

Phenomenological Views of Pancasila Perspectives about Democracy

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Abstract:

As Indonesia navigates its complex path towards economic and political modernization, the transition to democracy has seen it evolve into an industrial society. However, this change has inadequately empowered vital economic sectors for public welfare. Additionally, the nation's unstable democratic politics stray from Pancasila, Indonesia's guiding philosophical principles advocating for deliberative dialogue. Over the past 15 years, developmental politics and political liberalization have clashed, undermining both the collective economy and cultural wisdom, and eroding Indonesia's unique cultural identity. This has stirred doubts about the fit of democracy within Indonesia's nation-state construct. The ensuing research aims to reevaluate indigenous wisdom and political ideologies ingrained in Indonesia's diverse ethnic landscape, focusing on untapped social capital to bolster the democratic framework. The study comprises two key research areas: one looks at ethnic communities like Wajo and Minang, and the second studies social dynamics in various Java city parks. Grounded in Consultative Democracy and examined through a phenomenological lens, the research sits within the broader arena of political anthropology. It uses a qualitative-interpretive methodology to delve into culture, economics, and politics, aspiring to enrich our understanding of their intricate interconnections in modern Indonesia and contribute to a nuanced dialogue on Indonesia's democratic viability

Keywords:

Phenomenology, Pancasila, Indonesia, Democracy, Values

I. Introduction

The renowned Indonesian anthropologist Parsudi Suparlan brilliantly executed a scientific study in 1975, which focused on voluntary associations based on ethnicity that eventually became significant players in the national politics of Surname. This phenomenon is quite rare, as ethnic identities, whether latent or manifest, often lead to conflicts rather than cooperative politics. Take the case of Java, where cultural divisions can be classified into three sub-cultures: the Javanese who strongly adhere to Islamic principles (known as 'Santri'), those whose Islamic beliefs are less stringent ('Abangan'), and those sorted by high social standing ('Priyayi').

In specific situations, like the post-Soeharto conflict in Ngandong Village, Klaten, these traditional categories insufficiently explain the complexities at play. This conflict transcends the classical Clifford Geertz trichotomy approach of examining the cultural clashes among the Santri, Abangan, and Priyayi segments of society.

- In contemporary Indonesian society, not only are we seeing complexities in cultural development, but there are also distractions affecting political life. This is well-illustrated by the policy of constructing a chapel in Ngandong Village, which was determined without

adequate deliberation and reflects broader challenges such as the erosion of civility, noble values, and traditional wisdom across various sub-cultures and ethnicities

- Adding another layer to the problem is the issue in the Musrenbang (Development Planning Consultation) mechanism. While a conception of participatory development that highly values public involvement is theoretically adopted at the planning level, its actual execution at the ministry level, coordinated by the Ministry of Home Affairs, shows that public involvement diminishes in the final stages of development planning.
- This complex landscape reveals a critical need for re-evaluation of Indonesia's democracy, specifically through the lens of the nation's traditional and noble values. The study aims to reconstruct these values and incorporate them into the conception and practice of democracy in line with Pancasila's mandates. To achieve this, the research will rely on a theoretical perspective of Consultative Democracy based on Phenomenological analysis, as well as a political anthropological approach to understand the political cultures among different ethnic groups and societies in Indonesia.
- According to the latest scholarly opinions, new research is considered valuable if it addresses issues that are both urgent and interesting. This study aims to rejuvenate and bring back to the fore the nation's noble values within the framework of political anthropology, contributing significantly to a richer conceptualization and practice of democracy in alignment with Pancasila's Fourth Precept. It also aims to encourage the genuine practice of deliberation at both community and formal political levels.

II. Literature Reviews

The first topic under discussion relates to the idea of traditional wisdom. According to the Oxford Dictionary, traditional wisdom refers to values and conduct that uphold high ethical standards, particularly in public affairs. A phrase commonly used in our culture to describe this is "the noble values of the nation." The term 'civic' has two primary definitions: (1) it pertains to a city or town, especially with respect to its governance or administrative aspects, and (2) it relates to the responsibilities or actions of individuals within their local community. The term 'virtue' denotes conduct that reflects elevated moral principles and qualities that are considered positive or beneficial.

A term closely linked to the notion of traditional wisdom is 'civility.' As per the Oxford Dictionary, civility has two meanings: (1) it signifies formal politeness and courtesy in both behavior and speech, and (2) it refers to polite comments used in everyday conversation. In the Indonesian context, the concept is generally synonymous with civility, understood as exhibiting refined attitudes and social manners, including respectful speech and conduct. Initially, the term 'civility' was predominantly linked to the idea of being a civilized citizen; the notion of 'politeness' as an element of civility emerged later on, around the mid-16th century (as traced back to its origins from the Old French 'civilité', which was derived from the Latin 'civilitas,' related to citizens). With this historical nuance added, the term is employed in Indonesia to signify the courteous and respectful behavior expected of a citizen. Michael Morfit (1981, p. 843) found consultative Democracy in Pancasila in his study. The latest theory of Democracy is called consultative Democracy (TDD). Habermas, Cohen, Bohman, and others developed TDD. In his research, Michael Morfit (1981, p. 843) concluded that the fourth principle of Pancasila has long rejected liberal Democracy. "The word *musyawarah* is one connoting discussion and deliberation amongst members of a society....".

The main concepts of TDD are (1) belonging to the talking-centric group; (2) public-spiritedness; (3) deliberation capacity; (4) wider public segment involvement; and (5) the local cultural context. In her article on TDD, Simone Chambers (2003) mentions that "it is now commonplace to talk about the consultative turn." It should be clarified at the beginning of the presentation about TDD that, in a simple concept, there is a difference between the concept of "participatory democracy" and "consultative democracy," as follows:

Dryzek (2005) from the Australian National University wrote an article, "Consultative Democracy in Divided Societies: Alternatives to Agonism and Analgesia." He has found that many peoples in multicultural countries (from Malaysia in Asia to Switzerland in Western Europe) have overcome the political field challenges intelligently and wisely by utilising their respective cultural resources, namely by taking a functional political path. With Lijphart's consociational Democracy in Western Europe also being discussed, Dryzek then explained the solutions offered by the theoretical approaches and concepts of consultative Democracy. First, Dryzek argues that for consultative Democracy, there is a particular context in which the politics of a nation exists—namely, that politics has been institutionalised with the specifics created by each country; Differences in views between people can be compromised through communication and discourse within the framework of interpretation through language through the process of intersubjectivity. The quality of the communication referred to is communication that (1) is capable of encouraging reflection among participants; (2) the nature of the communication is non-coercive (coercive, the language of power) and (3) able to relate specific "local/group experiences" with "normative ideas/principles or values that are more general. Second, achieve a contextual and reasonable democratic system and culture in heterogeneous nations. It is needed to replace the idea of electoral Democracy (or politics to compete through elections) with electoral engineering. What Dryzek wrote is the proposal of Horowitz and Reilly (a kind of placement of the status of life or the political process of a nation as a means of educating citizens towards a better perspective; analogous, perhaps, to a school or school of law in the world of law that places law as social engineering). Dryzek then mentions the forms used in Papua New Guinea and Northern Ireland.

Baiocchi (in Wright, 2003) describes TDD as follows: "Consultative democratic theory refers to a body of political thought that seeks to develop a substantive version of Democracy based on public justifications, more discourse-based Democracy. It calls for the deliberations of the citizen as good equals in the legitimate exercise."

The practice of consultative Democracy and an egalitarian culture—or in the concept of what Habermas has recently called a public contemplative space, replacing a bourgeois public space—seems to have arisen at the beginning of industrialism in England. T. Christy, in a book review, T. Christy analyses Consultative Democracy in coffee shops in England. This is related to the tradition of the elite class in England, fond of strange items from the East (Islamic Turkish civilisation), including coffee. The urban masses imitate drinking coffee in coffee shops; coffee shops become "markets for exchanging information and public discussion." In reviewing this book, Christy agrees with Cowan, who uses the lens of consultative democracy theory. "Cowan provides an interesting overview of the growing public political participation in urban communities. There is a tendency that Cowan continues Habermas' idea that the coffeehouse functions as a place for the actual exchange of information that partially obscures the origins or status of people when they enter the coffee shop" (Chris, 2006, p. 239). In the end, Christomy notes: "Cowan explains in Habermas style that 'fluid' and 'cool' public participation, which can involve all social strata, needs to be 'brewed, and 'shuffled' continuously. have an important role in building civil society" (Christomy, 2006, p. 240).

It can be said that TDD is directly related to the theoretical concept between community culture and democratic theory—as the embodiment of a democratic model that is different from Democracy within the framework of liberal democratic theory. In this regard, it would be appropriate to mention an ad hoc thesis from a Malaysian researcher on electoral Democracy in a multi-ethnic context in the State of Sarawak. In the eyes of Sulaiman and Othman (2009), the politics of power in elections in that state—focusing on studies that include "leadership, ethnicity, and safety"—needs to be studied with a non-Western perspective. Sulaiman and Othman's ad hoc theses would be sufficient to confirm the need to develop models of Democracy based on various ethnic cultures, by non-Western perhaps meant not to be fixated on the established normative concepts that originated in the West. It is crucial to consider the dynamics of ethnic politics more proportionately; the "ethnicity factor is an important principle that is quite dominant in the context of a general election and political development in Sarawak" (Sulaiman & Othman, 2009, p. 3).

The concept of "The Revitalization Function of Democratic Theories" (TDD) serves as a framework for enhancing and refining the principles of representative democracy. Rooted in the notion of "consultative democracy," this theoretical framework aspires to rejuvenate democratic political discourse. It emphasizes dialogues that are not overtly dominated by group interests, focusing on the substance of what is being said rather than who is saying it.

In Taiwan's political landscape, consultative democracy manifests as a government-sponsored consensus conference, representing a unique model of citizen participation. However, these studies often neglect to investigate the inner workings that shape this model. Expanding on this, Farrelly from Queens University in Canada elaborates on Zurn's theoretical understanding of consultative democracy, highlighting the importance of a state's ability to respond rationally to its citizen's concerns.

Regarding the scale of deliberative initiatives, there has been an expansion from small, localized efforts, as initially outlined by Fung, to broader, city-wide projects. For instance, Porto Alegre in Brazil has become a celebrated case study, and its model has been replicated in 170 municipalities across the nation. This format is also implemented at the community level, as seen in Minneapolis' Village Revitalization Program, and in sectoral development, like Brazil's health sector council.

Another point of focus is the role of voluntary associations, propelled by dissatisfaction with the inadequacies of existing governance structures. In Canada, activists have adopted citizen-driven legislative procedures, emphasizing "popular dialogue" to recalibrate institutional setups toward more direct citizen control. Contributions from NGOs and civil society organizations are indispensable, as outlined by scholars like Jan Bucak and Brian Smith. These bodies serve various critical functions, including civic education, advocacy for public interest, and facilitation of broader public discourse.

Phenomenological studies in social relationships further enrich our understanding of the human experience. They dig deep into the internal mental states and subjective lived experiences of individuals within a social setting, revealing that a group is more than just an assemblage of individuals; it's an entity that profoundly influences its members' inner emotional landscape.

By applying phenomenology as a sociological approach, we can delve into the core essence of society, human behavior, and the emergence of social relationships. This methodology enables us to identify foundational social facts or pre-existing conditions, thereby offering insights into

the evolution of social life. The use of phenomenology as a research tool, as argued by Siregar in 2023, provides a robust platform for understanding the intricate layers of human society and behavior.

III. Research Method

This research utilizes a qualitative methodology, meticulously adhering to well-established guidelines for simultaneous data collection and conceptual category development. The resources that inform this study mainly comprise secondary materials, including an array of scholarly articles and books that focus on the subject of traditional wisdom. Employing a phenomenological standpoint, the research process spans the initial planning stage, progresses through the analytical phase, and culminates in the formulation of nuanced conclusions. The investigative approach of the study is heavily anchored in qualitative evaluation techniques.

In structuring its findings, the study is organized around central themes and constructs that pertain to the culture of democracy and the workings of social-democratic institutions. Serving as the intellectual scaffolding for the study is the theory of consultative democracy, which forms the lens through which the data is scrutinized. This theory directs the analysis across four cardinal dimensions: firstly, the extent of societal participation, which looks at how involved various segments of society are in the democratic process; secondly, the role of deliberation, emphasizing the quality and nature of public discourse; thirdly, the notion of public spiritedness, which gauges the willingness of individuals to act for the collective good; and fourthly, the capability to evolve empirical generalizations by way of conceptual elaboration. Each of these aspects serves as a cornerstone for a comprehensive analysis, providing a multi-faceted view of the subject matter at hand.

IV. Results and Discussion

The implantation of Western-style democracy in Indonesia has been critiqued as an external imposition facilitated by capitalist allies, aimed at destabilizing the core tenets of the Pancasila Ideology. One of the key mechanisms adopted from Western democracy that stands in conflict with Pancasila is the direct election of both presidential and regional leaders. This current form of democracy appears to serve itself, evolving into a new form of idolatry that seemingly eclipses other national and state objectives.

Specifically, direct elections in Indonesia starkly conflict with the fourth principle of Pancasila, which emphasizes deliberative processes and representational democracy. Unlike Western democracy, which often fosters individualism, Pancasila values are rooted in mutual cooperation. The electoral system that emerged in the post-Reformation era has proven to be more damaging than beneficial. While designed to produce quality leaders, it has, in reality, perpetuated a form of capitalist transactionalism that undermines the healthy democratic relationship between leaders and their constituents. The resulting leaders often feel no responsibility towards the people, as they believe they have essentially 'purchased' votes. Consequently, citizens feel disenfranchised and unable to exert social control, having compromised their ideals for the sake of these electoral processes. This state of affairs is perilous for the long-term health of the nation and the state.

The implementation of direct elections has resulted in numerous social and political costs, such as fostering social conflict, disturbing familial harmony, encouraging bribery, and perpetuating corruption. Given these negative outcomes, there is an increasing urgency to

reconsider this model. A more Pancasila-aligned approach would involve the election of regional leaders by representative bodies, allowing the general populace to focus on productive activities instead of being consumed by problematic electoral processes.

To navigate these challenges, it is vital to reinvigorate the Pancasila Ideology as the foundational bedrock and inspirational guide for the nation. According to Bung Karno, the essence of Pancasila Democracy is not about divisive electoral contests but about comprehensive deliberation and consensus-driven decision-making concerning issues that profoundly affect the populace.

In examining alternative models of governance, it's worth considering the traditional wisdom of the Wajo Tribe, located in the South Sulawesi Province and home to the Bugis people. Despite comprising just 4% of the province's total area, the Wajo Tribe provides compelling insights into community-based governance. The tribe has a long history of integrating communal values into their political structures. Notably, the village of Tosora contains an ancient mosque located behind the village administrative office, signifying the historical adoption of Islam in Wajo.

The conversion of the Wajo people from animistic beliefs to Islam was accompanied by the integration of Islamic principles of justice and equality into their existing cultural systems, giving rise to a unique form of Islam known locally as Wajo's characteristic Islam. Political contracts are a traditional practice, agreed upon under a Bajo tree, that historically bound the community and its leaders to certain social expectations and responsibilities.

Such communal values extend to the tribe's approach to leadership, where importance is placed on the competency and integrity of individuals who emerge from ordinary backgrounds. This also involves the practice of collective deliberation, a tradition that upholds the equality of all citizens and provides a forum for communal problem-solving.

Therefore, these traditional and culturally rooted systems provide alternative paradigms worth exploring, as Indonesia grapples with the limitations and challenges of its current democratic model. The collective wisdom inherent in these practices may offer invaluable insights into more equitable and sustainable forms of governance. Third, there is a form of political participation in protests if the King/Leader is unfair. Fourth, with the dynamics of government experience with kings that may be unfair, there is a developmental stage in determining someone to be king. Namely with the introduction of the agreement (political contract). The king's appointment with this contract "became a hallmark of the Wajo Kingdom, which distinguished it from other Kingdoms in South Sulawesi."

The first concerns the principle of deliberation with Saiyo Saketo: by explaining that "Different opinions for individuals are experienced in community life, but a solution is sought by contemplation to reach consensus, decisions may be unanimous (acclamation), but maybe flat or narrow (through voting), regardless of the process. Decisions are made if, after consensus, all parties must implement the decision.

The second relates to a place for deliberation known as a relatively large open area, Kurisu Salapan (seat eight) or Medan nan Ayahaneh or a sizeable hot field (a stone hall, a row of stone chairs. At this stage (pre-Hinduism to influence in), the democratic procedure is direct Democracy. The following development is the implementation of representative Democracy. "The life of deliberation then developed until later, namely the Islamic and colonial times. The

increasingly complex life of society also caused many problems in society that had to be decided through deliberation. When life became more complex, the community entrusted the affairs to the penghulu, the leaders. These penghulu or customary holders then convene to discuss various matters, such as the affairs of the Nagari government, resolve and hear cases, and others.

In the study of Zuhro et al., it is noted that considering its position as the centre of birth and cultural and social development of the Minangkabau community, Nagari Minangkabau is an object of observation to explain the values and behaviour of Democracy in the area. Nagari Minangkabau is one of the oldest Nagari in Sum-Bar. ... 'The history of the Minangkabau Nagari is fascinating to note because it is part of the story of the formation of the old Nagari in Sum-Bar.' Nagari Minangkabau is located in Batusangkar City, with its agriculture, fisheries, and animal husbandry economy.

According to studies conducted by experts, Zuhro et al. observed that the government system of the Minangkabau, initially characterised by two models—the democratic model influenced by Bodi Chaniago's philosophy and the aristocratic model influenced by Koto Piliang's philosophy—evolved to become more democratic over time. The fusion of these two traditions is believed to have begun with the advent of Islam in the Minangkabau realm. Scholars, such as Mochtar Naim, suggest that Islam introduced egalitarian teachings that prioritise piety to Allah over social position and lineage, drawing inspiration from the egalitarian values witnessed during the French and American Revolutions and the leadership of Prophet Muhammad in the 6th century AD.

A significant civic virtue within the Minangkabau society is the political institution of the penghulu, which is chosen from among the members of the tribe and tasked with guiding and nurturing the community. The penghulu's successor is typically their nephew or the son of their sister. The penghulu is supported in their duties by one, or several young assistants called penghulu penongkat.

Another variant of leadership stems from the inheritance of Koto Piliang authority, which encompasses four collective leaders known as urang ampek jinih. These leaders include the penghulu, the priest responsible for religious knowledge, the manti, and the Hulubalang, who represents customary authority. Additionally, alongside the variant that reflects collective leadership, the mainstream variant is the triad leadership in the Nagari system known as the "furnace tigo sejarangan." In this system, the penghulu leads in the social realm, the ulama takes charge of religious affairs, and the intelligent (intellectual) figure oversees socio-economic life and education.

Another form of governance stems from the heritage of the koto piliang authority system, which consists of a collective leadership of four roles: (1) the penghulu, who is the social leader, (2) the priest, who holds religious authority, (3) the manti, and (4) the Hulubalang, who wields customary authority. Besides this structure that emphasizes collective leadership, the mainstream model is the triad leadership in the Nagari system, known as the furnace tigo sejarangan. In this setup, the penghulu leads the social sphere, the ulama is the guide in religious matters, and the intellectual is responsible for socio-economic life and education.

In Surabaya's Bungkul Park community, consultative democracy is not a foreign concept but an indigenous practice. The park serves as a unique and vibrant space for civil discourse. Those familiar with the limitations of representative democracy and well-versed in democratic theories, including Jurgen Habermas's notion of public space, would highly value the events

occurring in Bungkul Park. Citizens engage in constructive conversations, develop actionable ideas, and even influence local government policies. The park itself has a significant footprint, spanning over 3000 square kilometers around Jalan Taman Bungkul and Jalan Raya Darmo, and has gained prominence as a local tourist spot.

One notable community in this setting is the SENAPATI (True Patriot Ancient Bike) group, which holds discussions on various contemporary issues. During a research study conducted by Faridah and Rahman, it was found that the chairman of SENOPATI was a retired member of the local legislative assembly. An example of their influence can be seen in how they were able to secure a special bicycle lane following a traffic incident involving one of their members. After expressing their concerns to Mayor Ibu Tri Rismaharini, they received a favourable response, resulting in the creation of a designated bicycle lane.

While this bike lane project was initially planned for January 1, 2012, it was ultimately launched in May 2012. Along the way, some controversy arose regarding a sponsoring paint company that branded the lane. Despite these challenges, the project moved forward as it was deemed to serve the public interest.

Researchers Faridah and Rahman highlighted that consultative democracy, as seen in Bungkul Park, is not an imported idea but a locally adapted form of governance. People from various backgrounds, like the cycling community, actively engage in meaningful discussions and even influence government policy.

This example underscores the need to examine phenomena like Bungkul Park through a lens that appreciates indigenous forms of social sciences, rather than exclusively relying on imported theories. It demonstrates the potential for creating a uniquely democratic identity rooted in the cooperative and noble values native to Indonesia. It also suggests that citizens can effectively engage in governance without having to discard local traditions in favor of foreign models.

Rendra Wahyu Kurniawan's comprehensive research unveils the evolving role of public squares throughout different historical phases in Tulungagung Regency. During the reign of the Mataram Kingdom, the square was a pivotal public space for the community. However, its function shifted to accommodate street vendors during Indonesia's independence period. Interestingly, it has recently been revitalized as a community space, signaling a return to its original function.

During the Dutch colonial era, the square's democratic nature was significantly stifled. Physical barriers were erected around the square to symbolize the limitation and separation between the rulers and the citizens. Additionally, a prison was constructed in proximity to the square, further emphasizing the division. This prison has since been moved to a location south of the Heroes' Cemetery.

In its current iteration, the Tulungagung District Square is more than just an empty space; it has been developed to include various amenities that cater to a wide range of interests. The area is lush with shady trees and ornamental plants, enhancing its aesthetic appeal. During daytime hours, hundreds of pigeons serve as a unique form of entertainment for visitors who feed them corn. As the sun sets, the square morphs into a bustling hub of activity with playgrounds and outdoor recreational facilities. Various community groups like the Breaking

Rooster Crew, Skateboard Community, BMX Bike Lovers, as well as reptile and weasel enthusiasts, frequently gather here.

Kurniawan observes that the square has become a hotbed for civic engagement and public discourse. He notes the emergence of numerous creative and dynamic youth groups, such as the Young Union Union (PSM), Tulungagung Grafitty Community, and the Creative Young Community (KMK), among others. While these groups may not explicitly engage in political activities, their regular meetings often lead to discussions about local political issues, thereby fostering a sense of political participation among younger community members.

Besides the square, other public spaces like the Pendopo—the regent's official residence—and a growing number of local coffee shops serve as democratic forums. In the Pendopo, representation from each village is ensured, so that collective aspirations can be comprehensively captured and addressed. This practice of public deliberation also extends to the burgeoning café culture, making these coffee shops additional arenas for community discussions.

Furthermore, the research highlights the advanced practice of political contracts among certain studied ethnic groups as a form of social capital. This provides hope for improved political contracts in the future that will be honored and followed by all parties involved. Family and community-level discussions are also recognized as vital social capital. These forums can produce political interactions potent enough to influence local governmental policies, much like what was observed in Taman Bungkul in Surabaya.

Based on these observations, Kurniawan argues that Indonesia should reconsider its current system of governance. The present adoption of Western-style democracy in the general elections does not align with the nation's foundational philosophy of Pancasila. This discordance is reason enough to question and potentially revise the existing election law in Indonesia, steering it more towards a system rooted in the principles of Pancasila for a more harmonious, participative, and effective democracy.

V. Conclusion

The study underscores the substantial presence of noble democratic values within the ethnic groups examined, as well as the practice of these values within their communities. Furthermore, the traditional social institutions that were the subject of this research have been identified as inherently democratic. These are not recent developments but are long-standing political systems that have evolved over time. When looked at through the lens of Consultative Democracy Theory, these traditional systems reveal a significant potential to fortify democratic practices in Indonesia in a way that aligns with native cultural wisdom.

This research strongly suggests that the incorporation of modern democratic values—often derived from Western ideologies—into the Indonesian societal fabric should be carefully calibrated to respect and preserve the nation's existing democratic traditions. In other words, any regulatory measures or institutional adaptations aimed at modernizing Indonesia's democracy should also prioritize the compatibility with and sustainability of the democratic values that have been embedded in local cultures for generations. A key recommendation is for the Central Government to avoid implementing one-size-fits-all policies, especially when it comes to democratic procedures, in order to honor the diverse democratic traditions that exist among the country's various ethnic communities.

With these insights in mind, it becomes clear that Indonesia needs to contemplate revising its current national and state systems to make them more harmonious with its foundational philosophy, Pancasila. The application of a Western-style democratic framework, most notably in the context of general elections, presents a noticeable discord with the guiding values and principles embedded in Pancasila. This discrepancy serves as a strong rationale for re-examining and possibly amending the existing election law in Indonesia, with the aim of creating a more culturally congruent and effective democratic system.

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