

The Birth of A Single Candidate at The Election Makassar City in 2018

Najamuddin^{1*}, *Bustan*², *Sophian Thamrin*³, *Hasruddin Nur*⁴

^{1,2,3}Faculty of Social Science, Universitas Negeri Makassar, Makassar, Indonesia

⁴Faculty of social and political science, Universitas Sawerigading Makassar, Makassar, Indonesia

Abstract. This study aims to determine what factors lead to the birth of single candidate politics in the city of Makassar. This study uses descriptive qualitative methods. The political dynamics that occurred in 2018 in Makassar City were felt by the public. The political wheel is able to change the social situation in almost every circle. The discussion about the birth of a single candidate politics became a highly developed issue in every social stratum in Makassar city in 2018. In addition, the Makassar city election process in 2018 was able to attract the attention of the national media. This is because the city of Makassar is the only region that is able to win a single candidate from all regional elections in Indonesia. There are many dynamics that occur so that the regional elections in Makassar City can result in the birth of a single candidate. The factor that led to the birth of a single candidate in Makassar City was that almost all existing political parties supported only one candidate pair. In addition, the Supreme Court also disqualified Ir. Mohammad Ramadhan Pomanto and Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti Ilham who advanced through the individual path.

Keywords: Pilkada, Single Candidate, Makassar City.

1 Introduction

In the democratic process in Indonesia, the selection of candidates for regional heads does require a very fierce political process. This is inseparable from the desire of a political party to win each of its stretcher candidates in every democratic party that is carried out. There are several political parties that have a regional head candidate selection system that must be owned by every candidate who wants to fight in a democratic party. As for the conditions that must be possessed by candidates, such as candidates having the capacity in a democratic party, the capacity of each candidate is needed to be able to advance in regional elections. It aims to see the potential of the candidates promoted by political parties. All of this is intended so that the candidate is able to show the ability to the general public that he is worthy of being elected to lead in the area. Furthermore, the candidates must have an attitude of loyalty to political parties.

Political parties always pay attention to the form of loyalty of party cadres who want to advance in the election battle. This is intended for the solidarity of party cadres when the cadres have been elected to become regional leaders later. The loyalty of the cadres greatly influences the form of party solidarity and the form of party development.

The political and legal situation of state organizations in Indonesia is now in a condition that can

be said to have progressed after the reform. This can be seen from the solid condition of participatory democracy as indicated by the events of general elections and regional head elections being held simultaneously, where this is in accordance with the procedures for implementing democracy. Referring to Ramlan Surbakti [1] Election is defined as a mechanism for determining and assigning or exchanging power to trusted persons or parties, and as stated in Law Number 8 of 2012 Article 1 paragraph (1), the so-called Election can mean a tool for organizing democracy in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia [2].

Pilkada momentum is a means for the people to freely and actively select anyone who is trusted and believed to be able to lead the region with all the political consequences that may occur. In the implementation of sovereignty, the people play a major role in realizing the dynamics of politics and local government. Because the highest decision is in the hands of the people. In that context, people's participation becomes an important instrument to properly anchor the legitimacy of the elected regional heads. [3]

in the history of the makassar city election, 2018 was a very different election. the existence of a single candidate is something new in the election process that

* Corresponding author : najamuddin@unm.ac.id

took place in Makassar city. The birth of a community or social movement that occurs in society is inseparable from the social issues that are rolling in the community. The power of social media has made the political issues that developed in the 2018 regional elections so quickly known by the public. The issue of social resistance is a growing issue in society and many think that this can be detrimental to society. But on the other hand, there are issues that are rolling in the community about social resistance carried out by opponents from empty columns, which is an advantage for teams or volunteers from empty columns. This is because the community perceives that the APPI-CICU camp has made several parties from the Makassar city community feel disadvantaged and then the community will fight against those who have made the community feel disadvantaged. This is in line with research from Sutriana, Juhaepa and Ambo Upe (2018) which explains that the Bajo tribal community towards the resettlement policy is caused by several factors including cultural and economic factors, structural factors and environmental factors and social facilities [4].

2 Research Method

This study used qualitative research methods. Qualitative research uses qualitative methods. This qualitative method is used for several reasons, namely: First, it is easier to adapt qualitative methods when dealing with multiple realities; Second, this method presents directly the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the respondent; and third, this method is more sensitive and more adaptable to the many sharpening of mutual influence and to the common and to the patterns of values encountered [5]. For data collection techniques using observation and interview techniques using instruments according to the focus of the study. For data analysis techniques using data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions.

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 Single Candidate in Pilkada

Joseph Schumpeter in (Asita Widayarsi, Reyke Anggia Dewi, Viera Mayasari Sri Rengganis. 2019) [6] suggests that the essence of democracy is that people have the opportunity to accept or reject those who will lead or govern them. Democracy is simply a mechanism for choosing a political leader. Meanwhile, the ability to choose a leader among contesting political leaders is what is called democracy. Democracy in a narrow sense, is also expressed by Robert Dahl (2001) [7] who argues that there are different meanings of democracy, but at least there are some criteria that are the same and must be met by a government so that all its members have the same rights in participating and determining policy directions. Dahl stated that there are at least five criteria for the democratic process, namely (1) effective participation; (2) voice equality; (3) clear understanding; (4) monitoring of the agenda; and (5) adult inclusion, where most adults have citizenship rights. In this concept,

a country considered democratic or undemocratic can be judged by using the elements of competition, participation, and freedom in the country, not only at the formal level but also in the actual practice of political life. The emergence of a single candidate is an elaboration of the concept of political democracy which must still have the criteria of participation and competition, as stated by Dahl [8].

In addition, the cause of the emergence of a single candidate is also the effect of the ineffectiveness of the internal party recruitment and regeneration mechanism, so that alternative candidates other than the incumbent are not obtained. In the context of Indonesia, with reference to Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning Regional Head Elections, elections that are only followed by one pair of candidates can be carried out with several conditions. One of them is if after the postponement and until the end of the registration extension period there is only one pair of candidates who register, then proceed to the verification stage until the pair of candidates is declared eligible to run in the *pilkada*. The KPU then has the right to determine the selected pair of candidates in the election with one candidate pair if they get more than 50% of the valid votes. If a single candidate pair cannot get more than 50% valid votes, a re-election will be conducted. Law Number 10 of 2016 also changes the requirements for individual candidates to be able to contest in the regional elections, namely for individual candidates who register as candidates for governor and deputy governor. Then, this rule is confirmed in Article 41 Paragraph (2). The rules in Law Number 10 of 2016 for some pairs of candidates who want to compete through the individual route are considered burdensome, closing the opportunity for individual candidates to compete in the *pilkada*. In addition, in the *pilkada* with a single candidate, the majority were followed by incumbents who bought up the majority of party support.

In addition, the phenomenon of the birth of empty boxes in the city of Makassar cannot be separated from the support of political parties in parliament. This form of a political dynamic also provides a form of its own atmosphere about the world of politics. There were several political parties that initially carried out a fit and proper test for all candidates for Mayor of Makassar at that time. However, the recommendations of political parties still lead to only one candidate pair. This was also stated by political observer Mr. Anshar Manrulu about the movement of political parties and the victory of the empty box in the Makassar election.

"I see that there are things that are different from the regional elections in Makassar, especially for political parties. Judging from the phenomenon of the political parties that provide recommendations to the candidates there are different. There are political parties that do give party recommendations to APPI-CICU because they are part of the party and he also participates in the fit and proper test held by political parties. But what's interesting is that there are political parties that have told APPI-CICU that they never appear at the party's office to carry out a fit and proper test. This is where a form of dynamics occurs in the political party. In addition, there was a political party that initially gave party recommendations

to the DP-Indira pair but in the end the recommendation was withdrawn and transferred to the APPI-Cicu pair at that time. This is where the dynamic process that occurs in the internal stronghold of political parties comes from. On the other hand, without realizing it, political party officials who withdrew their support from the DP-Indira and preferred to give support to APPI-Cicu actually made the political party cadres in the city of Makassar disappointed and some even hurt. This form of disappointment from political party cadres became the material or ammunition that could benefit the DP-Indira pair at that time. Because the cadres of political parties think that the APPI-Cicu pair have never participated in the fit and proper test that we are holding, why have the political parties' recommendations actually fallen into their hands? From there, many political party cadres consider us unappreciated and prefer to help empty boxes to be able to win in the Makassar city elections.” (Interview, 22 March 2021).

Kurniawan & Wawanudin (2019) are of the view that if we look back at the direction of the candidate pairs in Law no. 10 of 2016 concerning the Second Revision of Law No. 1 of 2015 concerning the Stipulation of Perppu Law no. 1 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors has become a law. The technical determinant of the victory of a single candidate has been regulated in Law no. 10/2016, it is written that a single candidate will be recognized as winning if he gets at least 50% of the valid votes. If less, then the right to win is an empty box. In this law, candidates who are declared to have failed have the opportunity to advance in the next election [9] [10]

3.2 Factors for the Birth of a Single Candidate in the Makassar City Election

The birth of a single candidate in the 2018 Makassar City election cannot be separated from the dynamics or political communication that occurs. The dynamic form of communication between political party officials makes the political climate in Makassar very difficult to interpret. There are several political parties that initially gave support to one candidate pair, but in the end withdrew their support or withdrew a letter of recommendation for the support of a political party and instead gave a recommendation to another political party. This makes there are couples who go forward with the individual path. However, in the end, the dynamics continued and the Supreme Court decided that the regional election for Makassar City would only be followed by 1 candidate pair. From that decision, a very different dynamic emerged in the city of Makassar so that many people wanted to form a movement so that there would be a way to support and guard the empty box by remaining democratic. Many people in Makassar regret that the regional election is only followed by 1 candidate pair. This was stated by Mr. Andi Luhur Priyanto as an academic.

“The 2018 elections that took place in South Sulawesi simultaneously had different dynamics from each region that carried out the elections. Interestingly, there are 3 areas where there are empty boxes or single candidates. For the Makassar City area, it is something that has

extraordinary dynamics. The constellation and communication of political party elites is so dynamic. Giving recommendations for political parties that are tug-of-war and so attractive to the public must be observed. The recommendation of a political party is a ticket to be able to register with the KPU as a condition to become a candidate pair. The political communication process that was so warm made the dynamics of giving recommendations finally push and pull. There are several political parties that have determined and provided recommendations to one candidate, but because the elites of political parties carried out political communication, the recommendation was eventually transferred to another pair of candidates. Finally, the Makassar City KPU determined 2 pairs of candidates, where there were pairs who registered through the individual route because they did not get support from political parties. But the dynamics continued and, in the end, the Supreme Court decided that the Makassar City Election was only followed by 1 candidate pair (Interview, March 30, 2021).

The birth of a single candidate in the Makassar city election in 2018 was based on the decision of the Supreme Court (MA). The Supreme Court rejected the Makassar KPU's appeal regarding the lawsuit for the abortion of the incumbent candidate pair in the regional election in Makassar City. In the decision of the Supreme Court, Ir. Mohammad Ramadhan Pomanto and Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti Ilham as candidates for mayor and deputy mayor of Makassar city in 2018, did not act carefully and not carefully. This decision was quoted in the Supreme Court's consideration of rejecting the Makassar City KPU's appeal in decision Number 250 K/TUN/PILKADA/2018. In his current position, Mr. Danny Pomanto is known to have used his power in formulating programs and activities that were stated to be of personal use to him. In addition, it will also have an impact and be able to harm other pairs of candidates within 6 months before the date of determination of the candidate pairs. This act violates the provisions of Article 71 paragraph (3) of Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning the stipulation of government regulations in lieu of law Number 1 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors. In accordance with the provisions of Article 89 paragraph (3) of the General Election Commission Regulation Number 15 of 2017, the candidate pair Ir. Mohammad Ramadhan Pomanto and Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti Ilham were declared ineligible to be appointed as a candidate for Mayor and Deputy Mayor for the 2018 regional elections in Makassar City.

Besides that. Danny Pomanto assessed that the distribution of smartphones to RT/RW heads was considered as money politics. The Director General of Regional Autonomy at the Ministry of Home Affairs, Soni Sumarsono, defended Danny Pumanto. According to Soni, the distribution of cell phones is not money politics because it is part of the incumbent's work program to facilitate communication between RT/RW with the mayor. But on the other hand, the death of Danny Pumanto-Indira in the context of the democratic party in Makassar City, is inseparable from the discourse of money politics.

The trigger for a single candidate in the Makassar city election was caused by one of the candidates who bought support from all political parties, thus closing the opportunity for local men to be able to run as mayoral candidates. This means that with large capital, regional head candidates lock opportunities for other candidates to support political parties. Although this cannot be blamed, because the truth is that elections are a battle to win and occupy power. However, what is wrong is the lack of competitiveness and lack of courage to compete in competition [11]. Opponents are defeated before advancing in battle. In fact, the appropriate word for this condition is the existence of power egoism. In fact, the real battle is when there is an opponent in front of you, so that if you win or you lose, everything is a form of true toughness and courage.

In addition, the form of political parties that failed to carry out regeneration on the one hand, and on the other hand there has been a leadership crisis in the regions. Instead of being part of a social institution to prepare candidates for leadership, it seems that the party is only used for pragmatic purposes by its elites, which does not rule out the possibility of elite conflict. Political parties should be ashamed of the Regional Head General Election which only features a single candidate. However, it seems that this form of thirst for power can easily be removed because of pragmatic interests.

4 Conclusion

Based on the results of the study, the birth of a single candidate in the Makassar City election in 2018 because there were several factors, namely the single candidate pair bought up almost all existing political parties so that other candidates did not meet the quota of political parties to be ready to fight in the 2018 Makassar City elections.

In addition, the factor in the birth of a single candidate was the decision of the Supreme Court (MA) to abort the candidate pair, Mr. Mohammad Ramadhan Pomanto and Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti Ilham, who previously advanced through the individual route. The Supreme Court's decision is based on the fact that Mr. Danny Pomanto is known to have used his power and made a program that was personally profitable. In addition, it will also have an impact and be able to harm other pairs of candidates within 6 months before the date of the determination of the pair of candidates and this is considered to violate Article 71 paragraph (3) of Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning the stipulation of government regulations in lieu of law Number 1 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors. On the other hand, Mr. Danny Pomanto is also considered to have done gratification by distributing smartphones to RT and RW heads.

Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank all the informants who provide assistance and information during the research held. The same was conveyed to the Dean Faculty of

Social Sciences which has provided financial support for this research.

References

- [1] R. Surbakti, *Memahami ilmu politik*. Grasindo, (1992).
- [2] J. C. Knowles, E. M. Pernia, and M. Racelis, "Social consequences of the financial crisis in Asia: the deeper crisis," (1999).
- [3] Akbar, "Perdagangan Beras di Sulawesi Selatan 1947-1956," *Pattingalloang*, vol. **3**, no.2, pp. 66–84, (2016).
- [4] Upe, "Eksistensi Kebudayaan Tolong Menolong (Kaseise) Sebagai Bentuk Solidaritas Sosial pada Masyarakat Muna (Studi di Desa Mataindaha Kecamatan Pasikolaga)," (2019).
- [5] A. Tilome, A. A. Andi Agustang, J. Jasruddin, M. Syukur, and A. ASRIFAN, "Social Exchange of Political Elites in the Regional Leader Election of Gorontalo Province, Indonesia," *Solid State Technol.*, vol. **63**, no. 5, pp. 521–531, (2020).
- [6] Widyasari, R. A. Dewi, and V. M. S. Rengganis, "Gerakan Politik Pendukung Kotak Kosong: Keterlibatan Civil Society dalam Pilkada Kabupaten Pati Tahun (2017)," *J. PolGov*, vol. **1**, no. 1, pp. 89–119, (2019).
- [7] R. J. Terchek *et al.*, *Theories of democracy: A reader*. Rowman & Littlefield Lanham, (2001).
- [8] M. Bustan and M. Bahri, "Democracy in The Kingdom of Bugis (Noble Value Study in The Kingdom of Bone Century XVI)," (2018).
- [9] S. Bambang Kurniawan and W. S. IP, "Fenomena Pasangan Tunggal dan 'Kotak/kolom Kosong' pada Pilkada Kota Tangerang," *J. Mozaik*, vol. **11**, no. 2, pp. 15–27, (2019).
- [10] Danial, "Mengkaji Ulang Isi Undang-Undang Nomor 10 Tahun (2016) tentang Pemilu," *ADALAH*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp.59–70, (2020).
- [11] R. A. Dahl, "Decision-making in a democracy: The Supreme Court as a national policy-maker," *Emory Law J.*, vol. **50**, no. 2, p. 563, (2001).