



**TECHNIUM**  
SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL

# Technium.

39/2023

2023

A new decade for social changes

**Technium**

**Social Sciences**

Powered by

**PLUS**  
**COMMUNICATION**



International  
Communication & PR



## **Why the coalition of political party are weak in election of regional head (Legal and Political Perspective)**

**Imam Ropii, Mukhammad Soleh**

Dosen Magister Hukum Universitas Wisnuwardhana Malang

[ropii@wisnuwardhana.ac.id](mailto:ropii@wisnuwardhana.ac.id)

**Abstract.** This article examines why coalitions of political parties for regional head elections are weak. The law on regional head elections requires political parties to nominate a regional head/deputy pair that must have the support of at least 20% of the total members of the regional people's representative council. Political parties that do not meet the amount of support must form a coalition with other parties to meet these requirements. The results showed that the coalition of political parties in the regional head election was weak due to: a) Strong centralization of political parties in determining coalition partners. b) Strong dominance of the party's central board. c) High political costs for regional head elections. d) Weak rights of regional political party administrators.

**Keywords.** political party; coalition; election of regional head

### **1. Introduction**

The election of governors and deputy governors, regents and deputy regents, mayors, and deputy mayors (regional head elections) since 2014 is regulated by a separate law. This arrangement is an affirmation that the regional head election is part of the regional autonomy regime so that it has an impact on the institutions that resolve disputes over the election results (Ahmad, 2019).

Election of regional heads as the implementation of a democratic system and how to achieve regional leadership to achieve general welfare plays an important role in maintaining the quality of regional leadership and building communication with the people. Therefore, it should be presenting regional head election that provides maximum benefits for the community, both socially, economically, culturally, religiously, and politically (Al Fajar, 2016).

The election of regional heads as a form of democracy at the local level requires the support of all regional people. Because implementing democracy in local politics is not easy, therefore it requires strong support and commitment from all parties to ensure that all citizens can participate optimally (Idil, 2016).

The development of the democratization of the regional head elections is marked by nominations submitted through two channels, namely the party or coalition of parties and individual candidates with certain conditions since 2008. Nominations by political parties or

coalitions of parties are determined to be supported by at least 20% of the total members of the regional people's representative council (Local parliament).

The history of implementation of the regional head elections has been a tug of war between the central government and regional governments about whether the regional head election is included in the regional autonomy regime or the central government (Ahmad, 2019). The certainty of the regional head elections as part of regional autonomy is expected to be able to become a means of learning the politics of the regional community. However, the central authority which is very dominant in determining candidates proposed by political parties weakens the enthusiasm and strength of regional party officials.

Democratization of the candidacy for regional heads since 2012 was marked by the presence of individual candidates participating in the competition (Constitutional Court, 2007). The election format for the regional head elections is regulated as follows: Participants in regional head and deputy regional head elections are pairs of candidates proposed by political parties or coalitions of political parties and individual candidate pairs supported by several people (Henry, 2004). Granting of political rights for individual candidates in regional head elections after the Constitutional Court decision regarding individual candidates (Constitutional Court, 2007).

The high requirement of support of 20% to get qualified regional head candidates while reducing the occurrence of social conflicts has happened (Sahadi, 2018). However, the differences between the candidates for regional heads that are promoted make it possible for social conflicts to occur between supporters of political parties or pairs of candidates, where the conflict is very dangerous to social life because they face each other directly with elite leaders and local political actors (Mahi, 2014).

To be able to nominate a political party, one must form a coalition / join another party, which is the strength of political parties in Indonesia, both for regional head elections (Decky, 2016). Therefore, the high number of support requirements for nomination makes political parties that do not have sufficient support to seek coalitions/support from other political parties to qualify for nomination to be very weak

## **2. Discussion**

### **2.1 The Function of Political Parties n Democracy**

Political parties in a democratic system play an important role in determining where the nation will be taken. Through political parties, the people can realize their right to express their opinions about the direction of life as a nation and state (Henry, 2004).

Political parties have five functions, namely: 1. Aggregating the interests and values of various circles of society. 2. Explore, create, and introduce to the public their political party election platform. 3. Regulating the process of forming a political will (political will) by offering more structured policy alternatives. 4. Recruit, educate and supervise competent staff for their public offices and to occupy seats in parliament. 5. Socializing, educating, and offering members which channels are effective for their political participation throughout the inter-election period (Thomas, 2012).

In the political activities of regional head elections, the function of political parties is very important, namely as an organization that can nominate candidates as well as a means of recruiting members and prospective leaders. Political parties have at least the following functions: 1) Facilities for political communication, 2) Facilities for political socialization, 3) Facilities for political recruitment, 4) Conflict management (Miriam, 2008).

Article 11 paragraph (1) of the Political Party Law, political parties function as a means of a) political education for members and the wider community so that they become Indonesian citizens who are aware of their rights and obligations in the life of society, nation and state; b) creating a climate conducive to the unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation for the welfare of the people; c) absorbs, collects and channels the political aspirations of the community in formulating and determining state policies; d) political participation of Indonesian citizens; and e) political recruitment in the process of filling political positions through democratic mechanisms by taking into account gender equality and justice.

Political parties are important pillars in the Indonesian constitutional system to realize the deals of the nation as stated in the constitution (Abraham, 2021). In the process of political development, parties play a role as a means of building a political system through national education (Ellya, 2012). Political parties also act as a liaison and communication between the rulers and the people both in the process of formulating policies and disseminating the results of government policies (Itok, 2017).

In elections for regional heads, political parties carry out strategic functions, namely recruiting and proposing candidates as well as providing socialization for the proposed candidates to supporters and the general public. Political parties are also the driving force in gaining voting support for the victory of candidates proposed by parties.

The important function of political parties is that it takes hard work from party officials at all levels to improve their performance and quality. Increasing the performance and quality of parties will have a major effect on improving the quality of democracy and the performance of the political system. Therefore, the capacity, quality, and performance of political parties must be continuously improved to realize the aspirations and volition of the people (Artis, 2012).

## **2.2 Direct Election of A Regional Head By The People**

Elections for regional heads during the reform era have changed. The election was initially carried out by members of the Regional People's Representative Assembly and then Law Number 32 of 2004 in 2005 as the basis for changing the model for regional head elections carried out directly by the people.

This selection model was chosen to reduce the weaknesses of the previous selection model. Direct election by the people is intended to reduce the practice of money politics that is carried out by regional head candidates to Regional People's Representative Assembly members as voters which often occur during regional head elections by Regional People's Representative Assembly. Changing the electoral model is seen as more democratic and increases the role and participation of citizens directly in the recruitment process for regional political officials (Pratikno, 2007).

Direct regional head elections are also intended as the implementation of the Indonesian constitution Article 18 paragraph (4) and a political effort to synchronize the presidential and vice-presidential election models which are expressly stated to be carried out directly by the people as stipulated in Article 6 paragraph (1) of the Constitution.

## **2.3 The Weak Political Party Coalition in Electing Local Heads**

Indicators of the weak of party coalitions in the regional head elections include disharmony in the relationship between regional heads and their representatives in the implementation of regional governance. which indicates a split in the pair of regional heads/representatives in the course of regional government administration (Indonesian Media).

Weakness in party coalitions can also be examined in the nominating process for regional head elections. The following is an analysis of the factors causing the weakness of the coalition.

### **2.3.1 The Strength of Centralization of Political Parties In Determining The Coalition Partners**

Political parties that do not have the support of 20% of members cannot nominate regional heads. Political parties must form a coalition (join) with other political parties to fulfill the requirements for voting support of 20%. In the current multi-party system, it is not easy to gain 20% of the vote even though the opportunity still exists and is open (Partono, 2008).

The party theory of conducting coalitions between political parties is common. Parties are very open to forming coalitions to achieve political goals. There are three points of the political party coalition arena (Heroic, 2021). First, the electoral arena with an orientation to win elections or to qualify as an election participant. Second, the government arena with a motive to jointly carry out activities. Third, the arena of formulating policies to form or produce certain policies or laws.

Based on the coalition theory, the coalition of parties in regional head elections is mainly used to fulfill the nomination requirements for regional heads. Coalitions between parties are imperative under a multi-party system of parties are to be able to nominate. On the other hand, the magnitude of the requirements to be able to nominate is intended so that political parties in the regional head election contest have a strong coalition.

At a broader level such as the presidential election, the coalition of political parties in Indonesia is often marked by splits in the management of political parties as a result of differences in coalition objectives (presidential candidate support) and is followed by the formation of new parties by parties with opposite directions of support (Lili, 2017). Party splits as a result of party coalitions were experienced by the Golongan Karya (Golkar) and the Parta Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) parties during the 2014 presidential election due to differences in the direction of political support (Beritasatu, 2021).

### **2.3.2 Strong Domination of The Central Management of Party**

The Indonesian party system by the political party law is constructed as a national party, that is, only one national political party covers the entire region. As a result of this system, the domination of the central party management is very strong and determines all party matters in the regions. The strong dominance of the central board results in the leadership of political parties becoming difficult to separate from the personal chairman or party leadership (Siti, 2019).

There are three levels of the management structure of political parties in Indonesia as stipulated in Law Number 2 of 2011 Article 17 (1), i.e., the national administrators, provincial administrators, and district/city administrators. From the level of party management, the central level officials have the right to determine who is the candidate for a regional head who is determined and proposed by political parties in regional head elections.

The strong dominance of central political party officials in determining regional head candidates is shown in the recruitment process for regional head candidates which shows the strength of the party oligarchy system which is marked by the authority to determine regional head candidates centrally by a handful of political party elites or even only one central figure so that forgetting the aspirations of party members (Siti, 2019).

The authority of the central management of political parties is clearly regulated by Law Number 10 of 2016 Article 42 paragraph (4) which emphasizes that registration of regional

head candidate pairs (governor/vice governor, regent/vice-regent, and mayor/vice mayor) is carried out by a political party signed by the chairman and secretary of the provincial / reGENCY / provincial level political parties. municipalities accompanied by a Decree of the management of political parties at the central level regarding the approval of candidates proposed by the management of regional political parties.

The strong dominance of the management of the central political party is also indicated by the authority to register regional head candidates themselves if the party officials in the regions do not carry out the registration of candidate pairs that have been approved (determined) by the central level officials as stipulated in Law number 10 of 2016 articles 41 and 42 paragraphs (4a) and (5a). Observing the provisions of article 42, although regional administrators are given space to propose candidates, the central committee still determines the candidates for the regional head to be nominated in the election (Syarif, 2021).

Determination of candidates for regional head by the central management of party which is not in line with the recommendations of the regional administrators can affect the commitment and enthusiasm of regional party officials in fighting for the winning of the proposed candidates. unfortunately. Disappointment of the regional administrators was marked by resignation as management (bali.inews.id). Regional administrators of the party feel that their existence is neglected at a time when the party should be struggling to win the proposed candidate (Suara.com, 2021).

### **2.3.3 Expensive Political Costs for Electing Regional Heads**

The issue of candidacy regional head elections is not only marked by the severity of the nomination requirements for both political parties and individual candidates but also marked by the large political costs of regional head elections (puskapol.ui.ac.id). The high cost of regional head elections politics results in the large costs that must be borne by each candidate pair proposed. If the number of political costs in the election cannot be borne equally, the pair of candidates will weaken the party coalition and result in a less harmonious relationship between regional heads and representatives

The statement of the Director of Education and Community Services of the Corruption Eradication Commission based on the Ministry of Home Affairs survey which was followed up by the Research and Development of the Corruption Eradication Commission confirmed that the costs incurred by candidates for regents/mayors averaged Rp. 20 to Rp. 30 billion, while the governor elections were in the range of Rp. 20 billion to Rp. 100 billion per election (kompas.com). The high cost of regional head elections politics has an impact on the performance and integrity of regional heads/representatives in regional government administration. In the records of the Corruption Eradication Commission since the direct elections in 2005 to the present, as many as 300 regional heads have been arrested by the Corruption Eradication Commission in connection with criminal acts of corruption (contan.co.id, 2021).

The large political costs incurred by a candidate pair will be a driving force for corruption if one becomes the regional head through various ways. The difference in the amount of the political cost burden will have an impact on the distribution of job positions in the regional government. if the differences cannot be carried out properly, it will have an impact on the coalition of governance and the potential for disharmony relations between the regional head and his/her deputy. The unclear position and duties of deputy regional heads in regional government is the cause of disharmony between them, especially if they are from different political parties (Indra, 2012).

### **2.3.4 Weak Rights of Regional Political Party Management**

The formation of the management level structure of political parties in Indonesia into 3 levels, i.e. the management of central, provincial, and district/city have not been followed by the granting of political authority and rights as the central management the nomination of regional heads.

The absence of the right of party officials in the regions to decide for themselves who will be nominated in the election means that the candidates proposed by the management of political parties at the central level are less closely related to the regional administrators unless the central executive determines as a candidate is the leader of the management of the political party in the regional.

The existence of the right to determine candidates by party officials in the regions as well as to determine coalition partners politically will strengthen the coalition fabric in the election process to win the nominated candidates and in the government if they win.

It would be different if the regional administrators had the right to be limited to proposing candidates, while those who decided on the candidate to be nominated and who decided to form a coalition of authority remained at the central level committee. Because the regional party officials know more and understand the social and political conditions to determine the proposed regional head candidates and which political parties are right to be invited to form a coalition.

### **3. Conclusion**

Political parties in a democratic system have an important role which is shown in various functions. The regional head election system directly places political parties as the only organization that can nominate regional head candidates other than individual candidates.

Political parties that do not have a 20% vote support system for regional head elections require political parties to form a coalition with other parties, but party coalitions in regional head elections in Indonesia are weak, this is due to a) Strong centralization of political parties in determining coalition partners, b) Strong dominance of the party's central administrator, c) The high cost of political regional head elections, d) Weak rights of regional political party administrators.

### **References**

- [1] Abraham Ethan M.S.M, Peran Parta Politik Dalam Demokras D ndonesia. [file:///F:/JURNAL/ARTIKEL RAPHUNYA%20KOALISI%20DALAM%20PIL-KADA/PeranPartaiPolitikDalam DemokrasiDiIndonesia.pdf/](file:///F:/JURNAL/ARTIKEL%20RAPHUNYA%20KOALISI%20DALAM%20PIL-KADA/PeranPartaiPolitikDalam%20DemokrasiDiIndonesia.pdf) Diakses 22 February 2021
- [2] Ahmad Mirza Safwandy, Husni, Moh. Nur Rasyid, Pergeseran Rezim Sistem Pemilihan Kepala Daerah d ndonesia. *Kanun Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, Vol. 21, No. 3, (Desember, 2019).
- [3] Al Fajar Nugraha, Regional head elections Langsung dan regional head elections Tidak Langsung dalam Perspektif Fikih Siyasa, *Mazahib*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (Desember 2016). DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21093/mj.v15i2.630>.
- [4] Artis, Eksistensi Partai Politik dan Pemilu Langsung dalam Konteks Demokras d ndonesia. *Jurnal Sosial Budaya* Vol. 9 No. 1 Januari-Jul 2012.
- [5] Decky Wospakrik, Koalis Parta Politik Dalam Sistem Presidensil d Indonesia, *Papua Law Journal*. Vol. 1 ssue 1, November 2016.

- [6] Ellya Rosana. Parta Politik dan Pembangunan Politik. *Jurnal TAPIS* Vol.8 No.1 Januari-Juni 2012.
- [7] Henry Arianto, 2004. Peranan Parta Politik Dalam Demokras D ndonesia. *Lex Jurnalica*, Vol. 1 No.2 April 2004.
- [8] Idil Akbar, regional head elections Serentak dan Geliat Dinamika Politik dan Pemerintahan Lokal Indonesia, *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan COSMOGOV*, Vol. 2 No. 1, ( April 2016).
- [9] Itok Wicaksono, Peran Parta Politik dalam Partisipas dan Aspiras Politik d Tingkat Pemerintahan Desa (The Role of Political Parties In Participation and Political Aspiration The Village Government Level). *Jurnal Politico*, Vol. 17 No. 2 September 2017.
- [10] Mah M. Hikmat, Pemetaan Masalah dan Solus Konflik Lokal dalam Regional head elections Langsung d Indonesia. *MIMBAR: Jurnal Sosial dan Pembangunan*, Vol. 30, No. 1, year 2014 [accredited by ristekdikti] DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29313/Mimbar.v30i1>.
- [11] Heroik M. Pratama, Mengenal Koalis Parta Politik. <https://rumahpemilu.org/mengenal-koalisi-partai-politik/> Diakses 21 Februar 2021.
- [12] Indra Pahlevi, Posis Wakil Kepala Daerah dalam Sistem Pemerintahan Daerah d ndonesia . *Jurnal Kajian*, Vol. 17 No. 1 Maret 2012.
- [13] Lili Romli, Koalis dan Konflik Internal Parta Politik Pada Era Reformasi, *Jurnal Politica* Vol. 8 No. 2 November 2017.
- [14] Miriam Budiarjo, 2008, Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik, Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- [15] Partono, Sistem Multipartai, Presidensial dan Persoalan Efektivitas Pemerintah, *Jurnal Legislas Indonesia*, Vol 5, No 1 (2008).
- [16] Pratikno, Calon ndependen, Kualitas Regional head elections dan Pelembagaan Parpol. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* Volume 10, Nomor 3, Maret 2007.
- [17] Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 5/PUU-V/2007 tentang Pengujian Konstitusionalitas UU No. 32 Tahun 2004 tentang Pemerintahan Daerah.
- [18] Sahad Humaed dkk, Resolus Konflik Regional head elections d Kota Cimahi Jawa Barat, *Social Work Jurnal* Vol. 8 Nomor: 1, hal.102. Doi: 10.24198/ share. V 8i1.16032.
- [19] Siti Witianti , dan Hendra, Peran Ketua Umum Parta Politik Dalam Pencalonan Kepala Daerah Pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Serentak d Indonesia, *Jurnal Wacana Politik* , Vol. 4, No. 1, Maret 2019.
- [20] Thomas Meyer , 2012. Peran Parta Politik dalam Sebuah Sistem Demokrasi: Sembilan Tesis, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung ( FES).
- [21] <http://lipi.go.id/berita/-lipi:-perilaku-parpol-di-indonesia-mengarah-ke-sentralisasi/2829/> Syarif Hidayat, Perilaku Parpol d ndonesia Mengarah Ke Sentralisasi. Diakses 24 Februar 2021.
- [22] <https://www.suara.com/news/2021/02/02/182036/senior-demokrat-era-ahy-calon-kepala-daerah-ditentukan-dpp-kader-kecewa?page=all/> Senior Demokrat: Era AHY, Calon Kepala Daerah Ditentukan DPP, Kader Kecewa. Diakses 9 Maret 2021.
- [23] <https://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/236186/formappi-dua-koalisi-pilpres-penyebab-perpecahan-parpol/> Diakses 7 April 2021.

- [24] <https://www.puskapol.ui.ac.id/opini/mahalnya-ongkos-politik-catatan-diskursus-regional-head-elections-langsung.html/> Mahalnya Ongkos Politik: Catatan Diskursus Regional head elections Langsung. Diakses 18 February 2021.
- [25] <https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/144758/90-kepala-daerah-pecah-kongsi/90> Kepala Daerah Pecah Kongsi. Diakses 9 Maret 2021.
- [26] [https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/07/23/11272001/kpk-ungkap-biaya-pencalonan-kepala-daerah-rp-20-miliar-rp-100-miliar?page=all./KPK Ungkap Biaya Pencalonan Kepala Daerah Rp 20 Miliar-Rp 100 Miliar](https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/07/23/11272001/kpk-ungkap-biaya-pencalonan-kepala-daerah-rp-20-miliar-rp-100-miliar?page=all./KPK%20Ungkap%20Biaya%20Pencalonan%20Kepala%20Daerah%20Rp%2020%20Miliar-Rp%20100%20Miliar). Diakses 9 Maret 2021.
- [27] <https://bali.inews.id/berita/pengurus-partai-golkar-badung-mundur-kecewa-partai-usung-kader-pdip-di-regional-head-elections/> Pengurus Parta Golkar Badung Mundur, Kecewa Parta Usung Kader PDIP d Regional head elections. Diakses 9 Maret 2021.
- [28] <https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/ketua-kpk-sudah-300-kepala-daerah-jadi-tersangka-korupsi-sejak-regional-head-elections-langsung#:~:text=Ketua%20KPK%20Sudah%20300%20kepala%20daerah%20jadi%20tersangka%20korups%20sejak%20regional%20head%20elections%20langsung,-Jumat%2C%2007%20Agustus&text=KONTAN.CO.ID%20%2D%20JAKARTA,secara%20langsung%20pada%202005%20lalu./> Diakses 25 February 2021.