

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ON ROLES OF LOCAL ORGANIZATIONAL UNITS IN DIRECT LOCAL LEADERS ELECTION IN THE CAPITAL SPECIAL REGION OF JAKARTA

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Abstract: The objective of this research is to understand, describe and analyze the roles of local organizational units in the implementation of the second round of the 2017 Local Leaders Election in the Capital Special Region of Jakarta. Method used in this review is qualitative analysis. Result indicates that direct local election provides rooms to involve the roles of all elements of local organizational units and local peoples. This involvement has successfully minimized deviations possibly occurring in any stages of the election.

Keywords: units, organization, local, election, and direct

INTRODUCTION

Direct local leaders election is an important structure to enforce democratic values in local level because it gives chances to citizens to participate into a process to elect leaders whom they can monitor or even control to ascertain that leaders would make policies to the better direction of local development (Sari, 2016: 87). Moreover, direct local leaders election is also an instrument to actualize people sovereignty to produce leaders of local government in democratic way based on Five Principles (*Pancasila*) and National Constitution (*Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945*).

Direct local leaders election has been implemented since 2005 as the result of change on local leaders election method required by constitutional mandates stated in Article 56 jo Article 119 of Law No.32/2004 concerning Local Governance and also in Government Regulation No.6/2005 concerning Manuals of Election, Verification, Appointment, and Dismissal of Local Head and Vice. Direct local leaders election is organized by local peoples in the region where the election is held. Such election is also a perfection to the previous system, respectively *representative election system* which involves a deal that local leaders are elected by Local Legislators (*DPRD*). Legal bases of this previous system are given by Law No.22/1999 concerning Local Governance and also Government Regulation

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No.151/2000 concerning Manuals of Election, Verification, Appointment, and Dismissal of Local Head and Vice. After Law No.32/2004 was enacted, it brings new flavor to local political autonomy.

Furthermore, Law No.32/2004 has set a precedent to the oscillation of Indonesian political dynamic. There is an effort to reverse from direct election to indirect election, precisely the election through legislators. Direct election is considered as no longer economic because the nation as the election organizer and the candidates must spend very huge costs (Sari, 2016: 90). Enormous costs involved to win the election not only evoke corruption but also reduce governance effectiveness and increase conflict escalation (Nugraha, 2016: 59).

Provisions concerning local leaders election have been perfected in 2008 to make it more open and adaptive. This perfection is validated through Law No.12/2008 that settles about the allowance given to individual candidates who by this allowance can run for leadership candidacy without riding on political party as their supporting base. Three years later, precisely in 2011, pursuant to Law No.15/2011, the term of Local Leaders Election was made to be more specific, which then results in the term of The Election of Governor, Regent and Mayor. In 2014, through Plenary Session of Local Legislators, the system of local leaders election is returned to the hands of Local Legislators.

Efforts to return back to the election mechanism based on representation (or election through local legislators) are taken by assumption that direct local leaders election is not really supporting the actualization of local governance, involving expensive costs, and potentially producing corruptive local leaders. Apart from these drawbacks, direct local leaders election is not only to be more democratic, but also a possible way to produce leaders who are willing to stand close with people and care them. Representative-based election mechanism involving local legislators is always condemned as democratic setback.

Dealing with this controversy and also people resistance, Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (*Perppu*) No.1/2014 was then enacted that requires local leaders election to be organized by people in each locality through direct election mechanism. Normative base to this issue is given by Law No.1/2015 concerning Approval of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (*Perppu*) No.1/2014. This Government Regulation provides explanations about Revision on Law No.22/2014 concerning The Election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor.

Problems in direct local leaders election are dealt by organizational units that organize the election. Among these units are Regional General Elections Commission (*KPUD*) as technical organization and Election Supervisory Agency (*Bawaslu*) as supervisor organization (Arofah, 2016: 30). Both organizations are supported by other local organizational units, which among others include Government Organization and Non-Government Organization (NGO). It is expected that local organizational units are available and playing its roles of controlling and

safeguarding the implementation of direct local leaders election to ensure that the process is secured, orderly, and smooth. These units are also required to attenuate the potential conflicts during election day.

The involvement of local organizational units into direct local leaders election is the manifestation of people desire for democratic leadership and *good governance* achieved by submitting to fair play rule. Also, this involvement is needed to ensure that local leadership is produced through a system characterized by honesty, justice, freedom, confidentiality, and that avoids *money politic* and other dirty politic practice. To have a local leaders election that is securely and smoothly conducted, therefore it must be supported by integrity, professionalism, and accountability of public leadership in organizing the election. The indicators that public leadership successfully organizes the election are: there is high participation of people who give their vote; there is no *money politic* in obtaining people vote; the election is securely completed; and there is no physical or administrative dispute and conflict to the final results of election. Innovative steps and best practices of public sector leadership are thus needed to attain these indicators. Good leadership is perceived as a process of action to influence the activity of groups or teams in certain organization to achieve the predetermined goals (Daft and Carcic, 2008: 479).

By taking into account this explanation, this research takes a title of “Qualitative Review on Roles of Local Organizational Units in Direct Local Leaders Election in the Capital Special Region of Jakarta”.

Problem Determination

Problem formulated in this review is: How do the roles of local organizational units suppose to be in direct local leaders election in the Capital Special Region of Jakarta?

METHOD OF RESEARCH

Research Type

Type of this research is a design pattern to review organizational units involved in local election process. Given with this design, research then uses qualitative method.

Focus of Research

Focus of research is the elaboration of research problem. Therefore, this research is focused on reviewing and analyzing the involvement of local organization units in the implementation of the second round of the 2017 simultaneous-direct local leaders elections in the Capital Special Region of Jakarta. Regarding to the involvement, two issues are emphasized, respectively (a) the elements of local organizational units and (b) the roles of each unit.

Data Source

Data source is defined as the place where data attach to. By this definition, the source can contain information, be subjected to documentation, and also experience contextual events.

There are three kinds of data, respectively, data of people, data of events, and data of documents. Data of people are the leadership of organizational units involved in the 2017 Local Leaders Election in the Capital Special Region of Jakarta. Data of events include occurrences, activities and environmental situation during the implementation of local election.

Location and Site of Research

Research location is the Capital Special Region of Jakarta, which is one of many regions in Indonesia that organizes simultaneous-direct local leaders election in 2017.

Few sites of research are examined, such as: Local Legislators Office, Governor Office, the Office of Regional General Elections Commission, the Office of Election Supervisory Agency, the Office of Election Winning Coordination Agency (*BKPP*), the Office of General Attorney, the Office of District Election Supervisory Committee, and the office of other local organizations in the Province of Jakarta Capital Special Region.

Determination of Informant

Qualitative research is perceived as representative only when it has comprehensive and holistic information. It is expected that data source in this research shall provide holistic contextual information. Therefore, data source is determined by *purposive sampling* through which informant is determined for certain goal (Sugiono, 2005).

The term “purposive” is aimed on the roles (capacity) and the involvement (intensity) of informant in the activities of organizational units that operate local election. The 2017 Local Leaders Election in the Capital Special Region of Jakarta has involved and affected many people, but not all of them are determined as informant. Based on the term “purposive”, then informant is divided into three groups of organizational units.

These three groups are:

- 1) Enforcer Organization. It includes Local Legislators, Local Government of Jakarta, and other relevant units.
- 2) Implementer Organization. Local leaders election is implemented by Regional General Elections Commission and Election Supervisory Agency.
- 3) Supporter Organization. It involves Election Independent Commission (*KIP*), Election Winning Coordination Agency, and Non-Government Organization (*LSM*), which mostly observe the process of local leaders election.

Data Collection Technique

Referring to qualitative method used in this research design, then the researcher solves research problem through three data collection techniques, namely observation, deep interview, and documentation.

Data Analysis Technique

Data analysis is utilizing *interactive model*, which consists of three paths, such as: (a) data condensation, (b) data presentation, and (c) conclusion and verification. This model explains the interaction of three paths of research, which are described as follows:

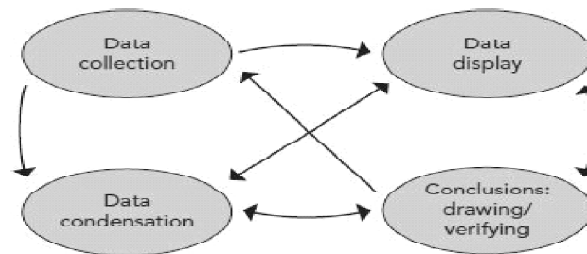


Figure: Components of Data Analysis: Interactive Model

(Source: Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, 2014: 33)

Data Validity Test

In qualitative research, data validity is measured by ensuring that observation and interview have produced information needed by researcher. Data are presumed as valid when there is an accurate relationship between the collected data and the actual data on research object.

Data reliability is measured by ascertaining that data collection process is consistent and stable. Reliability means that data must be consistent in any times when they are collected. To avoid data bias, researcher must refrain from using personal subjectivity elements during data collection and data interpretation. To objectively examine data legitimacy, research uses four criteria, such as *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability*, and *confirmability* (Moleong, 1999: 133).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

The Implementation of Direct Local Election in Jakarta

Capital Special Region of Jakarta is one of seven regions that must organize the second round of simultaneous-direct local leaders election as local democratic

event to elect two persons to occupy governorship positions. This event was nationally held on 15 February 2017. The 2017 Local Leaders Election had drained public attention, not only those who live in Jakarta, but also the outsider beyond it or even Indonesian citizens. Two reasons stand behind this radiant attention. The most prominent reason is that Jakarta is the capital of Indonesia, while other reason is that the local election in Jakarta is cheered up by the case of one contestant who is allegedly committing humiliation against certain theology of certain adherents. Both reasons are adequately convincing people to consider Jakarta as the region with high vulnerability level.

Legal Bases for the Implementation of Direct Local Election in Jakarta

Normative base for the implementation of the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta is Law No.10/2016 concerning Second Amendment to Law No.1/2015 concerning the Election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor. Meanwhile, administrative base to this local leaders election is that the current governorship post would end around July to December 2016 and 2017. The Chair of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta, during research interview, said that:

“The implementation of the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta has been enforced by provisions in Law No.10/2016. Also, this election should be organized because the tenure of the current governor would end on year of 2017. It should answer the question of why local leaders election in Jakarta was organized simultaneously with other elections in other provinces in Indonesia”. (Interview, 21 February 2017)

The above statement is supported by the documents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which explain that Law No.10/2016, as the legal base for the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta, is the product of dynamic processes to determine rules of simultaneous-direct local leaders election. It began with Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (*Perppu*) No.1/2014 concerning The Election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor. To enforce this normative base, Law No.1/2015 was enacted to validate this Government Regulation to become Law (Ministry of Internal Affairs for Indonesia Republic, 2017: 2).

According to the Chair of Local Legislators for Jakarta, the exercise of Law No.10/2016, as the legal base for Jakarta Local Leaders Election, represents efforts to respond or to deal with empirical issues and weaknesses during direct leader election, and still, the response must be given by respect to Law No.8/2015. The following is the chair's statement during interview:

“The implementation of Local Leaders Election in Jakarta is not yet complying with provisions in Law No.8/2015. But, if the opinions and occurrences in other regions are taken into account, the provisions in Law No.10/2016 have been anticipative and responsive to any problems disturbing local leaders election. Among these problems is internal conflict in the political party concerning with the legality of political party's managing board. It is one example case that is solvable by Law No.10/2016". (Interview, 21 February 2017)

Consistent to this opinion, the Chair of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta Region said that Law No.10/2016 as the legal base for the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta has been quite responsive to several cases, and at least it remains so because it still complies with provisions in Law No.8.2015. Indeed, the Chair of the Commission also added that Law No.10/2016 has facilitated the process of Local Leaders Election because it provides guidances to settle down many election-related problems inherited from previous election period due to lack of legitimate bases.

Basically, local leaders election is a stage of local democracy that presents the play of electors and election candidates. Both actors of the play, in the election day, settle on agreement concerning who shall be the political leader. In other words, people, where electors and candidates belong to, agree on who must occupy governor and vice-governor posts. Through election system of simple majority, which is already stated in the laws of Local Leaders Election, the candidate pair obtaining the highest votes is automatically to be the winner. The role of election organizers are only to engage with administrative issues and services related to the process of local leaders election. Referring to the role capacity of election organizers, and also regarding to the votes obtained by each candidate pair, then official deliberation was conducted at the Office of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta at Salemba Road No. 15, and this deliberation was attended by the chair and members of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta, such as Sumarno, Betty Epsilon Idroos, Dahliah Umar, M. Sidik and M. Fadlillah. Other participant includes the representatives of number-two and number-three candidate pairs and their success teams, and also the representatives of General Elections Commission for Regency/City in the Province of Jakarta Capital Special Region, Local Government of the Province, Election Supervisory Agency, and mass media. Following up the results of deliberation, Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta held an Open Plenary Deliberation for Determining The Elected Governor and Vice-Governor for Period 2017-2022. This plenary session was ended with the hand-over of campaign audit to campaign team representative and the bestow of the copy of determination to the winning candidates (Observation, 6 May 2017).

With respect to the Decree of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta No. 95/Kpts-KPU-Prov-010/2017, the Number-Three candidate pair of Anies Rasyid Baswedan-Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno has been determined as the winner with provincial vote recapitulation of 3,240,987 or 57.96 percents of total votes. This vote attainment outnumbers the vote obtained by the Number-Two candidate pair of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama-Djarot Syaiful Hidayat with 2,350,366 votes or 42.04 percents. The determination of election results or the winner is the most final stage of all processes in the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta (Documentation of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta, 2017).

Based on information above, it can be said that the process of direct local leaders election in Jakarta, respectively from preparation to execution stages, has been well organized and conforming to the mechanism required by the general election laws. The laws have been quite aspirative, responsive, and explicitly explainable as the legal bases of direct local election in Jakarta. The enforcement of these laws is quite easier and thus, disputes concerning how to implement direct local election can be set to a minimum.

The Involvement of Organizational Units of Jakarta Capital Province

The realization of the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta, from preparation to implementation stages, cannot escape from the involvement of all organizational elements at provincial level of Jakarta Capital Special Region.

The Elements of Local Organizational Units Involved

Direct local leaders election is a local political activity that recently becomes an important structure for the local peoples who desire to use their sovereignty right to determine their own local leaders in democratic way. This election is a public activity, and under *good governance* perspective, thus it must be held by involving all elements, including government, private, and civil society. This involvement is found in the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta Capital Special Region.

Pursuant to the provisions stated in Law No.10/2016 concerning Second Amendment to Law No.1/2015 concerning the Election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor, then it is suggested for Local Leaders Election to utilize three typological institutions, respectively operator, supervisor, and enforcer (the latter handles matters related with deviations or disputes). These institutions are also found in the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta. The operator is Regional General Elections Commission, the supervisor is Election Supervisory Agency, and the enforcer includes police, attorney, and Election Winning Coordination Agency.

As asserted by the Chair of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta, to ensure that direct local leaders election would produce honest, clean and accountable leaders to Jakarta people, then election process must be guarded by independent entities, including non-government organizations and civil society, in voluntary way. The following statement is given during interview:

“If we talk about who or what organizational unit is involved, the answer is all stakeholders to the direct local leaders election, including Local Legislators, Local Government, Regional General Elections Commission, Election Supervisory Agency, Election Independent Commission, Non-Government Organization, and people. Some are involved through national assignment, such as Regional General Elections Commission and Election Supervisory Agency. Meanwhile, the others participate voluntarily, such as mass media, non-government organization, civil society, and other observer entities”.(Interview, 11 June 2017)

The involvement of local organizational units as the elements of Local Government into the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta is a form of obedience to the mandate stated in Article 133A of Law No.10/2016, stipulating that Local Government is responsible to develop democratic life in locality, and it can be actualized by increasing people participation to use their suffrages. The involvement of Local Government of Jakarta Capital Special Region is justified by one of commission members of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta, elaborated as follows:

“Local Government is a local leadership entity, and it provides a lot of helps to election operator. For example, Jakarta Local Government helps the operator to determine gathering spots. All elements responsible to local government are mobilized and assigned to safeguard orderliness and security, and even to escort financial delivery. Although local government is the leading entity, it has similar position to General Elections Commission and Election Supervisory Agency in the election. It is said that the Agency always coordinates with local government and the Commission to ensure that the election is successfully held. Local government sometimes has same goals as those of election operators and even develops its own team for local leaders election. This team usually invites representation from election operators.(Interview, 23 March 2017).

Furthermore, the Secretariat of Local Government of Jakarta has stated that Local Government has some interests in local leaders election, and therefore, it must participate to the election process. As operator, Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta plays very vital role because whether the election is successful or not depends on the Commission’s performance. Article 10 of Law No.10/2016 explains that during the process of direct local leaders election, Regional General Elections Commission must be neutral. This neutrality is achievable through the following actions:

1. Treating all Governor and Vice-Governor candidates as equitable and equal;
2. Delivering all information concerning election to all stakeholders;
3. Conducting recommendation and decision of Election Supervisory Agency concerning administrative sanction to deviations and fraudulences;
4. Executing the decision of Election Winning Coordination Agency; and
5. Fulfilling other duties as required by the prevailed laws.

Other organization with vital role for the success of direct local leaders election is Election Supervisory Agency as the supervisor institution. The Agency is required by Law No.10/2016 to watch over the process of direct local leaders election to keep it on the track, and to anticipate earlier the emergence of deviations and fraudulences. As said by the Chair of Election Supervisory Agency for Jakarta Region, in dealing with deviations and fraudulences related with permanent electoral list, logistic, money politic practice, and most importantly, neutrality among officers

at polling stations (*TPS*), indeed, the Agency asks for help from the people to take active participation to monitor the election process and the recapitulation of votes. Either citizens or volunteers are expected to take photographs of the indicated fraud on vote collection process and also the collected vote in C1 Form, and then upload them to social media or vote monitoring applications. (Interview, 27 May 2017).

Roles of Each Local Organizational Unit

As already reported by the Chair of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta, the direct local leaders election in Jakarta in 2017 has involved many local organizational units, including government, private and civil society. The roles of each organization unit are explained as follows.

First is Local Government. Its involvement is limited only to maintain orderliness and security of election process, and to support the budgeting. This involvement must comply with the guidance given by the Ministry of Internal Affairs that explains roles or functions of Local Government in the direct local election. These roles are described as follows:

1. Local Government officers are deployed into Secretariat Office of Regional General Elections Commission (Decree of the Ministry of Internal Affairs No.870/1925/SJ/2015).
2. Local Government take care the data of population per district (DAK2) and the list of potential electors in the electoral region (DP4).
3. It supports the discussion of election-related funding (Regulation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs No.44/2015 and Circular of the Ministry of Internal Affairs No. 900/1196/SJ/2015).
4. It safeguards tranquility, orderliness, and security during election process (Regulation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs No.10/2009). (Documentation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2016)

Second is Local Legislators (*DPRD*). It is local institution that gives the mandates to Regional General Elections Commission to organize direct local leaders election in Jakarta. The Commission holds notification from Legislators and use it as the base to execute election. Besides giving mandates for election, Legislators also monitor the election process (Interview, 25 April 2017).

The object of monitoring could be electoral list, budget, and some normative aspects. The following is statement given by the member of Commission A of Jakarta Local Legislators during interview with researcher:

“Relationship between Jakarta Capital Government and Jakarta Local Legislators is close resemblance to a work partnership to fulfill what people desire. Therefore, Legislators only watch over the election process to eliminate executive intervention. Commission A plays role to monitor the population who hold electronic identity card (*E-KTP*) in Jakarta. For

example, the eligible voter (with electronic identity card) is estimated as more or less than 12 or 13 millions persons, but the collected vote only reaches for 7.6 millions. The monitoring on budget use is the discretion of Commission C".(Interview, 25 April 2017)

Third is Regional General Elections Commission(*KPUD*). The control center of the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta remains on the authority of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta. This authority is given by Article 9 and 10 of Law No.10/2016, and both articles explain about tasks and discretions of the Commission, such as:

1. Preparing and making agreement on the rules and technical guidances for every stage of election after consulting with Local Legislators and Local Government in a deliberation forum, which the decision is strongly binding;
2. Strengthening coordination for the favor of election and monitoring the proceed of election stages;
3. Evaluating the accomplishment of the election; and
4. Fulfilling other tasks and discretions required by the laws.

Indeed, Regional General Elections Commissionfor Jakarta is the close partner to Jakarta Capital Government in organizing direct local leaders election. The Commission works professionally on the limits stipulated by the laws. At least, it should work in compliance with the vision, which is, to be General Election Operator that successfully holds integrity, professionalism, autonomy, transparency and accountability to develop democracyinto the Unitary State of Indonesia Republic in pursuance with Five Principles and National Constitution. The Commission also has few missions, written as follows:

1. To be an institution with relevant competency, credibility and capability to organize General Election;
2. To organize General Election in order to provide members to National Legislators, Local Representative Board, and Local Legislators; to elect President and Vice-President; and to choose Local Leader and its Vice, in manners of direct, general, free, confidential, honest, just, accountable, educative and civilized;
3. To improve the quality of General Election, which is aimed to be clean, and more efficient and effective;
4. To serve and treat all election participants in equitable and equal ways, and also to enforce election laws consistently; and
5. To increase political awareness of the people, which may stimulate them to participate actively to General Election, which then would be helpful to actualize the aspiration of Indonesian citizens of a democratic life.

Regional General Elections Commissionfor Jakarta Capital Special Region has many divisions in its organizational structure to handlemany administrative jobs related to the election. These divisions are outlined as follows.

1. Division of Program, Data, Organization and Human Resource

By its name, this Division has tasks to do, such as preparing program, processing data, and handling issues concerning organization and human resource. These tasks are arranged into two functions, namely preparing program and processing data as first function, while the second is handling issues of organization and human resource. First function is taken care of by Sub-Division of Program and Data, while second function is carried on by Sub-Division of Organization and Human Resource.

Sub-Division of Program and Data is assigned to collect and to process materials or data related to the program, and then to conduct monitoring and evaluation on program completion. Sub-Division of Organization and Human Resource has assignment to collect and to process materials or data on issues about organization and human resource. Issues of human resource may involve staff procurement, mutation and discipline, education and training, and managerial and clerical works.

2. Division of Finance, General and Logistic

Tasks of this Division are planning and managing the finance, and handling general and logistic issues. These two tasks represent two functions, which therefore are served by two Sub-Divisions, namely Sub-Division of Finance and Sub-Division of General and Logistic.

Sub-Division of Finance is assigned to collect and to process materials or data concerning budget, verification, accounting, financial reporting, and treasury. Sub-Division of General and Logistic is dealing with issues concerning division administration, court procedure, internal order, and logistic procurement to local election, as well as distribution of election process to provide members to National Legislators, Local Legislators and Local Representative Board, to elect President and Vice-President, and to choose Local Leader and its Vice.

3. Division of Legal, Technical, and Public Participation Liaison

This Division is dealing with issues of legality, technicality, and public participation liaison. It has two functions. First function is anything to do with legal issues, while the second concerns with technical issues and public participation liaison. Each function is handled by sub-division, and therefore, there are two sub-divisions constituting this Division, namely Sub-Division of Legal and Sub-Division of Technical and Public Participation Liaison.

Sub-Division of Legal is given few tasks, such as to socialize election laws, to verify facts, to administer campaign funds, to solve legal disputes, and to provide legal assistance during court process. Sub-Division of Technical and Public Participation Liaison is assigned with several tasks, such as to register the voter, to prepare campaign schedule, to collect and count the votes, to determine results of local election and inter-time replacement (in case of Provincial Legislators), to

replenish members of post-election Provincial Legislators, to stipulate electoral region and its candidacies, to settle on the candidates of Provincial Legislators and of Local Leader and its Vice, to take documentation of candidate education about election, and to ensure the usability of election monitoring facilities.

Fourth is Election Supervisory Agency (*Bawaslu*). The involvement of this organizational unit has been explained in Article 22B of Law No.10/2016. Tasks and discretions of Election Supervisory Agency for Jakarta around the election are described as follows:

1. It prepares and determines rules and technical guidances for the supervision of every election stage. Related with this work, it also develops manuals for examination, recommendation, and decision concerning objection claim. The settlement of claim must consult with Local Legislators and Local Government in deliberation forum where decision made is strongly binding.
2. It accepts, checks, and makes decision about objection claim against decision made by Provincial Election Supervisory Agency concerning candidacy for the posts of Governor and Vice-Governor, Regent and Vice-Regent, and Mayor and Vice-Mayor, as submitted by individual candidates, or by Political Party supporting the candidates, or by Coalition of Political Parties. Related to this work, it also deals with the sanctions of disqualification or permit revokation that prevent Political Party/Coalition of Political Parties from nominating their candidates in the next election.
3. It coordinates and monitors supervision stages of the election.
4. It completes other tasks and discretions required by the prevailed laws.
5. It accepts and takes action on issues of deviations and fraudulences in the election, and gives recommendations and decisions regarding to the issues.

According to the Chair of Election Supervisory Agency for Jakarta, besides conducting direct monitoring on local election process, technical task of the Agency is also receiving reports of deviations and fraudulences. Moreover, all findings and reports are reviewed and decided whether there is problem or not. If problem exists, then the Agency gives recommendation of action to the problem. The Chair's statement with researcher during interview is elaborated as follows:

“Election Supervisory Agency for Jakarta begins its roles by conducting supervision on local election either directly or indirectly through reports. After receiving findings or reports, the Agency ensure whether there is indication of problem. The Agency's recommendation determines whether problem exists or not, and then, other organizational units enforce election laws based on this recommendation.” (Interview, 24 April 2017)

Fifth is Political Party. The presence of political party in the election is a constitutional condition. It is already stated in Article 40 of Law No.10/2016. It has five verses explained as follows.

1. Political Party or Coalition of Political Parties can enlist its candidate pair only after holding minimally 20 percents of Local Legislators' seats or receiving 25 percents of accumulated valid votes in Local Legislators' election.
2. Political Party or Coalition of Political Parties can suggest its candidate pair only after holding minimally 20 percents of Local Legislators' seats as referred in Verse (1), and when division process on Local Legislators' seats results in fraction, then the acquired seats are rounded upward.
3. Political Party or Coalition of Political Parties can suggest its candidate pair only after receiving 25 percents of accumulated valid votes in Local Legislators' election as referred in Verse (1), and this condition only prevails for Political Party that holds seats in Local Legislators.
4. Political Party or Coalition of Political Parties as referred in Verse (1) can suggest only one candidate pair.
5. Percentage of seat obtained as referred in Verse (1) and (2) is derived from the predetermined counting mechanism, and the exception is given to Local Legislators of Papua and West Papua who are appointed rather than elected.

The Chair of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta insisted that political party plays very important role in the election process because political party is the true actor in the election. Jakarta leadership candidates are prepared by political party to be elected by Jakarta peoples. The mobilization of people as elector notably during campaign, public debate, and election day, cannot be separated from the role of political party (Interview, 21 April 2017). Same opinion was given by the Chair of Election Supervisory Agency for Jakarta, who declared that political party has huge contribution to the election because each political party always attempts to make their candidates winning. However, this attempt sometimes involves deviations and fraudulences done by political party functionaries due to their great ambition to win (Interview, 26 April 2017).

Sixth is Non-Government Organization. People do care about the 2017 Jakarta Local Election, and it deserves great appreciation. Participation level is very high. People want to escort local election to its success. The following is statement given by a member of Election Supervisory Agency:

"I believe that all institutions, including colleges, are working up for the election. Observer groups, non-government organizations (*LSM*), and others keep their eyes on election process. Independent Election Commission and its local offices are processing information from the locals. This independent commission cooperates with press and develops commitments for the election success". (Interview, 28 April 2017).

This statement is supported by the Chair of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta who said that the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta Capital Special Region cannot escape from the roles of all stakeholders, precisely not only organizations assigned by the laws to manage election, but also people-based organizations. The latter are greatly appreciated for their voluntary participation in the election, especially when they oversee election process on the field. As noted by the Chair of Regional General Elections Commission for Jakarta, each local organizational unit has fulfilled its roles and functions professionally and proportionally, and by then, the prediction that Jakarta local election suffers from conflict was unproved (Interview, 21 April 2017).

It is possible to say that direct local leaders election in Jakarta Capital Special Region is supported by involvement of all local organizational elements in Jakarta, either through compulsory or voluntary ways. Despite this different way of involvement, the goal they pursue is same, which is, to keep the direct local leaders election in compliance with the laws, and be implemented in secured, peace, and clean ways, and also free of various deviations and fraudulences. The involvement of these local organizational elements can take many forms, such as being organizer, supervisor, and controller, which they must synergize one another to make the success of direct local leaders election in Jakarta.

DISCUSSION

The Implementation of Direct Local Leaders Election

The process of the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta, from preparation to execution stages, has been organized as expected and complies with the mechanism required by election laws. These laws are easily enforced but still have been aspirative, responsive, and explicitly explainable as the legal bases of direct local leaders election in Jakarta. All these characteristics minimize the emergence of the conflicting different understandings.

The Involvement of Local Organizational Units in Direct Local Leaders Election

Technically, the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta was held in direct method and supported by the involvement of all local organizational elements, either through compulsory or voluntary ways. These elements have a common goal, precisely to ensure that the election has complied with the laws, be conducted in secured, peace, and clean ways, and free of various deviations and fraudulences. These elements involve in the election through various forms, which they can be organizer, supervisor, and controller, but still they must work in synergy of one another for the success of Jakarta Local Election.

The Elements of Local Organizational Units Involved

It cannot be denied that the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta is the “hottest” local leaders election if compared to previous election and also to all regions that organize same event. There are three candidate pairs running for Local Leaders Election in Jakarta. If the background of each pair is taken into account, then three different political interests exist. To make sure that this interest has great impact, it must be supported by Coalition of Political Parties rather than by merely one political party. Each Coalition is always competitive in using its power and communal base, and therefore, strict supervision is conducted over fierce competition to restrain the possible overheat. Vote acquisition from electability polling is seemingly tight among candidate pairs, and therefore, it increases the possibility of deviations and fraudulences that may trigger further dispute on election result. Fortunately, all problems can be made predictable and be anticipated despite the great number of local organizational units involved in the election.

The involvement of local organizational units into the election is aimed to actualize the desire of people for *good governance* and to be certain that the election has complied with fair play rule. This involvement is truly needed to produce local leadership through an election system characterized by honesty, justice, freedom, confidentiality, and that avoids *money politic* and other dirty politic practice. The ideal leader whom people dream about can be obtained through such a system. According to Lancaster (2004), *good governance* is achievable through actions of reducing government bureaucratic size, privatizing public enterprises, and improving financial aid administration.

Indeed, people expect that the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta can produce *good governance*. Local Government of Jakarta has worked optimally to fulfill indicators of *good governance*. Referring to *governance* orthodoxy, the governance stands upon six (6) pillars, described as follows:

1. State is a key player, precisely not as dominant and hegemonic entity, but as equal actor (*primus inter pares*) with reliable capacity to mobilize communal and market actors to achieve the ultimate goals.
2. State is not anymore a centrum of “formal power”, but a centrum of “political capacity”. Power characteristic of the State must be transformed from “*power over*” into “*power to*”.
3. State must share its power and roles with other players in three directions, respectively: “upward” with transnational organizations; “sideward” with NGO and private; and “downward” with local organizations and local peoples.
4. State must loose its political control and organizational unity to encourage organizations out of government to build strong, autonomous and dynamic exchange and partnership with government.

5. State must involve communal and private elements into the process of decision-making and public service delivery.
6. State must have capability of being responsive, adaptive, and fulfilling public accountability. (Sunyoto, 2003)

The involvement of elements of organizational units and local peoples into the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta has produced empirical fact that *good governance* is possibly achievable. Misra (in Kuncoro, 2004) proposed ten (10) indicators of achieving *good governance* through direct local leaders election.

1. *Participation*. Citizens are given chances to express their opinions through participation, either directly or indirectly, in the decision-making process.
2. *Law Enforcement*. Laws are enforced in a way that produces justice and non-discrimination, delivers human rights, and calculates all people values.
3. *Transparency*. Trust-based relationship between government and people must provide information needed and also access to this information.
4. *Responsive*. The elected bureaucrats should be more responsive in dealing with grievances, problems, and aspirations.
5. *Distribution*. Every citizen has same chance to improve their welfare.
6. *Strategic Vision*. The candidates propose their idea of governance strategy supported by the available budgeting system, which therefore people have senses of belonging and responsibility to the future of their region.
7. *Effectiveness and Efficiency*. People are served satisfyingly because resources would be used wisely and optimally by the elected bureaucrats.
8. *Professionalism*. The elected bureaucrats are required to improve their capacity, skill, and morality such that public service is delivered easily, fast, accurately, and in affordable price.
9. *Accountability*. There would be public accountability among policy makers in government, private, and other organizations.
10. *Supervision*. Direct local leaders election produces control and supervision on public administration and development activity because people and people organization are involved into it.

The collaboration between elements of local organizational units and local peoples in direct local leaders election organized by non-bureaucratic institutions is a significant progress after a post-reformation political dynamic in Indonesia. This collaboration is also the proof that democratic reasoning underlying the system of local leaders election has been well institutionalized. Indeed, the institutionalization of democratic reasoning represents a compliance with all “rules of game” of the election. To makes people’s dream coming true by the election, then independent, non-discriminant, autonomous, and professional organizer of

the election is needed. The construction of institutionalization above becomes that aspiration of Article 22E in National Constitution and of Law No.15/2011 concerning General Election Implementation. Article 22E of National Constitution states that: “*general election must be organized by general elections commission that is rational, firm and autonomous*”. Meanwhile, by taking reference from Law No.15/2011, the balance of power in the election is kept by two election organizers, notably General Elections Commission and Election Supervisory Agency. (Law No.10/2016)

Dealing with problems in the election, such as *money politic*, illegal involvement of civil servants, lack of neutrality by either organizer, and manipulation of election data (Election Commission, 2016:7), then it is very urgent for election organizers to involve all elements of local organizational units and local peoples at least to minimize deviations and fraudulences.

Roles of Local Organizational Units Involved

To cope with technical matters, Regional General Elections Commission forms an ad-hoc (not permanent) election organizer in every government level, respectively District Election Committee (*PPK*) at district level, Vote Collection Committee (*PPS*) at sub-district/village level, and Vote Collection Organizer Group (*KPPS*) at polling stations (*TPS*). General Elections Commission for Regency/City solves technical issues by hiring experts with operational technical skills. For example, Electoral Data Update Committee (*PPDP*) is formed to compare and examine the electoral lists. As General Elections Commission does, Election Supervisory Agency has permanent organizational structure at provincial level. To ease its supervision on local leaders election in various regencies or cities, then Provincial Election Supervisory Agency forms an ad-hoc organization called Election Supervisory Committee for Regency/City. Furthermore, Regency/City Supervisory Committee creates District Supervisory Committee, assigns Sub-District/Village Supervisory Committee, and hires some individuals into supervisory committee at each polling station (Agus, 2017).

General elections norms stated in the laws of local leaders election has given indication that power relation among all organizational units in the election is always functional and interdependent. For example, it is called as functional because recommendations given by Election Supervisory Committee for Regency/City can be used by General Elections Commission for Regency/City as the legal base of its decision-making process. In the other way, data and information provided by the Commission can be used by the Committee as the legal base of its action in dealing with the election-related problems. Furthermore, the relationship is called as interdependent because the Committee cannot work effectively without the availability of data and information provided by the Commission. When the Committee’s recommendation is given by ignoring the facts, then it may disturb

the work of the Commission because any recommendations whatsoever should be followed up (Nugraha, 2016).

The presence of supervisor in local leaders election is aimed to improve the effectiveness of all election stages. Agus (2017) defined the word “effectiveness” same as that in organizational management context. The election process is considered as effective only if it has completed all election stages in compliance with plans and rules. Therefore, General Elections Commission and Election Supervisory Agency are always complementary rather than opposing one another. Otherwise, communal order can be out of balance (Nugraha, 2016).

Although Regional General Elections Commission and Election Supervisory Agency play more dominant roles in the direct local leaders election, but Local Government cannot just get away from it. Local Government stands as local bureaucracy to this election. As Max Weber said, local bureaucracy should be the independent actor in local politic because it must be out of political network where candidates belong to. However, in the practice, Weber’s idealism is nullified. Local bureaucracy cannot escape from the process and activity of local politic, including direct local leaders election. Local bureaucracy is risking from being called as political machine because it can be organized politically by certain interest groups to persuade the local government to make policies or to take actions that can elevate their interests over those of the other groups. In general, local bureaucracy is the dominant actor that plans and implements governmental policies, and also helps the government to set its budget under perspective of public service. In a modern government, bureaucracy is not only a political machine but also a political loudspeaker for the ruling government (Thoha, 2014: 26).

Concerning with the label of political machine, civil servants in local government may be on dilemmatic position, and local government should do something about it. However, in the other hand, local government is required to always be ready to organize local leaders election and to give the best quality of the election. Direct local leaders election is a symbol of progress in restructuring the local democratic formation based on political liberalization framework to the favor of local peoples. Of course, direct local leaders election as an election system elicits optimism and pesimism. In one side, direct local leaders election is the manifestation of returning “fundamental rights” to the hand of local peoples, which is done by giving them full discretions to recruit their own local leaders, and this should dynamize democratic life in the local. In other side, however, direct local leaders election always involves huge costs, which risking the election from producing corrupt local leaders (Sjahrir et.al., 2014: 166-183).

Indeed, Indonesian political histories since Old Order, New Order, and Reformation Order always show that bureaucracy is merely the pawn of dominant political power. During Reformation Order, marked by political liberalization in the local, local bureaucracy becomes a strategic post in the political contest where

local leaders are elected directly by the people. Therefore, local bureaucracy is still effective to be used as political machine. Some regulations have required local bureaucracy or local government to be neutral in direct local leaders election. What is the local bureaucracy allowed to do for the election is only to facilitate the process of election, and it truly relegates its role as political machine. It seems that the ideal roles of local bureaucracy are far away from expectation because it is still often used by the incumbent as an instrument to win the reelection (Sudrajat, 2015: 351-370).

Laws that arrange direct local leaders election provide two doors to enter the election of governor, regent or mayor. One door is candidacy through political party, while the other door is individual candidacy. Terminologically, the definition about political party is many. Imawan (in Sigit Pamungkas), for instance, mentioned that not less than eighty (80) definitions exist for political party. Pamungkas defines political party as “an organization that struggles for certain value or ideology by using power structure and power itself obtained through its participation in general election” (Pamungkas, 2011: 5). This definition justifies the meaning of political party in two dimensions, respectively, to struggle for value or ideology, and to acquire power. All political parties are founded as structure to achieve these two dimensions.

Political party orientation toward power acquisition is strongly asserted in pragmatic definition about political party suggested by Robert Huckshom in his textual book where he said, “*political party is an autonomous group of citizens with goals to participate into candidacy and competition of general election in expect to win the control over governmental power through the acquisition of public jobs and government organizations*” (Pamungkas, 2011: 5). By this definition, it is perceived that the objective behind political party establishment is to win general election and to be the ruler of government. Therefore, every political party finds as necessary to put its candidates in every general election in expect to be the winner, not to be the lossier.

Three candidate pairs competing in the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta, which is done through direct election method, are brought by political party. It holds the fact that political party is a structure needed by people to articulate their interests of having control over local government. Political party has several functions, described as follows:

1. Function of Interest Articulation. It is a process of inputting various needs, demands, and interests into legislative institution through group representatives, and making sure that all these needs, demands and interests are represented and protected during the making of public policies.
2. Function of Interest Aggregation. It is a process of how the demands striven by different groups are consolidated to become alternatives to the making of public policies.

3. Function of Political Socialization. It is a process of introducing political values, political attitudes, and political ethic that are prevailed or submitted by the State.
4. Function of Political Recruitment. It is a process of selecting or recruiting group members to represent the group into administrative or political posts. Political party should have political recruitment mechanism that is capable to develop high-quality political actors. One of principle tasks of political party is to provide high-quality candidates to be seated on legislative and executive institutions.
5. Function of Political Communication. Political party is a structure to communicate information, issues and ideas of politic. (Khoirudin, 2004: 86)

Reformation on policies concerning mechanism of local leaders election, from reference system, throughout representation, to direct method is a democratic process in Indonesia. Local leaders election as a product of democratic process and local restructuring, therefore, should be organized properly based on *good governance*. It means that it must involve various elements to safeguard the election process. Possibly, it is because this direct local leaders election helps Indonesian to fulfill the needs of law certainty, free press, respect to human rights, and involvement of citizens in voluntary organizations. The use of *good governance* perspective as the base of direct local leaders election must be signified openly because the election must involve individuals and organizations (Caster, 2004).

The collaboration of various elements of local organizational units and local peoples in direct local leaders election is new phenomenon in Indonesian democracy, and it can also be called as political resurrection of the people that marks the birth of public participation in the politic. Such civil political resurrection is observable through the participation of political volunteers into the election regardless their religion, ethnic or race (primordialism). These political volunteers create a spontaneous civil association based on public trust without submission to any political parties. Indeed, direct local leaders election is a very important momentum to the enforcement of political democratic rights of local peoples.

Moreover, the collaboration of elements of local organizational units and local peoples in direct local leaders election gives an indication that public participation in the political event is increasing and becoming new trend in democratic party. In this context, public involvement as the controlling instrument of democratic activity is creating the direct local leaders election that is transparent and accountable. As said by Sari (2016), massive deviations and fraudulences in direct local leaders election are the consequences of lack of understandings among political actors who escort the process of democratic party in determining local leaders. In other words, the provision of room for action to all elements to watch over local leaders election, as

what happens in the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta, has brought a positive implication to the increasing performance of election process. The involvement of local organizational elements, either in the roles of organizer, supervisor, and law enforcer, helps the election process running on the predetermined track.

Taking into account the review results on theoretical perspective about the involvement of local organizational units in the direct local leaders election, as what happens in the 2017 Local Leaders Election in Jakarta, the following proposition is formulated:

Minor Proposition

“If the system of direct local leaders election provides room of action for the involvement of all elements of local organizational units and local peoples, it can minimize the possibility of deviations and fraudulences in every stage of the election”.

CONCLUSION

The involvement of local organizational units and local peoples in the direct local leaders election, either required by constitution or due to voluntary action, may help to keep the election stages on the track (election laws). Deviations and fraudulences in this election can be kept minimum because all these elements are working together for the success of the election, and no single one of them is free of doing something in conflict with the election goals, for example, when they defend or facilitate the interests of certain groups. The base of this conclusion is the perspective of *good governance* in public sector leadership, which states that the control over the process of direct local leaders election must involve all elements of local organizational units and local peoples. The essence of local leadership is the involvement of all stakeholders to achieve the goals of direct local leaders election, and these stakeholders could be local government units, technical organizational units, and non-government organizations with their different roles in every stage of election process.

Suggestion

All local elements, including local organizational units and local peoples, must be involved in the process of direct local leaders election. Each element can be supportive and controlling the work of each election organizer or people as the elector. However, local organizational units have more significant roles and functions, and therefore, they must perform it professionally and proportionally, and be neutral to produce high-quality election under one leadership of implementation and supervision as required by the election laws.

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