

The Recruitment Issues of Prospective Regional Head Candidates by Political Parties

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Article Info

Received: 2023-03-30

Revised: 2023-06-29

Accepted: 2023-06-30

Keywords:

Recruitment; Political
Party; Democratic;

Abstract

The mandate of Article 29 paragraph (2) of Law No.2/2008 requires that the recruitment of candidates for regional head/deputy regional head by political parties must be carried out in a democratic and open manner. However, the arrangement and implementation are left to each political party. This study analyzes the problem of recruitment of regional head candidates by political parties in a democratic and open manner which then provide ideas as alternative solutions. This research is normative legal research with a statute approach. The theory of democracy is used as a qualitative analysis guide and is presented descriptively. The results of this study conclude that the recruitment of prospective regional head/deputy regional head candidates, whose arrangements and implementation are left to political parties, tends to be carried out in an undemocratic and not open manner. Political parties tend to do so exclusively at the party elite level. Even though at the regional level a selection of prospective candidates was carried out by several political parties, the final decision was determined by the leadership at the central level. In addition, the pattern of recruitment is also very vulnerable to money politics. This is because political parties have full authority in recruiting prospective regional head candidates, so that they are not covered by The General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) and General Election Commissions (KPU) supervision. In the future, improvements need to be made so that arrangements regarding the recruitment of prospective regional head/deputy

regional head candidates are strictly regulated in the Regional Head Election Law (Pilkada Law), not in the statutes of each political party.

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the functions of political parties is as a means of political recruitment. Without political recruitment, political parties do not have members or figures who can be relied upon in various political activities.¹ In terms of political science, political recruitment is defined as the process of finding talented political party members to become administrators of political organizations or to be nominated for positions in the legislature or executive, both at the regional and central levels.

Since the direct election of the regional head election system (Pilkada) based on Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government which was later replaced by Law No.1/2015, political parties play a very important role, namely as bearers of regional head candidate. As stated in Article 56 paragraph (2) of Law No.32/2004 and Article 39 of Law No.1/2015, namely "*Pairs for regional head candidates are proposed by political parties or coalitions of political parties*". However, these two laws do not explain in more detail how the mechanism of political parties recruits prospective regional head/deputy regional head candidates.

Likewise, with Law No. 2/2011 concerning Political Parties. Article 29 paragraph (1) letter c states; "*political parties recruit Indonesian citizens to become: ... c. candidate for regional head and candidate for deputy regional head*". Then, Article 29 paragraph (2) emphasizes that *the recruitment as referred to in paragraph (1) letter c and letter d is carried out in a democratic and open manner in accordance with the article of association/bylaw and statutory regulations*. Paragraph (3) states, *Determination of recruitment as referred to in paragraph (1), paragraph (1), and paragraph (2) is carried out by decision of the management of a political party in accordance with the article of association and bylaw*. Thus, the law on political parties gives full rights to political parties to recruit prospective regional head/deputy regional head candidates.

Neither the Pilkada law nor the Political Party law, both of them, do not regulate in detail the technical details of recruiting prospective candidates. These regulations are only limited to giving hope that the process will be carried out in a democratic and

¹Rafael Raga Maram, *Introduction to Political Sociology*, Rineka Cipta, Jakarta, Hal. 89.

open manner. There are no provisions required for political parties to prove whether the pair of regional head/deputy regional head candidates they carry has gone through a democratic and open process or mechanism. Likewise, when prospective candidates are registered, there is no regional election commission (KPUD) authority to clarify whether the recruitment process is in accordance with applicable regulations.

In practice so far, many polemics have arisen regarding the recruitment of prospective regional head candidates by political parties. As revealed by KPU member Ilham Saputra, the candidate choices at the regional level are not always the same as those at the central level. Not infrequently, the Central Leadership Council (DPP) of political parties determine their own candidates without regard to the screening and selection processes that have been carried out at the branch and regional leadership council (DPC/DPD) level.² For example, there was a dispute between the management of the Central Leadership Council (DPP) of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the management at the regional level (DPC) during the 2011 nomination for regional heads in Pati Regency. The Imam Suroso-Sundoko pair were the candidates recommended by the PDIP DPP. However, the pair was later replaced with Sunarwi-Tedjo Pramono by the DPC PDIP Pati.³ Then, in the 2020 candidacy for mayor of Solo, there is also a difference in choice between the DPP and the PDIP DPC. The PDIP Solo DPC prefers Achmad Purnomo as a candidate for mayor of Solo for the 2020-2024 period. Meanwhile, the PDIP DPP chose Gibran Rakabuming Raka who is the son of President Joko Widodo.

During the 2018 simultaneous Pilkada nomination period, there were several parties whose nominations were taken over by the DPP, because the Regional Executive Council (DPW) refused to nominate the DPP's candidates. Political parties that carry out these actions include; Golkar Party, PAN Party, PKB Party, PBB Party, Partao PPP, Democratic Party, PKPI Party, PKS Party, Hanura Party, Gerindra Party. The PAN party was the party that took over the most, that is, there were 10 regions that were taken over by the DPP.⁴

Not only the case of differences in choices between the DPP and the DPW/DPD, the issue of "political dowry" has also emerged in the recruitment of regional head candidates. As Donald Fariz stated, the Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) noted that in the 2018 Pilkada there were several cases of political dowry that emerged from the public. As in the East Java Pilkada, La Nyalla admitted that Gerindra Party chairman Prabowo Subianto asked for Rp.40 billion. Then, during the West Java Pilkada, Dedi Mulyadi admitted that he was asked for Rp. 10 billion by elements in the Golkar Party. Furthermore, in the Cirebon regional elections, Brigadier General

²Siti Witianti and Hendra, *The Role of General Chairpersons of Political Parties in the Nomination of Heads Regions in Simultaneous Regional Head Elections in Indonesia*, Journal of Political Discourse, Vol. 4, No. 1, March 2019, p. 55-67.

³ Pati Regent Candidate Balloon Replaced, PDIP Policing Former Cadres & KPUD, (2011). <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-1650129/balon-kandidat-bupati-pati-diganti-pdip-polisikan-eks-kader-kpud> May 30, 2011.

⁴ Sammy (ed.). (2018). *KPU: Most PAN DPPs Take Over Registering Regional Head Candidates*; <https://dialexis.com/nasional/kpu-dpp-pan-termulti-take-alih-register-calon-head-area/>

(Pol) Siswandi admitted that the Prosperous Justice Party failed to nominate him because he was also asked for a sum of money (dowry). Finally, there was internal conflict within the Hanura Party, one of which was due to the issue of political dowries.⁵

Giving full authority to political parties to regulate and determine candidates for regional head/ deputy regional head without clear rules and control mechanisms will only open up opportunities for abuse of power by political parties that are inconsistent with democratic values. As according to Lord Acton "power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupt absolutely." This, of course, becomes an obstacle in realizing a democratic and dignified Pilkada.

Based on the description above, the focus of the discussion in this paper is, what are the problems with the recruitment of prospective candidates by political parties and what alternative designs need to be made so that the recruitment process can be more democratic and open.

2. METHODOLOGY

This research is normative legal research with a statutory law approach and is analyzed qualitatively based on democratic theory, and is presented descriptively.⁶

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Political Recruitment

Recruitment is defined as a process in which individuals or groups of individuals are involved in active political roles. The definition of recruitment as it is relatively general. In particular, in the political context, political recruitment often refers to candidate selection (candidation), legislative and executive recruitment⁷ In a general sense, recruitment includes how the party recruits members.⁸ While in the context of political recruitment, it is generally related to the electoral system and the prevailing political system, especially for filling positions as members of the legislature and executive.⁹

The recruitment process is an opportunity for the people to select political activities and government positions through appearances in the communications media, becoming members of organizations, nominating themselves for certain positions,

⁵Ihsanudin .(2018). This is a list of those who claim to be asked for dowry in the 2018 Pilkada.

[https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/01/16/12475011/ini-register-they-yang-mengaku-di Minta-mahar - pada-pilkada](https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/01/16/12475011/ini-register-they-yang-mengaku-di-Minta-mahar-pada-pilkada) -2018 .

⁶Muhaimin, *Legal Research Methods* , Mataram University Press, Mataram, 2020, p.129.

⁷Sigit Pamungkas , *Political Parties: Theory and Practice in Indonesia* , Yogyakarta: Institute for Democracy and Welfarism , 2011, p. 91.

⁸Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris, *Comparing Democracies 2, New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting* , (London: Sage Publications, 2009), p. 109.

⁹ Ibid.

education and training.¹⁰ While Jack C. Plano defines the recruitment process as selecting people to fill roles in the social system. Meanwhile, political recruitment refers to filling in formal and legal positions, as well as informal roles. For formal positions, such as filling the positions of president and members of parliament, while those that are not formal are the recruitment of activists and propaganda.¹¹

Meanwhile, Ramlan Surbakti¹², defines recruitment as selection or selection regarding the appointment of a person or group of people to carry out a number of roles in the political system in general and government in particular. Thus, in the context of this study, recruitment is defined as the process of determining regional head/deputy regional head candidates to be carried by political parties or coalitions of political parties to be registered with election management bodies.

The function of political parties as a means of political recruitment is closely related to the issue of leadership selection, both internal party leadership and broader national leadership.¹³ For its internal interests, every party needs qualified cadres, because only with such cadres can it become a party that has a greater opportunity to develop itself. By having good cadres, it will not be difficult for parties to determine their own leaders and have the opportunity to nominate candidates to enter the national leadership market.

Barbara Geddes classifies political recruitment into four models.¹⁴ First, the partisanship model, namely political recruitment from political parties which is assessed, on the basis of loyalty to the party, and trying to gather partisans, in this model does not show competence. Second, the meritocratic model, namely political recruitment from people who have high competence, such as technocrats, entrepreneurs, teachers, skilled workers and others. Third, the compartmentalization model, namely political recruitment based on informal meritocratic appointments for positions that are considered important, for pragmatic success, while at the same time making it possible to use other appointments for short-term support, and the development of loyal followers. Survival. Political recruitment based on the principle of remuneration and applicant resources and tends to patronage.

3.2 Regional Head Candidates

The meaning of democracy always refers to the notion of government of the people, by the people and for the people. Indonesia as a democratic country, as emphasized in Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution, sovereignty is in the hands of the people and implemented according to the Constitution". Therefore, it can be understood that the word "democratic" can be interpreted as a reflection of democratic

¹⁰Mochtar Mas'ud and Colin Mac Andrews (Eds.), *Comparison of Political Systems*, Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta, 1978, p.29.

¹¹Jack C. Plano, et al., *Dictionary of Political Analysis* (translation), Rajawali, Jakarta, 1985, p.211.

¹²Ramlan Surbakti, *Understanding Political Science*, Grasindo, Jakarta, 1992, p.118.

¹³Miriam Budiardjo, *Fundamentals of Political Science*, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, 2008, p. 408.

¹⁴Barbara Geddes, (1996), *Politician's Dilemma: Building state capacity in Latin America*, University of California Press. P. 78-79.

principles that are practiced in the administration of government, including in terms of the recruitment of prospective regional head candidates.

Article 18 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution also states; Governors, Regents and Mayors respectively as heads of provincial, district and city regional governments are elected democratically. The mandate of "elected democratically" certainly covers all stages of the Pilkada implementation process, including the recruitment of prospective regional head candidates.

Rahat and Hazan (2006), as referred to by Ridho Imawan, state that there are at least two patterns of candidate selection systems. First, in an inclusive (open) manner anyone can nominate through a political party that meets light requirements (eligible). Here, there is no compulsion to be a member of a related political party, or to have the same ideology. The *second* pattern is exclusive (closed), where in this pattern there are a number of conditions that limit the right of voters to participate in candidate selection. The more inclusive the candidate selection process, the more democratic it will be. Conversely, the more exclusive the selection of candidates, the less democratic the selection will be, because it is not transparent and only the internal elite act as selectors or determines the candidates.¹⁵

Therefore, the recruitment of democratic regional head candidates at least fulfills several criteria; first, the clarity and uniformity of the recruitment rules that apply to all political parties. Second, the recruitment process is carried out in a transparent and accountable manner. Third, the availability of space for public participation.

3.3 Identify Recruitment Rules

Provisions governing the recruitment of prospective regional head candidates can be traced in several laws, such as the Pilkada Law and the Political Party Law. For more details, can be seen in the following table.

Table: 1

Identification of Regulations related to the Recruitment of Prospective Candidates
Regional Head/Deputy Regional Head by a Political Party

Rule Type	Article paragraph	Material
Law No.10/2016	Article 7	Set the requirements for candidates for regional head/ deputy regional head.
	paragraph (2)	
	Article 40	Regulates the requirements for political parties to be able to nominate pairs of regional head candidates.
	Article 40a	Determine the management of political parties authorized to nominate pairs of regional head candidates in the event of dual management.

¹⁵Ridho Imawan Hanafi, (2014). *Direct Election of Regional Heads in Indonesia: Some Critical Notes for Political Parties* . Journal of Political Research | Volume 11 No. December 2, 2014 | 1-16. p.9.

Law No.2/2008	Article 42	Regulates the authority of political parties to register pairs of regional head candidates at the Provincial KPU or Regency/Municipal KPU. There is the authority of political parties at the central level to register regional head candidate pairs, if the management of political parties at the regional level does not carry it out.
	Article 11 Paragraph (1) letter e	Mentioning one of the functions of political parties is " <i>political recruitment, namely recruitment in the process of filling public positions through democracy mechanisms with attention to gender equality and justice</i> ".
Law No. 2/2011	Section 2 Paragraph (4) letter g	Stating that the Articles of Association (AD) of political parties contain at least: Letter g: " <i>Mechanism of recruitment of political party membership and political positions</i> ".
	Article 29 paragraph (1)	Political parties recruit Indonesian citizens to become: Letter c: <i>prospective regional head and deputy regional head candidates</i>
	Article 29 paragraph (1a)	Recruitment is carried out through democratic cadre selection in accordance with the AD and ART taking into account at least 30% (thirty percent) of women's representation.
	Article 29 paragraph (2)	Recruitment of prospective candidates : Regional heads and deputy regional heads; and nominating candidates for President and Vice President shall be carried out <i><u>in a democratic and open manner</u></i> in accordance with the AD and ART as well as statutory regulations.
	Article 29 paragraph (3)	Regulates Determination of the recruitment of prospective regional head and deputy regional head candidates is carried out by decision of the political party management in accordance with the AD and ART.
PKPU No.3/2017 ¹⁶	Article 4	Candidate requirements
	Articles 35-46	Manage registration of candidates
		None of the cross-check provisions of the provisions for political parties has carried out a

¹⁶Election Commission Regulation Number 3 of 2017 Concerning Candidates for the Election of Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, and/or Mayor and Deputy Mayor.

fair and democratic screening of prospective candidates.

Based on the table above, of the several existing laws and regulations, none of them technically stipulate how the mechanism of political parties selects prospective candidates. Law No. 10/2016 only regulates the requirements for regional head/deputy regional head candidates, nomination thresholds, and the level of party management authorized to nominate candidates. Likewise, with the Law on Political Parties. Article 2 paragraph (4) letter g of Law No.2/2011 only stipulates that party AD/ART must include a mechanism for recruiting political party membership and political positions. For the mechanism for recruiting party membership, each party has strictly regulated it in its AD/ART. However, the recruitment mechanism for political positions has not been clearly regulated in the statutes and regulations of each party. For example, the provisions for the recruitment of prospective regional head/deputy regional head candidates by the PKB Party. In Article 98 of the Bylaws (ART) of the PKB Party ¹⁷it states:

- (1) *Recruitment of party members and administrators is carried out through a tiered, structured and systematic regeneration system.*
- (2) *Regeneration is an absolute requirement for every party member and administrator who wants to get a promotion to a strategic position within the party and/or government.*
- (3) *Cadreization is an integral part of evaluating the performance of the Party Governing Council according to its level.*
- (4) *The system, form, curriculum and cadre modules are stipulated in party regulations.*

From the provisions above, it can be understood that the arrangements for the recruitment of regional head/deputy regional head candidates are fully left to political parties. Law No.2/2011 is only limited to providing "signs" that such recruitment must be carried out in a democratic and open manner. In addition, there are also no provisions required for political parties to prove whether the regional head/deputy regional head candidate pairs they carry have gone through a democratic and open process or mechanism. Not to mention, there are provisions that stipulate that if the requirements for a democratic and open mechanism are not met, the regional KPU can reject the candidate pair proposed by the party.

3.4 The Practice of Recruiting Prospective Regional Head Candidates by Political Parties.

Based on the laws of political parties and bylaws of each political party, there are several trends in the pattern of recruitment carried out by political parties, including;

1. Centralistic

¹⁷ Bylaws of the National Awakening Party (PKB) from the results of the Surabaya Congress, 30 August-1 September 2014.

Titi Anggraeni¹⁸ stated that the recruitment process regulated in the Pilkada Law is centralized. Even though the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) of one political party has determined a candidate, the candidate can be annulled by the Central Leadership Council (DPP). One example of this can be seen when Gibran Rakabuming Raka was recommended by the PDI Perjuangan DPP to become a candidate for deputy city of Solo. President Jokowi's eldest son was chosen over Achmad Purnomo who was previously recommended by the Solo City Council. Likewise, a study conducted by Syafrie Tri Putra related to the pattern of recruitment of prospective regional head candidates by PDIP in the 2020 Bontang City Pilkada. Syafrie concluded that the pattern of recruitment carried out by PDIP was centralized because the final decision was determined by the DPP.¹⁹

Dirwan Kalam's study²⁰ related to the process of nominating governor/deputy governor candidates by the PAN party in the 2017 South Sulawesi Pilkada. Dirwan concluded that the PAN DPW at the provincial level was only limited to recruiting, screening and proposing gubernatorial candidates. Meanwhile, the determination of regional head candidates is entirely under the authority of the central PAN DPP. The process carried out by the DPW PAN of South Sulawesi does not have the power to influence the determination of regional head candidates. In fact, according to the Dirwan, if the party's internal provisions are adhered to, the proposed candidates should be from the regions that should be supported by the DPP.

This is in line with the views of Syarief Hidayat,²¹ who said that the pattern of political parties in Indonesia in this reformation era leads to centralization, especially in the determination of candidates who wish to take part in legislative and regional head elections (Pilkada). This can be seen in the determination of candidates for regional heads. Even though the regional administration proposes one of the party cadres in the region, the decision remains with the party administrator at the central level. For example, according to Syarief, in the regional election for the Governor of Lampung which will be held in October 2008, the two major political parties that can immediately put forward their candidates, namely the PDIP and the Golkar Party, have yet to determine their candidates. Even though the regional administrators of the two political parties had appointed Sjachroedin ZP (Governor and Chairperson of the Lampung PDIP DPD) and Alzier Dianis Thabranie (Chairman of the Golkar DPD).

¹⁸Titi Anggraini, *The Government is Increasingly Decentralized, How come Political Parties are Increasingly Centralized*, Source: <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20200729/15/1272627/government-makin-desentralistik-kok-parpol-kian-sentralistik->, last accessed June 29, 2021.

¹⁹ Moch. Syafrie Tri Putra. (2020) Study of the Recruitment of Candidates for Mayor by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle in the 2020 Bontang City Regional Head Election. *eJournal of Government Science*, 2020, 8(3): 805-816 (*eJournal of Government Science*, Volume 8, Number 3, 2020: 805-816).

²⁰ Director Wan Kalam Sahirsan. (2017). *Party Autonomy at the Local Level in Determining Regional Head Candidates in South Sulawesi*. Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Department of Political Science and Government, University of Hasanuddin Makassar. p.49.
http://digilib.unhas.ac.id/uploaded_files/temporary/DigitalCollection/NWJiZjBIMDI5MGE2YTlhNjRkZjM0YjljMGFiMWJhNjliNWVjZTU4MA==.pdf.

²¹ Syarief Hidayat, LIPi: *Behavior of political parties in Indonesia leads to centralization*, Source: <http://lipi.go.id/berita/lipi:-behaviour-partol-di-indonesia- leads-to-centralization/ 2829>. Last accessed June 29, 2021.

Then, candidates for governor of Lampung also emerged from outside the party cadres, such as Andi Achmad Sampurna Jaya (Regent of Central Lampung). The regent is considered by many to have succeeded in advancing Central Lampung so that he deserves to lead Lampung. Meanwhile, in the Pilkada for the Governor of North Sumatra, the PDI-P nominated a candidate for governor from outside the party cadres, although the PDIP regional level put forward the Governor who is also the Chairman of the North Sumatra PDIP DPD, Rudolf Pardede, as a candidate for governor.²²

Centralism within political parties can be seen in the registration requirements for regent and mayoral candidate pairs, which are accompanied by a decision letter from the political party management at the central level regarding the approval of the candidates proposed by party officials in the provinces. Likewise, for pairs of candidates for governor and deputy governor, there must be a decree regarding approval from the central political party for the candidates proposed by provincial level officials. This means that approval, which in political language is a recommendation from the party chairman, is an absolute requirement to be able to register as a candidate for governor, regent or mayor (Article 42 paragraphs 5 and 6 of Law Number 10 of 2016).

parties in the regions do not have any authority in determining the candidates/candidates for regional heads who will advance in regional election contestation at the provincial, district and city levels. All decisions depend heavily on party leaders at the central level, even though they are contrary to regional aspirations.

2. Exclusive

Besides being centralized, the recruitment process for prospective regional head candidates also tends to be exclusive (closed). Because in general, people in electoral districts do not know how the process of selecting candidates by a party or coalition of political parties actually works. In Syamsuddin Haris' notes ²³, a number of community leaders in a number of regions did not even know why a particular party chose to nominate a certain figure as regional head or deputy regional head.

Muhamad Nur ²⁴in his study stated that in many cases, political parties were not in a position to nominate candidate pairs. The role of political parties in direct regional elections is more in the position of providing candidacy legitimacy, which is usually transacted with parties who wish to be nominated or wish to nominate someone to become a candidate for regional head. This process is often represented by the term "buy a boat" which means buying a political party formality or the term "buy a ticket" which means giving a nomination ticket. This nomination process is utilized by some

²² *Ibid* .

²³Syamsuddin Haris, "Trends in Candidacy and Coalitions in Pilkada", undated, <http://www.komunitasdemokra.or.id/id/center-knowledge/article/268-tendency-candid-and-party-coalition-in-elections>, accessed on 23 July 2020. See also Ridho Imawan Hanafi, *Direct Election of Regional Heads in Indonesia: Some Critical Notes For Political Parties* , Political Research Journal, Volume 11 No. December 2, 2014

²⁴Pratikno, " *Independent Candidates, Pilkada Quality and Institutionalization of Political Parties* " , Journal of Social and Political Sciences, Volume 10, Number 3, March 2007, p. 415-438, as quoted by Ridho Imawan Hanafi, *Ibid*.

political party elites as a business arena by setting certain rates for candidates who will use their party to advance in the nomination process.²⁵

3. Elitist

The tendency so far shows that political party decision making is only determined by a small group of party elites. The highest decision usually rests with a person or a small group of party elites.²⁶ As a result, only those who have access to party leaders have the opportunity to be nominated through political parties.²⁷

For example, in the regional elections for Kerinci Regency (2018), there was a change in the direction of support for the Gerindra Party at the last minute of the candidacy. In fact, the Gerindra DPC, Kerinci Regency, had carried out a selection process according to the party mechanism and was approved by the DPW and issued an SK by the Gerindra DPP for the Monadi-Edison pair. However, towards the end of the registration period, the Gerindra DPP's support changed to support another candidate, namely the pair Zainal Abidin-Arsal Apri.²⁸ Then, in the regional elections of Jambi City, problems were also seen in the choice of candidate support. Initially, it was circulated that DPD PAN's support for the incumbent mayor (syarif Fasha-Maulana). However, after approaching the end of the registration period, the DPW changed its support to the candidate (Abdullah Sani-Kemas Al Farizi).²⁹

Another example, as happened with the Gerindra party, Major General (Purn) Sudrajat's candidacy³⁰ in the West Java gubernatorial election is different from the aspirations and wishes of regional cadres who were selected from three names, namely; Deddy Mizwar, Ahmad Syaikh and Chairperson of the West Java Provincial Gerindra Mulyadi to run as candidates.³¹ However, the name Maj. Gen. (Purn) Sudrajat had previously never participated in the selection held by the West Java DPD Gerindra, but was immediately appointed by the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Gerindra Party to run as a candidate for governor of West Java.³²

4. Vulnerable to Money Politics

Even though there are prohibition provisions in Law Number 1 of 2015 in conjunction with Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents and

²⁵ *Ibid* .

²⁶ Lili Romli, (2011). *Reform of Political Parties and Party System in Indonesia* , Jurnal Politika Vol. 2, No. 2, November 2011 (199-220). P. 202.

²⁷ Ridho Imawan Hanafi, Op Cit. p.13

²⁸ Ikbal Ferdiyul (ed). (2018). Diverting Support to ZA, Chair of Gerindra Kerinci Claims He Has Not Received Notification. <https://www.metrojambi.com/read/2018/01/10/28214/alihkan-support-ke-za-ketua-gerindra-kerinci-ngaku-belum-dapat-pemberitahuan>

²⁹ Siti Witianti and Hendra, *The Role of General Chairpersons of Political Parties in the Nomination of Heads Regions in Simultaneous Regional Head Elections in Indonesia* , Journal of Political Discourse, Vol. 4, No. 1, March 2019, p. 55-67.

³⁰ Wawan Gunawan , 2018, *Anomalies of Authority of the Central Leadership Council of Political Parties in the Decentralized System of Government in Indonesia* , Journal of Academia Praja Volume 1 Number 1 - February 2018 <http://regional.kompas.com/read/2018/01/07>,

³¹ *Ibid* .

³² *Ibid* .

Mayors in Articles 187B and Article 187C stipulate that the giver and recipient of political dowry can be punished. However, according to Reza Syawawi, the recruitment of prospective candidates by political parties is only an illusion. This is due to several things; First, the crime of political dowry will only be imposed if it is carried out during the nomination process and must be in a tangible form, not just a promise. It will be difficult to process, when the reward is given after the nomination process is over. Second, if the gift is handed over to a political party after nomination, the gift is a campaign contribution. Thus, it becomes legal and cannot be questioned. Third, related to the readiness of law enforcement officials and election organizers in responding to allegations of money politics.³³

As previously stated, ICW revealed that in the 2018 Pilkada there had been several cases of political dowry that had surfaced to the public. For example, in the East Java Pilkada, La Nyalla admitted that he was asked for Rp. 40 billion by General Chair of the Gerindra Party, Prabowo Subianto. In the West Java Pilkada, Dedi Mulyadi admitted that the Golkar Party asked for Rp. 10 billion in cash. Then, during the Cirebon local elections, Brigadier General (Pol) Siswandi admitted that the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) failed to nominate him because he was asked for some money. Finally, there was internal conflict within the Hanura Party, one of which was due to the issue of political dowry. Some of these cases are sufficient evidence that the recruitment process for regional head candidates by political parties is very vulnerable to money politics.

With the tendency of the pattern of recruitment of prospective regional head candidates to be centralized and elitist by political parties, the absence of control from election supervisory institutions, the many indications of money politics practices, carried out by several political parties, it can be said that the recruitment process for prospective regional head candidates is still far from complete. democratic designation. In fact, the law on political parties clearly mandates that the recruitment of prospective candidates must be carried out in a democratic and open manner.

As a study conducted by Teguh Anggoro, et al, on the recruitment practices of prospective regional head candidates by the PKS Party in the 2017 Tasik Malaya City Election. Teguh concluded that PKS' recruitment practices did not reflect democratic principles. This is because there are no clear selection criteria. Thus, the determination of potential candidates is still carried out subjectively and is carried out "behind the scenes".³⁴

3.5 Alternative Solutions

As long as statutory provisions authorize the recruitment of prospective regional head candidates as the autonomous authority of political parties, democratic and open

³³Reza Syawawi. (2018). Political Illusions Without Dowry . Kompas Opinion, Monday, 05 February 2018 - 00:00 <https://antikorupsi.org/id/article/ilusi-politik-without-mahar>.

³⁴ Teguh Anggoro, Tina Cahya Mulyatin, Triono , Political Recruitment for Regional Head Candidates (Study of Candidate Selection in the Prosperous Justice Party in the 2017 Tasikmalaya City Regional Election). p.33. JIPP: Journal of Political Science and Government Science Vol 06 No 01 Hal: 15-35

recruitment of prospective regional head candidates will be very difficult to achieve. Montesquieu and John Locke have long sparked the theory of triaspolitica. Where, to form a democratic country, power should not be centered on one person or body. Thus, the teaching of triaspolitica divides that power into three branches, namely executive, legislative and judicial. Then, reinforced by Lord Acton's opinion, *power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupt absolute*. This teaching must always be used as a guide in every distribution of authority in the state. Giving full authority to political parties in recruiting prospective regional head candidates will only provide opportunities for parties to commit corruption.

As an alternative solution so that the recruitment of prospective regional head candidates can be more democratic, they are; First, the Pilkada law or the law on political parties must contain more detailed provisions on how political parties will recruit candidates to ensure the principles of transparency, fairness, non-discrimination and other principles. Second, the recruitment process for prospective regional head candidates must be part of the Pilkada stage. Because, if this stage is entered as the Pilkada stage, then this recruitment process will become part of the Bawaslu's task of conducting supervision. So far, this area has not been covered by Bawaslu. This is because the authority to recruit is considered a matter of the "kitchen" of political parties which cannot be entered. *Third*, increase the role of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) in suppressing the issue of political dowries demanded by parties for candidates. The KPK must be more active in monitoring/tapping the communication tools of political party leaders and prospective regional head candidates. Fourth, there must be severe sanctions imposed on both political parties and prospective candidates if they are proven to have committed acts that are prohibited by laws and regulations. Those severe sanctions, such as the dissolution of political parties and disqualification as candidates for regional head/deputy regional head candidates.

4. CONCLUSION

The ambiguity and absence of "democratic and open" recruitment parameters and mechanisms in the determination of regional head and deputy regional head candidates by political parties has resulted in; First, the authority to determine regional head candidates becomes the absolute authority of political party elites (elitists). Second, the recruitment of prospective candidates tends to be carried out in a non-transparent/closed and undemocratic manner. Thus, it is often a trigger for internal conflict within the party. Third, Pilkada becomes expensive, especially for prospective candidates when political parties ask for "dowry". Therefore, to reform the mechanism for recruiting candidates for regional head candidates by political parties, it is necessary to take steps to change to eliminate the problems that often arise in practice. For example, strict arrangements regarding "democratic" and "open" interpretations. Then, it is necessary to impose severe sanctions on parties and prospective candidates if they are proven to have committed violations such as money politics in determining

prospective candidates. Finally, strengthening the supervisory system by Bawaslu and the Corruption Eradication Committee at the recruitment stage of potential candidates.

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