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Holistic Analysis of Indonesia's Position in 2025

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ABSTRAK

Indonesia berada pada titik krusial dalam sejarah modernnya, menghadapi tahun 2025 dengan tantangan dan peluang besar di tengah dinamika politik, ekonomi, dan sosial yang kompleks. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memahami arah politik Indonesia di tengah dinamika domestik dan global, serta implikasinya bagi masyarakat dan dunia.Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode tinjauan pustaka, menganalisis data dari berbagai sumber pustaka seperti buku, jurnal ilmiah, dan laporan penelitian. Analisis data dilakukan dengan metode analisis isi yang meliputi reduksi data, penyajian data, interpretasi, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Pemilihan Presiden 2024 menghasilkan pasangan presiden dan wakil presiden terpilih untuk masa jabatan 2024-2029, dengan partisipasi publik yang tinggi dan pergeseran segmentasi pemilih. Prospek politik Indonesia 2025 diprediksi akan diwarnai oleh dinamika yang kompleks, dengan tantangan seperti polarisasi politik dan kebutuhan peningkatan investasi asing langsung (FDI), serta peluang dalam hal keberlanjutan lingkungan dan peran strategis Indonesia di kawasan Indo-Pasifik. Indonesia memiliki peluang untuk mencapai target pertumbuhan ekonomi, mengurangi tingkat pengangguran, dan meningkatkan kontribusi energi terbarukan. Keberhasilan pencapaian target-target ini bergantung pada penerapan tata kelola yang baik, penguatan sinergi antara pemerintah pusat dan daerah, serta kolaborasi yang harmonis dengan sektor swasta dan masyarakat sipil.

ABSTRACT

Indonesia is at a crucial point in its modern history, facing 2025 with great challenges and opportunities amid complex political, economic and social dynamics. This research aims to understand Indonesia's political direction amid domestic and global dynamics, as well as its implications for society and the world. This research uses a qualitative approach with a literature review method, analyzing data from various literature sources such as books, scientific journals, and research reports. Data analysis was carried out using the content analysis method which includes data reduction, data presentation, interpretation, and conclusion drawing. The results show that the 2024 Presidential Election resulted in an elected president and vice president pair for the 2024-2029 term, with high public participation and shifts in voter segmentation. Indonesia's 2025 political outlook is predicted to be characterized by complex dynamics, with challenges such as political polarization and the need to increase foreign direct investment (FDI), as well as opportunities in terms of environmental sustainability and Indonesia's strategic role in the Indo-Pacific region. Indonesia has the opportunity to achieve its economic growth targets, reduce its unemployment rate and increase its renewable energy contribution. Successful achievement of these targets depends on the implementation of good governance, strengthening synergies between central and local governments, and harmonious collaboration with the private sector and civil society.

Introduction

Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world and the largest economy in Southeast Asia. As a country with a strategic role in geopolitics and geoeconomics, Indonesia is at a crucial point in its modern history. According to W.W. Rostow's theory of socio-economic transformation, Indonesia is currently at the "take-off" stage where steady economic growth requires supportive social and political structures in order to continue towards the "drive to maturity" stage (Rostow, 1960). The year 2025 is predicted to be one of the key moments that will determine the

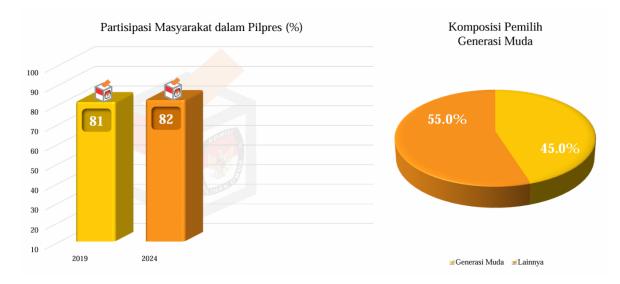
Korespondensi: Rike Erlande, Rikeerlande@gmail.com, Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan Universitas Sriwijaya, Palembang, Indonesia Copyright © Universitas Ahmad Dahlan. All Right Reserved http://journal.uad.ac.id/index.php/citizenship



political, economic and social direction. The new government resulting from the 2024 presidential election will be faced with great challenges and opportunities amid increasingly complex domestic dynamics and increasing global pressures.

According to Huntington (1991) in democratization theory, which emphasizes that the transition of power can be an important momentum to strengthen democratic institutions if it is carried out peacefully and inclusively. Various strategic policies will be tested for implementation in this context, including economic policies that are in line with the concept of "developmental state" expressed by Johnson (1982). This concept emphasizes the importance of the government's role in directing economic development, especially in creating infrastructure and a conducive investment environment. Indonesia must also pay attention to the sustainability aspect of development, as emphasized in the Brundtland Commission's (1987) theory of sustainable development, which underlines the importance of meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations.

The local political dynamics seen in the 2024 regional elections provide a new color in the democratic process at the regional level. This election is a direct implementation of the principles of decentralization initiated by Rondinelli (1981), where regional autonomy aims to strengthen community participation in local decision-making while increasing government efficiency.



Source: Data Narratives of the 2019 and 2024 Presidential Elections

The results of the 2024 presidential election show high public participation in the democratic process, with the participation rate reaching 82%, slightly higher than the 2019 presidential election which reached 81%. This increase reflects the community's stronger commitment to democracy, especially among the younger generation (17-40 years old), which now accounts for 45% of the total electorate. This phenomenon is consistent with *democratic engagement* theory, which emphasizes the importance of active community participation in strengthening the legitimacy and quality of democracy. Greater participation among the younger generation indicates a paradigm shift, where they are not only objects of politics, but also active subjects who determine the direction of policy.

Although public participation in democracy is high, voters are increasingly choosing leaders based on personal qualities, not just political party endorsements. This phenomenon was evident in the Jakarta elections, where people prioritized candidates' integrity, vision, and ability to solve problems. This is in line with Deliberative Democracy Theory, which emphasizes the importance of rational discussion in making decisions (Habermas, 1996), as well as Rational Voter Theory, which shows that voters choose candidates who are considered to best meet their interests (Downs, 1957). Thus, people are increasingly aware of the importance of choosing qualified leaders, not just following a party.

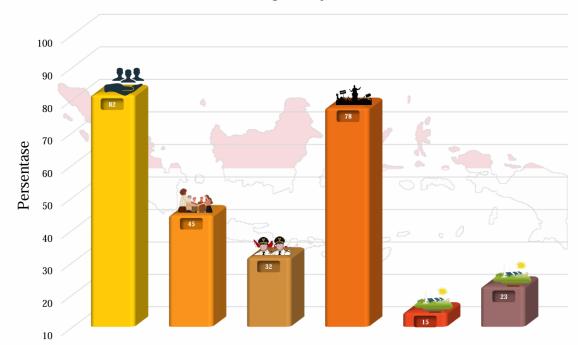
Indonesia is increasingly affected by global trends, especially in the deepening acceleration of digitalization. By 2024, approximately 78% of political campaign activities will be conducted through digital platforms, indicating a major shift in the way political communication takes place. This digitalization not only affects politics, but also accelerates social and economic transformation. Research on digital transformation in politics, as described by Jungherr (2023), shows that countries

that integrate digital technologies in the political process tend to experience increased public participation and higher civic engagement. Through digital platforms, citizens can more easily access information and participate in political discussions, which strengthens democracy.

However, in the midst of digital transformation, Indonesia also faces major challenges related to climate change. The renewable energy sector is a key focus, contributing 15% of total national energy production by 2024 and aiming to increase to 23% by 2025. This move is in line with Indonesia's international commitments to reduce emissions and increase the use of clean energy, as stated in the UNFCCC report (2024). This combination of digitalization and sustainability reflects Indonesia's efforts to adapt to accelerating global change, while driving innovation in the economic and political sectors.

Indonesia, with its strategic position in the Indo-Pacific region, is increasingly recognized as a key actor in regional geopolitical and economic dynamics. Under Indonesia's leadership, ASEAN has endorsed the *ASEAN Indo-Pacific Outlook* (AOIP), which aims to promote inclusive economic and security cooperation in the region. Indonesia, as ASEAN chair, continues to strengthen ASEAN's position as a neutral balancing force amid geopolitical tensions, including the Taiwan issue and the growing influence of China and the United States. In 2024, this role is even more relevant as Indonesia focuses on developing a green economy. Indonesia is seizing a major opportunity to lead renewable energy and climate change mitigation initiatives in the region. Through clean energy policies and infrastructure cooperation, Indonesia not only supports green economic transformation at the domestic level, but also seeks to integrate environmentally sustainable solutions with neighboring countries, strengthening its position as a leader in the climate change agenda in the Indo-Pacific region.

The year 2025 is an important momentum for the implementation of strategic policies, such as bureaucratic reform, energy transition towards renewable energy, and economic digitalization to improve Indonesia's competitiveness in the international arena. In addition, the high level of public participation in the 2024 presidential election provides a foundation for promoting more inclusive governance. By managing its strategic position in the Indo-Pacific, Indonesia can capitalize on opportunities amid global geopolitical tensions, while strengthening its commitment to green economy transformation.



Data Penting Menuju Tahun 2025

The following data confirms the importance of 2025: total voters in the 2024 presidential election reached 204 million with 82% participation, of which 45% were young people. In the 2024 regional elections, 32% of elected regional heads came from independent candidates, up from 25% in 2019. In a global context, 78% of political campaigns are conducted through digital platforms, and

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renewable energy accounts for 15% of total national energy production in 2024 with a target of 23% in 2025. These data demonstrate the importance of 2025 as a watershed year for Indonesia's political, social and economic direction.

With great challenges and opportunities ahead, 2025 is a milestone for the new government to ensure effective policy implementation. This study seeks to explore Indonesia's political trajectory in this transformative period, examining how these dynamics influence not only the nation's governance but also its societal fabric and global standing. By analyzing the interplay between internal and external factors, this research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the implications that Indonesia's political direction holds for its citizens and the broader international community.

Method

This research is conducted based on a qualitative approach, with a *literature review* method, because it is considered *capable of* completing the research, considering that the qualitative tradition, which is in-depth, natural, and elobarative, is so relevant in realizing *novelty* in this research. Given that this research is related to a holistic analysis of Indonesia's position in 2025. Data sources were books, scientific journals, research reports, and other relevant literature sources. Data collection was carried out by searching for keywords, collecting literature sources, and in-depth review of the contents of the literature (Creswell, 2014). Data analysis used the *content* analysis method which includes data reduction, data presentation, interpretation, and conclusion drawing (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). To maintain data validity, this study used source triangulation by combining information from various relevant and credible literatures (Gökçe, 2022).

Table 1. Literature Study Process

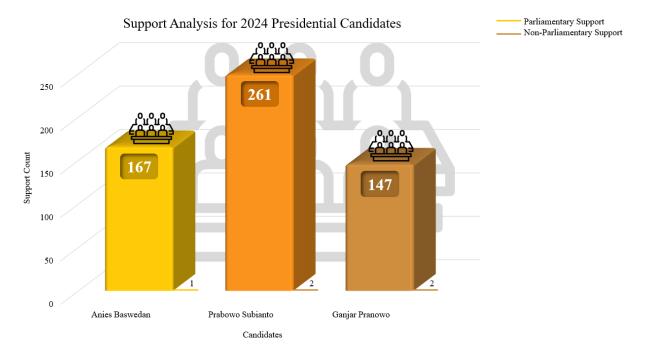
Journal Collection or Previous Research that Relevant Finalize the Journal as
Research Sources, and Analysis
Data Based on (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008)
Researcher Verification for
Novelty, Toeretic Contribution
and Practical

Source: Developed by Researcher (2024)

Result and Discussion

Trend Analysis of Presidential Elections in 2024-2025

The 2024 Presidential Elections (Pilpres) will result in an elected president and vice president pair for the 2024-2029 term. The political map leading up to the 2024 Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections in Indonesia has become more solid with the formation of three main coalition axes, namely the Coalition for Change for Unity (KPP) that supports Anies Baswedan, the Advanced Indonesia Coalition (KIM) that supports Prabowo Subianto, and the coalition that supports Ganjar Pranowo. These three axes have met the *presidential threshold* as stipulated in Article 222 of the Election Law, which sets a minimum requirement of 20% of DPR seats or 25% of the national valid votes in the previous legislative elections.



CNBC Indonesia. (2023). Latest 2024 Presidential Candidate Coalition Map: Anies vs Prabowo vs Ganjar.

Anies Baswedan, the KPP candidate, has the support of the NasDem Party (59 seats), PKB (58 seats), and PKS (50 seats), totaling 167 parliamentary seats. In addition, the Ummat Party, which is outside the parliament, also expressed its support. The formation of support for Anies changed after the departure of the Democratic Party and the entry of PKB into the coalition.

Prabowo Subianto, who was nominated by the KIM, was supported by Gerindra Party (78 seats), Golkar (85 seats), and PAN (44 seats), giving a total of 227 parliamentary seats. After the Democratic Party with 54 seats joined, the total support for Prabowo increased to 261 seats. Prabowo also gained additional support from two parties outside parliament, namely the UN and the Gelora Party. This strengthens KIM's position as one of the dominant axes in the 2024 presidential election.

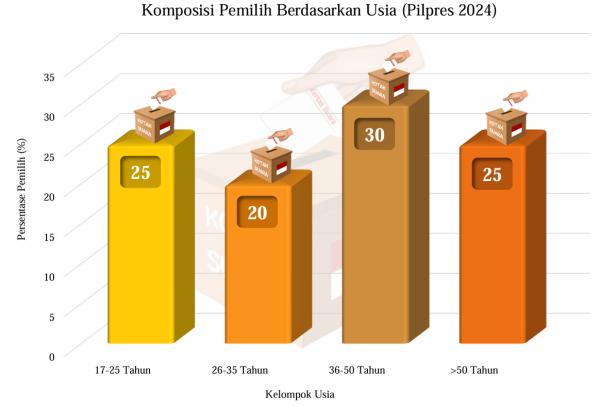
Ganjar Pranowo, as a presidential candidate nominated by PDIP, has a unique position because PDIP with 128 seats has met the presidential threshold requirement without having to form a coalition. However, the PPP with 19 seats also endorsed Ganjar, bringing the total support in parliament to 147 seats. Parties outside of parliament, such as Perindo and Hanura Party, also supported Ganjar's candidacy.

These three axes represent balanced political power, with solid support from major parties and additional strength from smaller parties outside parliament. This composition illustrates the evolving dynamics of Indonesian politics in an effort to fulfill constitutional requirements and strengthen each candidate's electoral base amid the competition for the 2024 presidential election. This coalition not only provides abundant campaign resources, but also strengthens political legitimacy through the support of national and regional figures.

One of the prominent dynamics in the 2024 presidential election is the shift in voter segmentation. The younger generation, which accounts for around 45% of the total electorate, plays a significant role. They show a preference for candidates who offer concrete policies in the areas of environmental sustainability, digital inclusion and social welfare. On the other hand, voters in rural areas prioritize issues such as poverty alleviation, infrastructure development, and agricultural sector development. A campaign approach that targets these two segments effectively increases the appeal of elected candidates.

The success of candidate pairs is inseparable from an integrated campaign strategy. Social media such as Instagram, TikTok and Twitter were used massively to reach the younger generation, with creative content and collaboration with influencers. On the other hand, public dialogues and direct visits to remote areas strengthened emotional connections with voters. In addition, candidates focused on key issues, such as the promise to create 10 million new jobs, commitment to green energy transition, and inclusive social welfare programs.

Voter trends show some interesting changes. Younger generations tend to be more critical of the integrity of candidates and their policies compared to previous generations. In addition, women's participation in elections is increasing, fueled by policies that support gender equality and the protection of women's rights. These shifts mark an important transition in Indonesia's political landscape.



Based on the data, the composition of voters by age is as follows: 25% aged 17-25 years, 20% aged 26-35 years, 30% aged 36-50 years, and 25% above 50 years. In terms of regions, candidate pairs are ahead in Central Java and East Java, while Sumatra and Kalimantan show tight competition.

However, big challenges await the president and vice president-elect. Post-pandemic economic recovery is a top priority, especially to support the MSME sector and the workforce. In addition, they must balance economic growth with environmental sustainability through a green energy transition. Political stability is also a concern, given the diversity within the grand coalition supporting them.

The 2024 presidential election reflects the evolving complexity of Indonesian politics. With broad support and great challenges, the elected couple is expected to fulfill the high expectations of the people and lead Indonesia towards inclusive and sustainable development.

Indonesia's Political Outlook 2025: Challenges and Opportunities

Indonesia's political outlook towards 2025 is predicted to face complex dynamics, combining internal and external challenges in realizing national development goals. One of the main determinants is the national political configuration that continues to evolve after the 2024 elections. Public political participation is expected to be more inclusive, with a projected voter turnout of 82%, a positive indication of increased political awareness and public engagement in the democratic process. However, the potential for sharper political polarization in the community is one of the significant risks that needs to be watched out for. This polarization can affect social and political stability, and hamper development if not managed wisely. Protracted political tensions have the potential to reduce government effectiveness, create economic uncertainty, and damage social relations between different community groups.

In this context, the role of leaders elected in the 2024 elections will be crucial. Effective leadership, both at the national and local levels, will be a decisive factor in overcoming existing political and social challenges. New leaders must be able to present policies that are not only responsive to global changes, but also pay attention to domestic development needs, especially in improving economic competitiveness. One of the main goals to be achieved is to increase foreign

direct investment (FDI) with a target of reaching USD 35 billion by 2025. Success in attracting FDI will largely depend on creating a stable and pro-business investment climate, which can spur industrial sector growth and create new jobs. In addition, it is important for Indonesia's leaders to strengthen policy integration between central and regional governments, ensure that development is equitable across regions, and maintain political stability in order to face global challenges, such as geopolitical tensions and economic crises that could affect the domestic economy.

In terms of policy priorities, by 2025 Indonesia will focus on three main interrelated sectors: economy, politics, and environment. In the economic sector, policies will aim to achieve stable economic growth of 5.5%, with a target of reducing the unemployment rate to 4.8%. This will be achieved through strengthening domestic investment and improving the real sector, which is expected to create more jobs and boost economic productivity. Meanwhile, in the political sector, the main focus is on improving the quality of governance through fair law enforcement and transparency. One of the key indicators of success in this sector is an increase in the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) score from 38 in 2024 to 42 in 2025. This increase in the GPA reflects serious efforts in fighting corruption and improving governance, which in turn can increase public confidence in the government system.

In the environmental sector, Indonesia will continue to commit to reducing carbon emissions and achieving the 23% renewable energy target. One of the key policies in this sector is the reforestation program targeting 1.5 million hectares of land, which aims to restore ecosystems and increase carbon sequestration. This low-carbon policy will also contribute to the achievement of Indonesia's sustainable development targets, while strengthening the country's position in global efforts to address climate change. With an integrated policy focused on sustainable development, Indonesia has the opportunity to overcome political and social challenges and strengthen its position in the global arena.

Overall, Indonesia's political outlook in 2025 reflects the complexities that leaders and society will have to face. Success in managing political polarization, promoting inclusive economic growth, and implementing sustainable environmental policies will be key in ensuring political stability and sustained socio-economic progress. In the face of growing global challenges, Indonesia needs to ensure that its domestic policies support sustainable development and strengthen its international competitiveness.

Implications of Presidential Election Trends in 2024-2025 for Indonesia's Political Outlook 2025

The implications of the 2024 presidential election trends for Indonesia's 2025 political outlook require a more in-depth study, given the dynamics within the coalition and the sharpening political polarization. In this context, the election of three main axes-the Coalition of Change for Unity (KPP) that supports Anies Baswedan, the Advanced Indonesia Coalition (KIM) that supports Prabowo Subianto, and the coalition supporting Ganjar Pranowo-present a picture of conflict that has the potential to exacerbate political polarization. The *political polarization* theory perspective of McCarty et al. (2016) explains that when political polarization reaches extreme levels, it has the potential to reduce policy quality and break social unity. This polarization can affect political stability and reduce the government's ability to make effective decisions, especially in terms of economic and social policies. Therefore, post-election, elected leaders need to pay attention to reconciliation policies to reunite fragmented elements in society.

In the economic aspect, the role of foreign direct investment (FDI) as a driver of economic growth is very important. Based on Paul Romer's (1990) *endogenous growth* theory, to promote sustainable economic growth, countries need to manage internal factors, including pro-business policies, technology development, and innovation. The 2024 elections will be very influential in determining the direction of economic policies taken, especially related to achieving the FDI target of USD 35 billion by 2025. The elected leader must create a conducive investment climate, which not only attracts foreign investors but also provides legal certainty and strengthens domestic competitiveness. In this regard, the *institutional economics theory* proposed by Douglass North (1990) is very relevant, which emphasizes the importance of strong institutions to create confidence in the market, which in turn supports investment and economic development.

The environmental sector is also an important issue that cannot be ignored in Indonesia's 2025 political outlook. Indonesia has committed to reducing carbon emissions and achieving 23%

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renewable energy use by 2025. Sachs' (2015) *sustainable development* theory emphasizes that development should consider environmental sustainability as a key component of economic policy. In this case, environmental management policies such as the reforestation program that targets 1.5 million hectares of land are very important. The implementation of this policy must also integrate social and economic aspects, given the increasingly evident climate change. This approach is in line with the theory of *ecological modernization*, which states that environmental sustainability can be achieved without sacrificing economic growth if there are innovations in policies that support the transition to a green economy.

On the social side, the policies taken in the 2024 presidential election will also affect people's political participation, especially women's groups and the younger generation. Pateman's *participatory democracy* theory (1970) shows that the more inclusive a political process is, the more groups involved, the greater the potential for creating fair and equitable policies. The increased political participation of women and young people in the 2024 elections reflects a larger social change, with women and young voters becoming more critical of government policies, especially on issues such as gender equality, employment and social justice. Therefore, elected leaders need to create space for active participation from all segments of society, including by strengthening policies that support gender equality and other social rights.

Post-election political stability will also depend on how elected leaders manage the relationship between central and local governments. Elazar's (1987) theory of *federalism* emphasizes that an effective decentralization system can increase local political participation and enable policies that are more responsive to the needs of local communities. Therefore, it is important for the elected government to strengthen the relationship between central and local governments by promoting fiscal decentralization and greater autonomy for regions, in order to create a more equitable and inclusive government.

Overall, Indonesia's political outlook in 2025 presents complex challenges in terms of political polarization, the economy, environmental sustainability, and social participation. Effective management of political polarization, investments that promote sustainable economic growth, responsive environmental policies, and strengthened community participation will determine the success of the government in 2025. Therefore, to ensure sustainable progress, Indonesia needs to integrate policies that are mutually supportive and oriented towards inclusive and sustainable development, taking into account relevant economic, political, and social development theories.

The New Government's Role in the 2025 Red and White Cabinet

The role of the new government in the 2025 Red and White Cabinet will determine the direction of Indonesia's future development in political, economic and social aspects. The government formed after the 2024 elections is expected to present effective policies in overcoming major challenges, such as sharpening political polarization, post-pandemic economic crisis, and urgent environmental sustainability issues. In this case, theoretical studies on *policy networks* and *governance* are very relevant to analyze the role of the new government in formulating policies that are inclusive and adaptive to global and domestic dynamics.

Rhodes' (1997) policy networks theory suggests that public policy cannot be viewed as the result of government decisions alone, but rather is the result of interactions between interdependent actors, including the government, private sector, civil society, and other interest groups. Therefore, the new government in the Merah Putih Cabinet needs to build a strong policy network, by involving various elements of society in the policy formulation process to increase the legitimacy and effectiveness of the policy. In addition, the governance theory proposed by Pierre and Peters (2000) highlights the importance of involving various parties in decision-making to create a government that is more responsive and adaptive to the needs of the people. In the context of Kabinet Merah Putih 2025, the application of good governance principles is very important, especially in terms of transparency, accountability and participation. This is in light of the enormous challenges faced by the new government, such as restoring the post-pandemic economy, addressing issues of social inequality, and meeting the demands of sustainable development.

The application of *good governance* principles is particularly important given the enormous challenges faced by the new government, such as restoring the post-pandemic economy, addressing social inequalities, and meeting the demands of sustainable development (World Bank, 2020). The government needs to implement policies that do not only rely on the power of bureaucracy, but also

build synergies with the private sector and civil society to ensure that the policies taken can answer the needs of all levels of society (UNDP, 2023).

In the economic context, the role of the new government in the Merah Putih 2025 Cabinet will be crucial in creating a stable and pro-business investment climate. Paul Romer's (1990) *endogenous growth* theory emphasizes that to promote sustainable economic growth, countries must effectively manage human resources, technology and innovation. Therefore, the new government should create policies that support real sector development, encourage *Foreign Direct Investment* (FDI), and strengthen infrastructure and the domestic industrial sector. These pro-business policies will support the creation of new jobs and reduce unemployment, while boosting Indonesia's economic competitiveness internationally (OECD, 2023).

In terms of environmental sustainability, the *sustainable development* theory developed by Sachs (2015) is also very relevant. To face the challenges of climate change and achieve sustainable development goals, the new government is expected to strengthen policies that support green energy transition, carbon emission reduction, and nature conservation programs, such as reforestation. The implementation of comprehensive environmental policies will not only support Indonesia's global targets in addressing climate change, but also improve people's quality of life through environmentally sound and sustainable development (IPCC, 2022).

Overall, the role of the new government in Kabinet Merah Putih 2025 should be to create policies that overcome political polarization, promote inclusive economic growth, and ensure sustainable development. By applying the principles of *good governance*, building effective policy networks, and utilizing theories of economic development and environmental sustainability, the new government can deliver a more stable, prosperous, and sustainable future for Indonesia.

Conslusion

Indonesia is at a crucial transformative phase ahead of 2025, characterized by complex political, economic and social dynamics. The new government resulting from the 2024 elections has a strategic opportunity to strengthen democracy through inclusive policies and the implementation of the sustainable development agenda. The high level of voter participation, especially from the younger generation who are now a significant part of the democratic process, reflects an increased political awareness, which demands adaptive and needs-based policies.

However, Indonesia is faced with significant challenges, including political polarization that has the potential to disrupt social stability, the need to increase foreign direct investment (FDI), and the energy transition towards the use of renewable energy. In the global context, Indonesia's strategic position in the Indo-Pacific region makes it a key actor in regional economic integration and a pioneer in the environmental sustainability agenda. With careful management, Indonesia can achieve its economic growth target of 5.5%, reduce the unemployment rate to 4.8%, and increase the contribution of renewable energy to 23% of the total national energy mix.

The successful achievement of these targets relies heavily on the implementation of good governance, strengthening synergies between central and local governments, and harmonious collaboration with the private sector and civil society. Through proactive, integrated, and innovative policies, Indonesia has the potential to not only strengthen its competitiveness at the global level, but also realize inclusive, stable, and sustainable development for the people.

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