same time, digital democracy increasingly plays an important role in influencing political legitimacy, public participation, and democratic oversight. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of digital democracy in strengthening democratic accountability depends heavily on political institutions, digital literacy, freedom of expression, and the ability of democratic systems to maintain checks and balances against excessive concentrations of executive power.⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study confirm that the interaction between presidentialism and a fragmented multiparty system in Indonesia has produced complex patterns of coalition formation that significantly influence democratic governance and opposition dynamics. The tendency of presidents to construct oversized governing coalitions through political accommodation and cabinet distribution reflects a pragmatic strategy aimed at maintaining political stability and securing legislative support. This pattern was particularly evident during the administrations of

³⁷ Agus Riwanto et al., "Addressing Campus Sexual Violence: A Collaborative Governance Approach to Legal Policy," *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi* 6, no. 2 (December 30, 2023): 225–44, <https://doi.org/10.24090/VOLKSGEIST.V6I2.9523>.

³⁸ Athiqah Nur Alami et al., "Democratization in the Digital Era: Experience from Southeast Asia," *JAS (Journal of ASEAN Studies)* 10, no. 2 (May 2023), <https://doi.org/10.21512/jas.v10i2.9361>; Hariyanto et al., "Democratization of Village Autonomy in the Construction of Indonesian Administrative Law: Is It Possible?," *Jurnal Media Hukum* 32, no. 2 (July 11, 2025): 190–209, <https://doi.org/10.18196/jmh.v32i2.25216>.

³⁹ M. Ruhly Kesuma Dinata et al., "Good Governance and Local Wisdom in Law Enforcement," *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi* 5, no. 2 (December 19, 2022): 227–42, <https://doi.org/10.24090/VOLKSGEIST.V5I2.6740>. even though restorative justice is an approach that aims to build a criminal justice system that is sensitive to the problems of victims. Restorative justice which means a glorification of relationships and making amends that the perpetrator of the crime (his family

⁴⁰ Francis Kok Wah Loh, "Procedural Democracy, Participatory Democracy and Regional Networking: The Multi-terrain Struggle for Democracy in Southeast Asia," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 9, no. 1 (March 2008): 127–41, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649370701789740>.

Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto, where former political opponents and opposition parties were incorporated into the governing coalition. Although such coalition expansion contributes to governmental effectiveness and minimizes executive–legislative deadlock, it simultaneously weakens the institutional function of parliamentary opposition as a fundamental mechanism of democratic checks and balances. Consequently, the concentration of political power within executive-centered coalitions increases the risk of weakened legislative oversight and excessive executive dominance within Indonesia’s constitutional system. This study further demonstrates that the rise of digital democracy has transformed contemporary political participation and democratic accountability in Indonesia. Digital platforms and social media have expanded public engagement in political discourse by enabling citizens to monitor government actions, criticize coalition practices, and shape public opinion regarding democratic governance. In conditions where formal parliamentary opposition becomes increasingly limited, digital democracy functions as an alternative mechanism of democratic control through online activism, digital criticism, and public participation in cyberspace. Comparative perspectives from the Philippines and Thailand reveal similar tendencies toward coalition pragmatism, weakened opposition institutions, and the growing influence of digital political participation, although these developments emerge within different institutional and political contexts. Therefore, strengthening democratic governance in the digital era requires not only a balanced relationship between executive and legislative institutions, but also the enhancement of democratic ethics, digital literacy, and inclusive public participation to preserve constitutional democracy, transparency, and accountability within multiparty presidential systems.

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