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# THE AMBIGUITY OF THE INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE IN INDONESIAN REGIONAL ELECTION: A CASE STUDY OF GOWA REGENCY

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper aims to show the phenomenon of the nomination of independent candidates in the elections in Indonesia, which is controversial. Formally, the nomination of candidates through independent channels in the elections in Indonesia is based on the Constitutional Court Number 5 / PUU-V / 2007 23 July 2007. Through this Decree, a candidate can participate as a Candidate without having to be carried by political parties. This policy is seen as an answer to the problem of candidacy, which has so far been dominated by elitist political parties that tend to be transactional so that only people with a large share of political and economic resources are likely to be nominated. Through an independent channel, it can open more opportunities to the broader community outside the political parties. This system also provides open-up, immense, and equal opportunities for all citizens. However, in practice, it turns out that this is difficult to realize even though formally it is possible. The phenomenon of the 2015 Gowa Regency election shows that despite winning the contestation, the mechanism undertaken by independent candidates is not open substantively to many. Various rules that govern it provide a way for certain circles to use it even though it is formally open to anyone.

**KEYWORDS:** Democracy, Regional Election, Independent Mechanism, Equality, Indonesia

## 1 I. INTRODUCTION

Democracy is a system that fundamentally places people as the most critical aspect of its system. The fact that people consist of different backgrounds becomes a necessity that democracy wants to maintain through the equality value. Thus, democracy has tried to place people as equal entities from the beginning. Therefore, people have equal rights related to their position as citizens, including in the political field (Post, 2005). This issue becomes an essential aspect of democracy, making it the most widely implemented system in the world in various forms. Although implemented in various forms, there is one crucial thing that generally occurs through its implementation, which is the election. Elections are an essential feature of democracy implementation, which is considered the Hearth of Democracy (Heywood, 2013). Therefore, elections are always present in countries with democratic systems, including in Indonesia.

Democracy is a system adopted in Indonesia since the beginning of Indonesia's independence. It can be observed through the state constitution in the fourth paragraph of its preamble. In this section, the constitution state that:

*"... to form an Indonesian Government that protects all Indonesian people and to promote people welfare, educate the nation's life, and participate in carrying out world order based on independence thing, eternal peace and social justice, the Indonesian National Independence was compiled in a Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which is formed in the composition of Republic of Indonesia which is sovereign by people ..."*

Thus, since the beginning, Indonesia has been placed people as essential aspects as the owner of sovereignty, which became the framework Indonesian political system. People's position is pivotal and becomes determinant in various existing social and political dynamics. People then allowed to involve as part of the constitutional mandate. It means citizen has equal rights and formally protected by laws. The laws are then understood as formal based that provides equal chance and opportunity for people under democracy framework, including in the election process. It makes all election processes to vote and place a person in legislative and executive

positions. People should involve equally not only as a voter but also as a candidate. This point applies to every form of the election, including the regional head elections in Indonesia.

The regional election is one event that reflects the principles of democracy. Because people are involved in the process to determine its results. Generally, people's involvement in election can be divided into two forms, as the voter or candidate. When they adhere to democratic principles, in both terms, all people must have the same opportunity. People's political rights must be equal as the constitution mandate regardless of their social, political, or economic background.

In terms of being a candidate, Indonesia's regulations have opened equally for legally eligible people. It is expressly regulated in structuring the political rights of citizens in the Indonesian constitution starting from the Article 27 paragraphs (1) and (2); Article 28, Article 28D paragraph (3); Article 28E paragraph (3). While the right to vote is also regulated in Article 1 paragraph (2); Article 2 paragraph (1); Article 6A paragraph (1); Article 19 paragraph (1) and Article 22C paragraph (1) of the Constitution. Concretely, the Indonesian government issued law as a derivative of the constitution mandate regulates provisions that provide the same path for the people to become candidates. In fact, since 2007, the government has advanced more by opening more chances for people to be elected in elections through the independent candidacy mechanism. It considers as an implementation democratic spirit that respects people's political rights broadly and justly.

The mechanism of independent candidates is a method to provide extensive political opportunities for all citizens to run in the election. Unlike the previous local elections, only candidates proposed by political parties could become candidates, so the number was limited. The limited number of political parties and formal restrictions on nominating candidates makes the mechanism tend to be exclusive due to various conditions desired by political parties usually only could be met by a handful of people (Erb and Sulistiyanto, 2009). Besides that, the requirement to meet 20% of seats or 25% of the previous election's valid votes limits the number of candidates. Moreover, political parties can only propose one pair candidate. This condition makes access through political parties difficult. When someone succeeds in accessing it, the person indeed has resources to meet the political parties' requirements.

The tendency shows that people who want have the approval must have enormous economic, political, or social resources that allow them to appoint as a candidate representing a political party. Without those abilities, there is no opportunity to have a political party's endorsement to run in an election (Erb and Sulistiyanto 2009; Holtzappel, Coen and Martin Remastedt, 2009; Buehler and Tan, 2007). This condition makes one who has limited resources will be impossible to run in the election, although he has strong political experience and public management background. This phenomenon tends to strengthen oligarchs in Indonesia's political parties, where only limited elites have power in decisionmaking (Winters 2013; Carnegie 2008; Pratikno 2007). The oligarchy practices tend to reduce opportunities to become the candidate even though and this system is guaranteed formally in Indonesia. The oligarchic Indonesia political party generate distrust of people to political parties. It led to various communities' reluctance, which led to a lawsuit against the law number 32-year 2004 concerning the regional government, especially to the requirements for candidates in the elections. The lawsuit later led to the Mahkamah Konstitusi (The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia) decided for the decision Number 5 / PUU-V / 2007 on 23 July 2007 which later became the basis for issuance of the Law Number 12-year 2008 concerning elections in which candidates allowed to submit as a candidate in regional election through independent path mechanism.

The regulation then considered an opportunity for people who wanted to become a candidate. Through this line, a candidate no longer has to deal with political parties and can be easier to be nominated. Formally, it shows the government's desire to provide alternative ways for people besides the political party's line. The independent candidacy is an effort to guarantee equality to people's political rights to be chosen under democratic ways. Therefore, the independent candidate mechanism welcomed in many regions. Nevertheless, people hope that the mechanism does not automatically bring relevant results within its implementation.

Even though it no longer has to deal with political parties, but the independent candidates are confronted with other issues, which in practice tend to be considered more complicated (Thaha and Haryanto 2017; Arbas 2012). Besides, it also still requires appropriate ownership of resources as in the political parties' mechanism. Moreover, facts that occurred until 2015, based on a survey conducted by the Skala Survey Indonesia, the data showed that only 14.4% of Independent candidates were able to win the elections while 85.6% lost the contestation. This fact shows that effort to win the election through the independent mechanism was not as the expectation previously. People can not maximize this advantage due to many obstacles and complicated

conditions. Based on the previous discussion, this study attempts to examine the implementation of independent candidacy in local elections with a case study in the Gowa Regency.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Democracy is a system related to the conception of from, by, and for the people. With this concept, democracy is a political system that places society as an essential aspect of its system. Democracy requires people participation in a political process that is guaranteed formally. In the context of elections, democracy is a political system where citizens themselves have the same input in binding collective decision making (Verba, 2006). Therefore, equality and justice must occur in the democratic political system, including the right to express an opinion.

Moreover, democracy is about "voices and equality are central to democratic participation" (Verba et al., 1995). People's voice must be loud and clear so that policymakers will understand citizen concerns. Since democracy implies not only government responsiveness but equal consideration of the citizens' interests, democratic participation must be equal (see Verba et al., 1995). This principle shows the necessity of justice for citizens to speak freely and express their opinions that considered equal before the law (Verba, 2006). Thus, people must be protected related to their right to get the same treatment in expressing their opinions and formally expressing their political attitudes. Without equality that society cannot be said as a democratic society (Brunnbauer, 2000). It means its practice democracy cannot be separated from the necessity of equality to ensure that democracy is truly equal for all people as its principle (Wall, 2007).

In terms of politics, the ideal equality requires where political institutions must be regulated so it can distribute a similar political position to all citizens. Normatively democracy is generally seen as a space to articulate political equality in its various forms (Wall, 2007). As an essential democratic event, an election should offer equality for everyone (Human Rights Commission, 2017). Equality for people is necessary to ensure people will receive the same treatment in various forms and stages of the election. Therefore, equality of involvement must always be guaranteed.

Therefore, within the election, people not only involve as voters but also elected in the same degree of equality. This concept is not merely to ensure regulations are carried out following its statements but as an effort to ensure substantiality of democracy. The implementation of democracy will be distorted without it (Verba 2003). The emerging democracy is only apparent (see, for example, Hyde 2011), which means the spirit of democracy does not exist to provide what should be accepted and felt by society as the most critical aspect of democracy. It must realize in various aspects of life without differentiating people based on their social, political, or economic ownership and backgrounds. Democracy demands justice, which is placed in the context of equality between human beings.

## III. RESEARCH METHODS

This paper employs a qualitative method with a case study approach. Qualitative research is characterized by interpretive paradigms that emphasize the subjective experience and meaning it has for an individual. Case studies are closely related to interpretative paradigms, phenomenological approaches, and constructivism as a paradigmatic basis (Thomas, 2011). Case studies allow examining data in specific contexts with a small geographic area or a minimal number of individuals as research subjects (Zaidah, 2007). The various data obtained are then analyzed by the interpretative approach to ensure the depth of the data so that understanding of the 2015 Gowa Regency elections is better and more comprehensive.

## IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

When the independent mechanism in the regional election is legitimized through laws, it opened more chances and opportunities for more people to participate. The pathway seems like the answer to a tendency that justice and equality have not been fulfilled to run as candidates. Through the decision of the Republic of Indonesia Constitutional Court, individual candidates are formally possible. The formal guarantee is essential due to the political parties' way of never really opening equal space for the people except those who can meet their demands that are rarely expensive (Buehler and Tan. 2007).

Therefore, the independent mechanism also helps to avoid the complexities and complex dynamics of nominating candidates through political parties. Through this path, the desire to become candidate seen possible even without owning many resources. It means a candidate not only those the certain elites who possess appropriate economic, social, or political resources. Political parties no longer able to determine what people can choose without also paying attention to the people's needs opened an opportunity for people widely. Candidates from an independent path can make political parties welcome to other potential candidates who have

an excellent opportunity to win the regional election that is not yet considered by political parties. Due to they aim to win the election, then political parties should take a closer look at potential candidates to be cured rather than being opponents if the potential candidates advance through an independent mechanism. Therefore, in addition to going through an independent mechanism, more significant opportunities arise from the desire of political parties to minimize the potential of opponents who may emerge outside their domains. Political parties must be careful considering that the independent mechanism candidates are formal people who have received direct support of people through fulfilling the requirements of the ID Card as the support indicator. Political parties are considered to meet the requirements to carry candidates in the elections through the fulfillment of formal conditions on the number of seats or the number of votes obtained in the previous elections. Meanwhile, the support for independent candidates is directly connected to the citizens. It makes candidates from independent mechanisms tend to have more real direct citizens' support rather than political parties.

Thus, the people who win the regional election contest are no longer determined by political parties, but can also come from outside political parties that have the majority support. When each candidate has an equal chance to win the election, then independent candidates tend to be considered more disadvantaged. It because their participation through non-political parties is considered to have succeeded in minimizing potential challenging conditions if compared to political party candidates. Independent candidates tend to enjoy some benefits because the process towards their candidacy is considered not difficult, inexpensive, and easier to do for many people. However, based on the simultaneous in the 2015 local elections seems not as expected.

The regional election was in 2015 conducted by referring to Law number 8, 2015 concerning the Amendment to Law Number 1, 2015 concerning the Determination of Government Regulations in lieu of Law Number 1, 2014 concerning to Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors. The election process took place on 9 December 2015. The 2015 simultaneous regional elections were the first regional elections to be held involving hundreds of regions in 32 of 34 provinces in Indonesia. Totally 269 regions held simultaneous regional elections consisting of 9 provincial, 36 cities, and 224 district elections. The number reached 53 percent of the total of 537 provinces and districts/cities in Indonesia. The number of pairs who compete in various regions in the simultaneous local election amounted to 823 candidate pairs from a number of these regions. Couples supported by political parties' number 687 or around 83.5%. The pairs of independent candidates were 136 or about 16.5%. This figure shows that the political parties' candidate dominated the regional election. The condition became a general tendency including in the South Sulawesi province.

In the 2015 simultaneous regional elections, there were 11 districts simultaneously held, namely: the regency of Pangkajene Kepulauan, Barru, Maros, Luwu Timur, Tana Toraja, Toraja Utara, Selayar, Soppeng, North Luwu, and Bulukumba, and Gowa Regency. As many as 35 pairs of candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent were competing in simultaneous elections. Based on Law Number 1, 2015, it is further implemented through the Indonesian Regional Election Commission (KPU) Regulation number 9, 2015, concerning the Nominations of Governors, Deputy Governors, Regents, Deputy Regents, and Mayor and Deputy Mayor, the independent candidate. Candidates who will contest are not only from the support of political parties or a combination of political parties, but candidates can also come from individual candidates/independents.

Among these regions, there were only three districts that gave rise to individual pairs, Bulukumba (one pair), one pair, Pangkep (two pairs), and Gowa (two pairs). Regarding the independent pair, the regional election in Gowa Regency received special attention due to the candidate succeed in winning the election. The winner is Adnan Purichta Ichsan with Abd Rauf Malagani. This pair was able to defeat four other candidate pairs where political parties supported three pairs of candidates and another independent pair candidate.

The success story of the Gowa election has significantly contributed to the optimism of the individual candidate paths. The victory of the independent candidate also occurred in several regions in Indonesia. This phenomenon shows a new political trend and becomes an answer to complicated political parties' candidacy system. The victory of the independent candidates also raises optimism without spending more costs required by political parties (see Erb and Sulistiyanto eds. 2009; Buehler and Tan 2007). Thus, the idea that the individual pathway in the regional election has provided equal opportunities for many people.

Nevertheless, the success story, especially in the Gowa election, does not seem like its expectations. If the hope that the independent mechanism has opened opportunities without wasted more costs, it turns out that the phenomenon of Gowa shows a different fact. The success of independent candidates in the 2015 Gowa elections is not easily defeating candidates from political parties. They faced more complex and challenging than other candidates who were supported by political parties.

Formally the law provisions have been intended to guarantee fairness and equality for people to participate in the election. Normatively, the implementation is imbued with the principle of justice, which creates equal access

and opportunities for candidates promoted by political parties' coalition and those who participate via the independent mechanism in the elections. However, in fact, these rules do not truly represent a spirit of equality in its implementation process. The provisions in the law, which initially intended to ensure that the nomination process can be accessed by more people equitably, turned out to be absent as desired despite being explicitly regulated in that law. Every provision contained in the law related to the nomination process from the independent mechanism turned out to pose various challenges while accessing it.

The first thing that becomes a challenge for individual candidates is the minimum amount of support required by the Election Commission. Based on Law Number 1, 2015, a candidate must obtain minimum support of 6.5% of the total population if the population is up to 250 thousand inhabitants. A district with more than 250 to 500 thousand population must obtain a minimum of 5% people support. For areas with 1 million inhabitants, a candidate must have at least 3 percent of citizens' support. The amount of support must be distributed in more than 50% of total sub-districts in the region. The proof of citizens' id card must prove their support.

The Gowa Regency has more than 500 thousand to 1 million population. An independent candidate should have about four percent of people's support. In the case of candidate Adnan and Malagani, because Gowa has 722,702 people, they must have 29 thousand people support. It must spread across at least nine subdistricts since the number of sub-districts in Gowa Regency is 18 sub-districts. This is certainly not an easy thing due to the support must be proven one by one. In addition to being able to convince the public to provide support by providing proof of Id card and signing the support forms, candidates must ensure that the support is genuinely valid and does not change, mainly when factual verification is carried out by the General Election Commission. Thus, since beginning candidates must doing the process, especially to get proof of the support, the Id card. With minimum support of nearly 30 thousand people and spread over a large area, this certainly requires a great effort and time. Therefore, the candidate has even begun the process independently before the official election stage begins. This certainly requires a lot of hard work and financial support to reach and meet the minimum requirements.

Furthermore, even though the minimum requirements range from nearly 30 thousand votes, the number of votes targeted by the candidate is usually more than the minimum. It is to maintain the possibility of error from their supporter data. Thus, the targeted number is higher, which has implications for more efforts and more supporting resources. Ensuring the number of supporters is higher than the minimum is essential in order to avoid a low number of supports due to any mistakes. Otherwise, the Election Commission will cancel a candidate to run in the election. The limited-time to make improvements to the supporting data causes the candidate must prepare more voter support data above the minimum required.

Another challenge to the independent candidate relating to obtaining an adequate number of supporters is that all supporter data should be recorded correctly. The Election Commission will review and verify all supporters' documents. Based on the provisions of General Elections Commission No. 12, 2015, data submitted will be examined through factual verification. This means the Commission will go directly to ensure the suitability of data to the people. If there is any error data, it will be considered as invalid data and will certainly reduce the amount of data.

This provision makes a candidate should carefully in preparing data and ensure compliance with the factual data the support data of the community. With extensive data that should be ensured its accuracy, the candidate must make various efforts to maintain and ensure data appropriateness. It shows the complexity faced by individual candidates and the amount of effort that must be done to ensure their candidacy supporting data. Thus, a candidate must have the ability to collect massively supporting data in a relatively short time and to maintain its provisions. Accordingly, an independent candidate should have effective teamwork to get involved in the community and reach all sub-districts in the Gowa district since the beginning. That is certainly different from political party stretcher candidates. For the candidates who nominated by political parties or coalition of political parties, the mechanism is only settled in the political party elites without having to deal with people or voters from the beginning. The political party candidates only have to prove themselves to the elites to ensure its support. For individual candidates, proof of appropriateness must be carried out directly to the 10 percent of inhabitants with various backgrounds. It indeed needs a reasonable effort and strategy. The political parties are responsible for completing the candidates' administrative procedures for their nomination. Conversely, the independent candidates must handle all documents by themselves. Thus, the spirit of justice and substantive equality for citizens in the Decree of the Constitutional Court Number 5 / PUU-V / 2007 23 July 2007 did not realize it well in reality. Political party candidates need to negotiate with the political party elites early. While independent candidates must ensure communities' support from the beginning. Thus, from the beginning must have a strong work team and network. It then asks the candidate to be able to convince their teamwork since beginning with all their owned resources were will as well as the way to attract people's support. This process

becomes the difficulties that exist at the stage of seeking support to become a Candidate of the independent mechanism.

Not many individual candidates registered in the 2015 simultaneous local elections, and among them, many failed to meet the requirements according to the law, which shows that this mechanism is no less complicated than the political party supporting ways. More than that, this pathway is not as easy as it is assumed when compared to Candidates through political parties. Thus, the hope that this pathway can be accessed by more people and offers more equality has, in fact, not realized. Candidates do not have to deal with existing complexities if through political party mechanisms. Nevertheless, that does not mean that the independent candidacy mechanism is easier to be done.

The second difficulty faced by individual candidates due to the absence of contact with political parties is building networks and winning work structures. The network is essential because the election is a process of contestation between candidates in convincing the public to provide support for votes. In accordance with PKPU No. 11 of 2015, the regional election winners are pairs of candidates who get the most votes, and the acquisition must be spread in various regions in their regions. This regulation makes every competing candidate win the process not having to win the most votes but must also ensure that his support is fairly distributed in various regions of the region. If the political party has a winning the machine to reach voters through the political party structures, the non-party candidate must be able to form or have teamwork that could compensate for the political party's advantages. It means the independent candidates must be persons who have good access to the community as voters properly.

Moreover, the independent candidates are also should work harder to ensuring the spread of their voting support. The candidates then should have the ability to reach various and broad regions to convince people. This condition shows that although a person can fulfill the requirement, it cannot guarantee solidity the support for him. It means the candidates must prepare their team since they are beginning to compete with political party structures that already have a networking team. This fact shows the number of efforts that must be faced by independent candidates.

In Gowa district itself, with an area that includes 18 sub-districts and 121 villages and 46 villages. With such a region, individual candidates must be able to reach more of the whole area, where the geographical context is diverse. In addition to the geographical area of Gowa Regency, the diversity of contexts and conditions of local communities makes access to the community quite complicated. This condition makes individual candidates must have the ability to reach the area either through their work teams or social networks. The individual candidate must have a strong social network or the ability of resources that enable him to move his team full potential. In this case, the couple Adnan Purichta and Abdul Rauf Malagani proved their ability to get a significant amount of support and won the 2015 Gowa Regional Election. Nevertheless, this can be done with the support of the candidate's social and economic context.

Adnan Purichta, the son of the previous two periods of Gowa Regents, Ichsan Yasin Limpo (2005 - 2010 and 2010 - 2015), has benefitted from his family network as part of his grandfather clan, Yasin Limpo. Yasin Limpo is an influential figure in South Sulawesi so that his family is politically influential in this province, especially in Gowa Regency (Purwaningsih 2015). In Gowa District, Yasin Limpo's Family has been the leader of this region for several years. At least before the 2015 elections, there were two names from the clan who had served as regent. Syahrul Yasin Limpo (SYL), son of Yasin Limpo, who is an uncle of Adnan Purichta, was the regent for two periods (1994 - 1999 and 1999 - 2002). Moreover, SYL then succeeded in going further in the South Sulawesi political context since he succeed becoming the Deputy Governor of South Sulawesi (2003 - 2008). After that he win for governor and ruling for of two periods (2008 - 2013 - and 2013 - 2018). Another family member was Ichsan Yasin Limpo (IYL). IYL, the father of father of Adnan Purichta served as regent also for two periods (2005 - 2010 and 2010 - 2015). At almost the same time, when IYL became the regent, the head of Gowa Regional Legislature (DPRD) was handed by Tenri Olle Yasin Limpo (2009-2014) who is the younger sister of IYL.

In the 2014 Indonesian general elections, Tenri Olle was successfully elected as a member of the South Sulawesi Provincial Parliament, representing two regencies, namely Gowa and Takalar. It again shows the magnitude of Yasin Limpo family influence in the Gowa Regency area. It becomes a significant asset for Adnan Purichta and its pairs Abdul Rauf Malagani. The continuing political influence of the Yasin Limpo family kinship in Gowa Regency has benefitted the couple Adnan Purichta and Abdul Rauf Malagani. Thus, from the beginning, Adnan has a well-maintained network to ensure that it can reach various regions in Gowa Regency.

Adnan Purichta and Abdul Rauf won the 2015 Gowa election and obtained 146,788 or around 40.87% of the total votes. Their supporters fairly distributed in 18 sub-districts. This data shows Adnan and Abdul has a strong position. During the election, only four sub-districts where he had not won. At the same time, the other individual candidate, Jamaluddin Maknun and Masykur, only received 5748 votes. It was the lowest of all pairs of in the 2015 Gowa regional election. This fact shows that despite advancing through the specific mechanism, Adnan and Malagani was able to defeat candidates supported by political parties and the other independent candidate. It means Adnan and its pair have a good ability to access voters widely that spread in various regions. This phenomenon certainly cannot be separated from their ownership of resources and networks, especially to Adnan Purichta as the part of Yasin Limpo clan as well as the incumbent.

The reality of the Gowa election turns out to be that although there is a nominating mechanism through individual channels which is expected to be an anti-thesis of the tendency of exclusivity and elitist political party paths so that it is difficult for many to access, the conditions of the elections show that the individual pathways are not a real answer right. The fact shows that various regulations governing individual routes turned out to have complicated consequences. The effect of regulation makes this mechanism can only be utilized by people who own the advantages of social and economic resources. This means that only certain people will be able to access the independent candidacy mechanism and win it simultaneously. Thus, independent mechanism raises elitist tendency in terms of the necessity for people who want to access it from the beginning to have more values than the ordinary people.

Moreover, various administrative requirements that must be met by the independent candidates to be able to participate lead to a reality where only certain people could fully access it. A prospective candidate must meet certain pre-conditions if they want to maximize where usually it related to ownership of economic capital, social capital, and greater efforts to be able to meet the specified requirements. The next complexity will arise when competing in elections to get popular votes with candidates from political parties.

The facts from the 2015 Gowa regional election shows that whether proposed by a political party or coming from the independent mechanism, someone who participates in the regional election competition is those who come from certain circles in the community. Various provisions in the nomination of individual path candidates can only be fulfilled if a candidate has sufficient resources.

Thus basically, the process of candidacy through independent mechanisms has not opened a chance for those who have been struggling to access the path of political parties or avoid the complexities in political parties. The hope of opening more extensive, more egalitarian spaces for the community to become candidates turned out unimaginable. The consequences of regulations governing the process have an effect that is also complex and heavy to meet for those who do not have adequate resources. This makes only certain people like those owned by many elites. The last thing that will become a problem for candidates from the individual path is the post-election political constellation.

Independent candidates usually have no party support that will impact the running of the government in his period. With the necessity to cooperate with the regional legislative body (DPRD) were consisting of political parties members, the victory of independence candidates tends to create power polarization power in the regional government. It certainly makes the winner must make a various strategic and appropriate approaches to political parties in order to remain in line in his period, especially in policy formulation. Without an appropriate approach to political parties, it possible that his period will always deal with political parties' various interests, which in the regional elections was not well channeled through their candidates. This condition once again shows how the individual path did not succeed in making the candidate who won the election process going without various complications. Thus, the elected regional head must always be able to arrange synergies with political parties, even in the process of candidacy through independent channels.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

The election is one of the essential democratic events. An oligarchic political party initially monopolized one of the crucial stages in the dynamics of democracy in Indonesia. The political party oligarchy is seen in the decisionmaking process to carry candidates who give decisions to only certain parties, in this case, the party leadership. This condition is contrary to the principles of fairness and equality promised by democracy. The decision of the Constitutional Court Number 5 / PUU-V / 2007 became the starting point to create fairly and equality on the permissibility for involving in the nomination of the election as a candidate through the independent mechanism. It hoped will brings a simpler pathway beyond the political party routes. However, in its implementation, the new mechanism asked more requirements that must be fulfilled compared to candidates from political parties. It then makes only limited people who could access this mechanism, as well as more candidates, failed to reach its various requirements.

The reality that occurred in the 2015 Gowa District regional election shows that the independent mechanism that promises equal opportunity for people to participate in the candidacy process does not provide that great opportunity. However, the mechanism on one side indeed creates a new way for certain people to participate in the candidacy without having to deal with political parties. This can be seen in the conditions where those who can access the independent mechanism are those who have political, economic, and social resources to support their effort. This shows that the actual conditions are nearly similar in its complexity as candidates nominated by political parties.

Thus, even though formally the mechanism has been guaranteed equal opportunities for people to participate but it has various challenges as its consequences, which made only a little people that could maximize it. Thus, rules aimed at realizing equality and fairness at the level of implementation cannot be truly realized. This reality shows that in the end, both individual candidates and candidates from political parties can only be accessed and utilized optimally by limited people. From the Gowa regional election 2015, the independent candidate came from the critical and influential family who owned appropriate resources to support his candidacy and win it. This shows the ambiguous nature of the existence of independent mechanisms because even though it is formally equal for people who meet the formal requirements, it is difficult to all people to use this path in the frame of democracy.

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