

## ARTICLE

# The Impact of Simultaneous Local Elections (Pilkada) for the Achievement of Democratic Consolidation in the Election of Governors and Deputy Governors of Central Sulawesi

Asrifai  

The Department of Government, Faculty of Social & Political Sciences, Tadulako University  
Jalan Soekarno Hatta, Kota Palu, Indonesia, 94119

 [asrifai@untad.ac.id](mailto:asrifai@untad.ac.id)

 OPEN ACCESS

Citation: Asrifai. (2020). The Impact of Simultaneous Local Elections (Pilkada) for the Achievement of Democratic Consolidation in the Election of Governors and Deputy Governors of Central Sulawesi. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 12(2), 167–179. <https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.12.2020.167-179>

Received: July 28, 2020

Accepted: November 18, 2020

Published: December 16, 2020

© The Author(s)



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/).

**Abstract:** Researchers' interest in studying the quality of democracy in Indonesia has been developed since the reform era. Although there was a pessimistic view on Indonesian democracy's achievement, the quality of Indonesian democracy has experienced significant development in a proper political perspective. The dynamics of the first wave of regional head elections in 2015 feature the face of Indonesian democracy nationally. Democratization at the national level is awakened by strengthening democracy at the local level. This paper aims to determine the impact of the Direct Regional Head Election (Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah - Pilkada) concurrent in Central Sulawesi to achieve Indonesia's democratic consolidation. This research was conducted by a qualitative method with a descriptive-analytical approach that explained, described, and analyzed the implementation of the election of Governors and Deputy Governors of Central Sulawesi in 2015 to achieve democratic consolidation. The results showed that simultaneous elections have achieved strengthening democratic consolidation. This condition is seen in several aspects. Namely the development of a free civil society, the development of an open political society; the right rule of law; government effectiveness; and democratic culture development.

**Keywords:** simultaneous local elections; consolidated democracy; governor election; Central Sulawesi; governmental effectiveness

## 1. Introduction

The success of the direct local election (Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah - Pilkada), which was first held in 2005, is considered as the consolidation of electoral democracy (Nordholt & Hoogenboom, 2006, p. 1; Tjenreng, 2016, p. 44) due to extraordinary elections taking place at the regional/district level and provincial levels. This success is a step forward in the democratization that had been built since the 1998 reformation era in Indonesia (Santoso, 2016, p. 69) because of the election of communities individually and in groups involved in determining the local elections.

The process in determining regional heads through elections aims to change the head of the local government and manifest government decentralization. Regional elections provide hope of simultaneously strengthening democratization and decentralization (Aspinall & Mas'udi, 2017, p. 418).

Decentralization in the elections took place by shifting the battle arena from the center to the regions. There was a shift in elitist leadership's election to a populist mode (Hutapea, 2015). The regional head election produces aspirational, qualified, legitimate leader figures. It brings the government closer to the people in implementing regional autonomy and making it easier to control among the elected voters.

Local elections and democracy in the informal political space are parsed by Aspinall & Berenschot (2019), who find three typical political practices in the elections: transactional political conventions, the presence of successful teams, and political brokers. These three things have become a bad political practice with political oligarchy combined with clientelism to cause Indonesian politics' high cost. Such political methods are handled firmly and professionally by the election organizers, namely the General Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum - KPU) and the Election Supervisory Body (Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum - Bawaslu) of Central Sulawesi Province (Sul-Teng).

An election in the context of procedural democracy in Shumpeterian (1972) has succeeded in achieving its primary objectives: first, to produce regional leaders through a democratic electoral mechanism. Second, the local election is an indicator of the regular rotation of local leadership. The elections are a continuation of previous election practices and have laid a new foundation for a regular elite exchange mechanism. Third, direct elections have laid a new foundation for citizens' ongoing political education more broadly (Lay, 2007, p. 65).

However, from the evaluation of the elections, several facts found that: the elections were used as an unhealthy power struggle; regional head election encouraged the rise of moral pragmatism for regional head candidates, organizers, and the public. Local elections (Pilkada) perpetuate the oligarch of power while giving birth to people addicted to power. Local elections trigger the politicization of bureaucracy. Elections are vulnerable to the elite conflict involving the communities (MD, 2012, pp. 9–12).

The emergence of pragmatism, oligarchic power, electoral clientelism, and an unhealthy power struggle have made formal political practice expectations in the run-up to the election not quite as expected. But that does not mean that the local leader's election is not implemented correctly in Indonesia and must be returned through the Regional House of Representatives or the representative system.

The local elections' dynamics and problems have been continuously improved, including by conducting simultaneous local elections since 2015. The idea of the local elections was simultaneously born out of a desire to hack into different democratic practices. Departing from the wish to get out of political deadlock trapped in a tiring ceremonial routine. With direct elections, leadership succession is in an orderly and neat cycle (Kumolo, 2015, p. 20). Direct elections are also expected to provide fresh air for local democracy. Local elections (Pilkada) trial began on June 01, 2005, until December 2014 and has taken place as many as 1,027 times. The election consists of 64 Provincial Elections or Governor Election (Pemilihan Gubernur - Pilgub), 776

District Elections, and 187 City Elections. If referring to the number of calendar days each year with the duration of time every 2-3 days, there will be one local elections in Indonesia.

The holding of the Governor and Deputy Governor elections of Central Sulawesi in 2015 is interesting to study because: first, the holding of the regional head election was held for the first time simultaneously in September 2015 with 9 (nine) governor elections and 165 districts/cities, including in 8 districts with one existing town in the province of Central Sulawesi; secondly, referring to the end of the term of Office of the Governor and Deputy Governor of Central Sulawesi on June 17, 2016, Central Sulawesi was the only governor election that was pulled down following the simultaneous local elections in 2015. These conditions impacted the readiness of election organizers, political parties, the public, and the available budget for following the 2015 elections, which were initially prepared for 2016 following the governor's end and deputy governor's tenure.

Simultaneous local leader elections in Central Sulawesi Province are part of the dynamics of the first wave of elections featuring the face of Indonesian democracy nationally. Democratization at the national level wakes up if democracy occurs at the regional level (Akbar, 2016, p. 97). Regional head election becomes an integral part of democratic acceleration at the national level. It means that democracy at the national level will develop steadily if, at the local level, democratic values are firmly rooted (Legowo, 2005, p. 2).

The track and dynamics of organizing the first wave of elections became evaluations and lessons for implementing the second wave of elections in 2017 and the third wave in 2018. In 2020, the fourth wave of elections will be held in the event of a covid-19 pandemic. The experience of organizing the first wave of elections until the third wave becomes strengthening pandemic elections with strict health protocols. Elections during the Covid-19 pandemic can refer to several countries that have successfully held elections during the Covid-19 pandemic, such as South Korea (Spinelli, 2020).

The main argument of this article is that the elections and democracy are the arenas in building a democratic system and, at the same time, function as a variable in seeing how the achievement of Indonesian democracy. As part of the arena, the local election to deepen the accomplishment of democracy or the local election became the arena of democratic reconsolidation. Regional Head Election (Pilkada) and democracy have strong relations; many regional head elections (Pilkada) activities become part of democracy's principles of democracy in the formal political space.

Scholars have not much studied the impact of the elections on achieving democracy's consolidation of democracy. So far, the elections had examined in terms of informal political practices, arenas of political clientelism (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019; Aspinall & Mas'udi, 2017; Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014), elections and political dowry (Ferza & Aulia, 2020), regional elections as a deepening of democracy (Lay, 2007). Discussion on the impact of concurrent local elections informal politics in achieving democratic consolidation remains less significant.

This study is important in expanding the study of formal political practice in the achievement of democracy that is considered to have ups and downs (Kurniawan, 2016; Romli, 2018) or in decline (Aspinall et al., 2020). This article is different from a previous study by Ekowati (2019) which discusses the pragmatism of political parties in elections, Aziz (2016) which examines the politics of the election budget, Farchan et al. (2016) unraveling the problem of elections (Hutapea, 2015) the dynamics of election law in Indonesia. This study contributes to analyzing the impact of elections for local democratic consolidation in the 2015 Central Sulawesi governor and deputy governor elections that boil down to Indonesia's achievement of national democratic consolidation.

This study aims to analyze the impact of local elections on the consolidation of democracy and answering questions about whether the consolidation of democracy

took place in the holding of simultaneous local elections in the governor's election and deputy governor of Central Sulawesi last year in 2015.

## 2. Methods

This study was used as a qualitative method with a descriptive-analytical approach that explained, described, and analyzed the implementation of simultaneous elections in Central Sulawesi in 2015 in the achievement of democratic consolidation.

The type of data obtained in expressing the phenomenon used as the object of this study is primary and secondary data. Preliminary data were collected directly by researchers at the time of conducting research, namely through direct observation methods in the field or in-depth interviews with key informants, Commissioner of General Elections Commission (KPU) of Central Sulawesi Period 2013-2018 and Coordinator of the legal and handling violations division of General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of Central Sulawesi period 2012-2017. Secondary data was obtained through searching from various literature studies and related documents. Secondary data was election organizing laws, General Election Commission (PKPU) regulations, General Election Supervisory Agency Regulations (Perbawaslu), articles, and journals. After the data was collected, it would analyze through an interactive method (Creswell, 2014). Data from the results of this analysis can show the consolidation of democracy in the concurrent regional elections in the governor and deputy governor elections of Central Sulawesi in 2015.

## 3. Results and Discussion

### 3.1. Democracy Consolidation in Direct Local Elections

As a significant component of democracy at the regional level, local elections have had many impacts on the state's institutional development and its formal political capacity in the regions. Regional elections provide space for the community to be involved or involved in electoral activities.

The consolidation of democracy as a process that makes mutual trust and confidence among relevant actors lead to institutionalization is the actors' willingness to compete following predetermined democratic rules and if they lose to agree the winner's right to rule (Schneider & Schmitter, 2004, p. 62). Democratic consolidation is the expected regime stability. Democratic consolidation requires at least three types of operational definitions: the peaceful transfer of power, the absence of severe anti-democratic challenges, and the need for time travel (Schedler, 1997).

The consolidation of democracy in the elections created democracy as a complex system of institutions, rules, and impulses to impede barriers that have become the only rules that apply where all parties submit to and recognize the regulation of the local elections system is a system that must be used as a rule of the game.

The impact of simultaneous local elections (Pilkada) for democratic consolidation was analyzed using views (Linz & Stepan, 1996). Consolidated democracy is a political regime in which democracy as a complex system of institutions, rules, and impulses patterned has become the only rule that applies the only game in the city.

There are five conditions needed for a consolidated democracy or the five areas of a consolidated democracy (Linz & Stepan, 1996, pp. 7–15): First, the development of a free civil society. Conditions enable the development of a free civil society. Linz defines civil society as a political space where groups, movements, and individual efforts are organized and relatively autonomous in trying to voice values, establish associations, and promote solidarity and fight for their interests. This condition is an arena where political leaders compete for legitimate rights to exercise control over public power. The state apparatus between civil societies complement each other and not eliminate each other.

Second, an autonomous political society; Conditions that enable the development of an independent political community; adherence from all major political actors,

especially government officials. The consolidation of democracy requires all citizens to develop respect for democratic political society (political parties, legislative, election and election rules, political leadership, and alliances between political parties).

Third, compliance with the Rule of Law; Compliance from all major political actors, especially government officials on law enforcement. Compliance with the prevailing legal system was seen in the consolidation of democracy in a country. To achieve the consolidation of democracy requires civil society's independence and must be supported by proper law enforcement. Democratic governments must be respected and uphold the rule of law. Constitutionalism contains a relatively strong consensus regarding the constitution and is specially made as a binding rule together.

Fourth, a usable bureaucracy. There must be a state bureaucracy that can be used by the government. Bureaucracy was used by the government and democratic leaders. Modern democracy requires a sufficient capacity to regulate and govern; thus, there needs to be a functioning state of the state bureaucracy that can be used by democratic governments.

Fifth, the institutional economics community is the institutional economic condition of the elected government. Consolidation requires norms, institutions, and arrangements that mediate between the state and the market. Elections and their influence on the economy are crucial—the certainty of forming clean and efficient government results in supporting the consolidation of democracy.

### 3.2. Democracy Consolidation in Central Sulawesi Gubernatorial Elections

The electoral process for the governor of Central Sulawesi Province elections for 2016-2021 was held simultaneously on 9 December 2015 with 2 (two) pairs of candidates for governor and deputy governor. Pair number 1 (one) Rusdi Mastura as a candidate for governor and Iwan Datu Adam as deputy governor carried by 2 (two)

**Table 1.** Political Parties in the 2015 Central Sulawesi Governor Election

Political Parties	Votes	Number of Parliamentary Seat	Position in the Pilgub
NASDEM	120,745	5	-
PKB	98,790	3	SUPPORTER OF CANDIDATE NO. 2
PKS	95,136	3	-
PDIP	95,135	6	-
GOLKAR	248,501	7	SUPPORTER OF CANDIDATE NO. 1
GERINDRA	187,031	6	SUPPORTER OF CANDIDATE NO. 2
DEMOKRAT	158,155	6	-
PAN	106,488	3	SUPPORTER OF CANDIDATE NO. 2
PPP	74,727	1	-
HANURA	105,799	4	SUPPORTER OF CANDIDATE NO. 1
PBB	45,498	1	SUPPORTER OF CANDIDATE NO. 2
Total	1,336,405	45	

Source: Adapted from BAKPU Sulteng, 2015

political parties (Golkar and Hanura). Pair number 2 (two) Drs. Longki Djanggola as a candidate for governor and H. Sudarto as deputy governor carried by 3 (three) Parties, namely Gerindra Party, the National Mandate Party (PAN), the National Awakening Party (PKB), and Crescent Star Party (PBB) (Table 1).

Election of governor based on Law No. 8 of 2015, political parties nominate candidates to get a seat in the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) at least eight seats out of 45 seats in the DPRD member of the Central Sulawesi Province. The composition of seats in the DPRD is not a single party that can nominate candidates for governor and deputy governor without a coalition. The party obtaining the most seats only reached seven seats.

The acquisition of political party seats in the DPRD is, Golkar 7 seats, Gerindra 6 seats, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) 6 seats, Democrats 6 seats, NasDem 5 seats, Hanura 4 seats, the National Awakening Party (PKB) 3 seats, Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) 3 seats, the United Development Party (PPP) 1 seat, the National Mandate Party (PAN) 1 seat, Crescent Star Party (PBB) 1 seat.

Referring to Law No. 1 of 2015 article 40 paragraph (1) concerning the registration of candidates for Governor, political parties or a combination of political parties can register candidates if they meet the acquisition requirements of at least 20% (twenty percent) of the total number of Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) seats or 25% (twenty-five percent) of the accumulation of valid votes in the general election of DPRD members. With a total of 45 (forty-five) DPRD members in Central Sulawesi Province, to submit a governor's candidate, there must be at least 8 (eight) seats. To propose a governor of Central Sulawesi, a political party must conduct a coalition because no political parties obtain these minimum requirements.

In the 2015 Central Sulawesi Governor's Election, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), Democrat Party, Nasdem Party, Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the United Development Party (PPP) did not nominate candidates. Simultaneously, one of the main functions of political parties is political recruitment to fill positions in the legislative and executive bodies. This political recruitment function is only carried out by 6 (six) political parties, while others do not carry the Governor's candidate. In addition to having prospective governors, several parties only support the Governor's candidate, like the Democratic Party, which supports pair number 2. However, previously, the party conducted a selection of candidates for the 2015 governor period.

The party supporting is the party that carries the candidate through the official stretcher given to the prospective candidate. The letter is used in registering at the General Elections Commission (KPU). In contrast, the supporting party is the party that provides support after the regional head candidates make registration and or have been determined by the General Elections Commission (KPU). While the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the Nasdem Party, although they had already received support to carry out their cadres as candidates for Governor and deputy governor, until the deadline for registration on 29 July 2015 at 16.00 did not register.

The party that did not carry the candidates in the Central Sulawesi governor election in 2015 was due to strong public support for the pair of governors and deputy governors for the 2011-2016 period who were paired again. The Gerindra Party supports the incumbent couple, the National Mandate Party (PAN), the National Awakening Party (PKB), and the United Nations. Of the nine provinces and 152 regencies/cities that conducted direct elections, only Governor's Central Sulawesi province's elections had a regency partner who advanced again without separating between the Governor and vice-governor. This support's strength was evident from the survey institute that always placed the pair Longki Djanggola and H. Sudarto superior in popularity and electability above 50% (Indonesian Political Index). Another factor is the difference in the proposals of the governor candidates from the regional governing council. Those desired by the central board of political parties such as the Democratic Party and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and

**Table 2.** The Result of the Governor Election of Central Sulawesi 2015

No.	Candidates	Regency											Total			
		Palu	Sigi	Donggala	Parigi Moutong	Touna	Poso	Banggai	Bangkep	Balut	Morowali	Morut		Toli-Toli	Buol	Votes
1	H. Rusdi Mastura	82,660	53,512	73,660	78,629	44,490	46,735	71,780	22,250	12,601	31,266	26,228	44,116	32,084	620,011	45.50
H. Ilhwan Datu Adam																
2	Drs. Longki Djanggala, M.Si.	66,708	69,596	55,957	127,062	36,328	70,978	108,453	35,464	21,722	20,065	32,027	70,376	27,975	742,711	54.50
H. Sudarto, S.H., M.Hum.																
Total		149,368	123,108	129,617	205,691	80,818	117,713	180,233	57,714	34,323	51,331	58,255	114,492	60,059	1,362,722	
															122,700	
																9%

Source: Adapted from BAKPU Sulteng, 2015

other factors are the low electability of the party stretchers that cannot compete with incumbent candidates.

In the first simultaneous Local Elections (Pilkada), Longki Djanggola and H Sudarto were incumbent couples who have paired again. At the same time, Rusdi Mastura is a former Mayor of Palu for two periods of 2005-2010 and 2010-2015 Ihwan Datu Adam, former regent of Penajam, East Kalimantan. The election of the governor of Central Sulawesi placed the pair Longki Djanggola and Sudarto as winners with the acquisition of 742,711 votes or 54.5%, while the Rusdi Mastura pair got 620,011 or 49% of the votes (Table 2).

The Central Sulawesi regional election and post-reform elections show a new face of a more stable democracy by displaying many attributes of a consolidated democratic system (Webber, 2006, p. 396). Part of the characteristics of post-reform democratic consolidation, especially in the concurrent implementation of local elections, can be seen in several aspects by linking the arguments (Linz & Stepan, 1996, pp. 7–15) regarding the consolidation of democracy, including:

First, the realization of the conditions for the development of a free civil society. Second, in the aspect of an autonomous political community. Third, Regional Head Election (Pilkada) in the rule of law; Fourth, Local Elections (Pilkada) and Government Effectiveness; Fifth, the election in aspects of Democratic Cultural Development.

Aspects not portrayed in the elections are aspects of a usable bureaucracy and institutionalized economic society. These aspects are reconstructed into local elections (Pilkada) and the effectiveness of governance and Pilkada and the development of democratic culture. The bureaucracy used by the government and democratic leaders in the elections leads to governing effectiveness. The economic society institutionalized as mediation between the state and the market becomes an evaluation of the elected government and is not the focus of this study.

### 3.2.1. Regional Head Election (Pilkada) in the Aspect of Developing a Free Civil Society

Post-reform elections are considered successful from many perspectives, such as high levels of voter participation, low levels of violence, and the peaceful transfer of power (Hillman, 2011, p. 301). However, they still have various shortcomings, from election to election carried out mainly after regional head elections have shown improvement over time. Regional Head Election (Pilkada), in the context of the consolidation of democracy from the perspective (Linz & Stepan, 1996), shows aspects of civil society development free. This condition is an arena for the public to voice and fight for aspirations. Political leaders compete for the legal right to exercise control over public power and state apparatus between civil society, complementing each other rather than eliminating each other.

Aspects seen in this condition are: Freedom of the people to voice their aspirations to carry candidates from their representation in the elections; Freedom of the people to become candidates for governors and deputy governors in the 2015 direct elections; Proposed candidates for governors and deputy governors carried out by community organizations or forums to compete for indirect elections in 2015. The development of civil society in the consolidation of democracy requires expanded citizen access to civil society recruitment leadership.

Local elections in the consolidation of democracy were expected to form the elites' attitudes and behavior and the masses subject to the existing systems and mechanisms. After determining the winners of the elections, it is hoped that there will be victory speeches or speeches from the winning groups and expected speech recognition by the losing groups, or at least accepting election results as part of the democratic process.

While developing civil society to be involved in the stages of organizing elections in the 2015 Central Sulawesi gubernatorial election, in particular, the voting was sufficient. The participation rate is 79%, including regions with a high participation level than the other areas that hold elections. However, the level of participation is not



following the target to be achieved by the General Elections Commission (KPU) of Central Sulawesi Province by 85% (Interview with a General Elections Commission (KPU) commissioner Sul-Teng, 5 February 2019).

Democratic consolidation in the implementation of direct local elections and photographing civil society development conditions as above by looking at the process of candidacy that was seen is the ongoing consolidation of the elite, especially the party elite in the nomination of the and deputy governor.

Consolidation is also seen in community development in carrying out political participation through voting and citizen activities at other stages. Political participation occurs because of public political awareness (Djuyandi & Herdiansah, 2018, p. 203). The elections illustrate how the development of an autonomous political community involves citizens monitoring and providing information to election administrators, especially the supervisory institutions, regarding the alleged or potential violations in the election implementation life.

Monitoring activities on the implementation of direct elections in the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor in 2015 only a few conducted independently by registering at the KPU, namely the General Elections and Education Network (Jaringan Pemilu dan Pendidikan Rakyat - JPPR) and Center for Election and Political Party (CEPP) of University of Tadulako.

Behind the lack of community participation that autonomously to conduct an election, monitoring is overcome by the political will of election organizers (General Elections Commission and General Election Supervisory Agency) by providing opportunities for citizens to be directly involved in the elections through democratic volunteer programs (relations) conducted by the General Elections Commission (KPU) and the Movement of A Million Volunteers of Election Supervisory (Gerakan Sejuta Relawan Pemantau Pemilu - GSRPP) by General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu).

### 3.2.2. Regional Head Election (Pilkada) in the Aspect of an Autonomous Political Society

Elections in the aspect of an autonomous political society have an impact on community independence. Direct local elections realize responsible participation and do not give birth to arbitrariness or irregularity and give birth to progressive regional heads (Subekti, 2015). Communities get their constitutional rights, namely the right to be elected and the right to vote.

In an autonomous society, citizens' rights are not hijacked by party interests and political party oligarchies. Even though political parties in general elections have a strategic role, they must not ignore citizens' aspirations. Political parties and the consolidation of democracy one of the conditions in the consolidation of democracy is to create political parties that can mobilize and represent the interests that develop in society, not just the personal interests of leaders and mere politicians' environment.

In the implementation of a political party, local elections are an entry point in regional head candidates' contestation. In Law 1 of 2015, as amended in Law No. 10 of 2016, political parties carry regional head candidates or political parties combined. Suppose a political party cannot nominate a candidate for the minimum number of seats in the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD). In that case, the party can make a coalition to nominate candidates for the regional head. The coalition created in local leaders' nomination is usually liquid and not strictly based on ideology or shared vision.

Through the nomination of important regional heads, political recruitment is criticized, especially the network of potential regional head candidates who are judged to be uncritical and democratic. Political anomalies often appear in candidacies. The proposal of prospective candidates from the regional administrators of political parties is often broken halfway by the central board of executives (DPP), not even infrequently recommended by the DPP instead of administrators or cadres of political parties (Chaniago, 2016, p. 209).

The condition of the national party system influences political recruitment in Central Sulawesi. The previous election still led to pessimism about the transition to democracy because the elite's circulation has not been running. The old face still dominates the figures that appear as candidates for governor and deputy governor. This condition is considered to influence democratic consolidation that still believes clans, patrons, kinship, and geographical origin (Wardhani, 2011).

### 3.2.3. Local Elections (Pilkada) in Law Aspects

The third aspect in the election and consolidation of democracy is law enforcement and compliance by both election participants and candidates and election administrators. Law enforcement in the elections is well enforced; this is different from (Davidson, 2009, p. 293), although in another dimension, which suggests that the consolidation of Indonesia's democracy will continue to be hampered due to the weak institutionalization of the democratic rule of Law. Although this paper only sees law enforcement in the context of the holding of local elections, enforcement of the power of Law is well enforced. It was seen from the handling of election violations. We always uphold the electoral regulations and follow up on all findings and reports of violations during the elections (Zaidul Bahri Interview, Coordinator of Law and Handling Election Violations in Central Sulawesi Bawaslu, 10 April 2019). It must be admitted that during the election, there were various violations committed by election participants and election organizers (General Elections Commission of Central Sulawesi Province), namely administrative violations 75, criminal violations 0, and violations of code of ethics 1 (HPP Bawaslu Central Sulawesi, 2015). However, violations can be upheld by election law enforcement.

Simultaneously, the 2015 elections in Central Sulawesi emphasized that the specific political practices in the elections, namely transactional political practices (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019), did not occur in all provinces that held elections.

The direct election from the aspect of the rule of Law that made as the primary foundation was Law No. 8 of 2015 concerning the Establishment of Government Regulation instead of Law (Perpu) No. 1 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors. Government Regulation, instead of Law, was born to cancel Law No. 2 of 2014 concerning Local Elections, which was returned by representatives democratic mechanism or elected through the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD).

### 3.2.4. Local Elections (Pilkada) and Government Effectiveness

The aspects of the elections and the government's effectiveness create a pattern of coordination between the governor and the regent/mayor simultaneously resulting from valid local elections due to the same working period. The elections directly created the same period cycle between the governor and the regent/mayor. Many development programs in the regions have been stagnant because of the non-synchronous working period between the governor and the regent/mayor.

Direct local elections occur bureaucratic efficiency, focused work planning, and implementation of more synchronous development programs. Many development programs in the regions have been stagnant because of the non-synchronous working period between the governor and the regent/mayor (Kumolo, 2015, p. 46).

The elections directly created the same period cycle between the governor and the regent/mayor. This condition is an essential capital in the implementation of regional decentralization. Decentralization is a crucial aspect of democracy in the regions. Decentralization is not merely the transfer of central authority to local governments. It is more than decentralization that gives the government authority to the community. So that decentralization leads to participatory democracy built on the principles of political equity, political accountability, and local responsiveness in the local government's administration (Picard, 2008, p. 41).

In terms of results, simultaneous local elections will create a stable and effective regional government. A government formed from the results of the elections will simultaneously produce pro-people policies. Local government is trustworthy and competent, supported by local political forces, and has a synergy relationship with the central government. Regional autonomy will be carried out properly if all executive, legislative and political parties, local and national, build constructive dialogical communication in check and balance mechanism in line with democracy (Kumolo, 2015, p. 46). Simultaneous elections increase hopes to get a figure of leader who aspirational, competent, and legitimate. The election has an impact on improving the quality of regional government responsibility to its citizens. Regional heads of the results of concurrent regional elections will have strong legitimacy so that there will be a balance of strength (checks and balances) in the area between the local leaders and the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD).

### 3.2.5. Local Elections (Pilkada) in Aspects of Democratic Cultural Development

The institutionalization of democratic political culture emphasizes that democratic political culture (tolerant, egalitarian, compromise) as a prerequisite for realizing the consolidation of democracy with characteristics and focus, namely horizontal relations between citizens and vertical connections between the elite-mass or the people's government. Horizontally, democracy teaches about pluralism, namely the spirit of mutual respect for differences and crossing ethnic, religious, regional, linguistic, and other primordial elements. Vertically, democracy teaches that the government and the people or between the elite and the masses are not based on clientelism, paternalism, or patrimonialism, but the principle of citizenship.

The condition that would form consolidation, elites, organizations, and the masses must all believe that the system (electoral system and electoral process of regional head election) that is used is proper to be obeyed and maintained, both at the standard level and the level of behavior. That whatever the results and whoever wins the election, as long as it is under the applicable mechanisms and regulations, the elite and the masses must sit down and accept it. It is the fundamental essence of the consolidation of democracy indirect elections. Election aspects and the development of democratic cultural development as part of photographing the elections accepted by election participants have not yet reached a good reception. The election results for governor and deputy governor were sued in the Constitutional Court by election participants. There has not been an acknowledgment (recognition) for those who lost the recapitulation decision by the election organizer (General Elections Commission of Central Sulawesi Provincial), even the results of the regional head elections to the State Administrative Courts (Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara - PTTUN).

Concurrent quality and integrity elections held professionally lead to proper political institutionalization. Political development will bring up cultural patterns that increasingly support democratization (Inglehart, 2000, p. 80). Gradual cultural change will make the public more inclined to want democratic institutions even though the transformation is not easy or automatic.

Although there are many pessimistic expectations, Indonesia's democratization has experienced steady progress over the past decade (Abdulbaki, 2008, p. 151). Indonesia's political elite has designed and stabilized political transitions that are mainly marked by continuous, free and fair elections, peaceful rotations of power, influential elected officials and separation of powers, inclusive suffrage, freedom of expression, media independence, and association autonomy.

## 4. Conclusions

The implementation of the first wave of simultaneous elections in Central Sulawesi in 2015 had implications on democratic consolidation from several aspects. First, the realization of the local election conditions in the element of developing a free civil society. This condition is an arena for the public to voice and fight for aspirations.

Political leaders compete for the legal right to exercise control over public power and state apparatus between civil society, complementing each other rather than eliminating each other.

Second, the elections in the aspect of an autonomous political society. Direct local elections realize responsible participation and do not give birth to arbitrariness. Citizens get their constitutional rights, namely the right to be elected and the right to vote, providing civil society independence to be involved in organizing and involving civil society in monitoring the direct local elections implementation. But aspect is still colored by the occurrence of political anomalies, where the proposal of candidates from the regional administrators of political parties is often broken in the middle of the road by the recommendations of the Central Executive Committee (DPP).

Third, the local elections (Pilkada) in the aspect of the rule of law. Another thing seen in the elections and consolidation of democracy is the rule of law or enforcement and legal compliance by both election participants and candidates and election administrators. During the Governor elections (Pilgub) implementation, various violations were committed by election participants and election administrators (General Elections Commission of Central Sulawesi Province), namely administrative violations and violations of the code of ethics.

Fourth, local elections and government effectiveness. Direct local elections conducted simultaneously with regents/mayors' election make coordination patterns between governors and regents/mayors carried out effectively because of the same working period. The elections directly created the same period cycle between the governor and the regent/mayor.

Fifth, the election in Democratic Cultural Development. Election aspects and the development of democratic cultural development as part of photographing the elections accepted by election participants have not yet reached a good reception. The election results for governor and deputy governor were sued in the Constitutional Court by election participants. There has not been an acknowledgment (recognition) for those who lost the recapitulation decision by the election organizer (General Elections Commission of Central Sulawesi), even the results of the regional head elections to the State Administrative Court (Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara - PTTUN).

The essence of democratic consolidation is the formation of citizens' attitudes and behaviors at the elite and mass levels in responding to the direct regional head elections. The condition that consolidation will be formed, then the elites, organizations, and the masses must believe that the system (electoral system and electoral process of regional head election) that is used is proper to be obeyed and maintained, both at the manner level and the level of behavior. Whatever the results and whoever wins the election, as long as it follows the applicable mechanisms and regulations, the elite and the masses must sit down and accept it. It is the fundamental essence of the consolidation of democracy.

The consolidation of democracy in the regional head election creates a process and conditions that build mutual trust and convincing among relevant actors to organize and compete by the pre-established democratic rules and, if defeated, to approve the right of the winner to govern. Democratic consolidation is the expected stability of the regime.

To create and stabilize democratic consolidation: It is essential to democratizing political parties in the nomination of local leaders by considering regional administrators' aspirations. Enforcement of election law must be enforced and adhered to by-election participants and election organizers. The political participation of citizens must be increased in each election for the elected local leaders to gain strong justification and legitimacy.

#### References

- Abdulbaki, L. (2008). Democratisation in Indonesia: From Transition to Consolidation. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 16(2), 151–172. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185370802204099>
- Akbar, I. (2016). Pilkada Serentak dan Geliat Dinamika Politik dan Pemerintahan Lokal Indonesia. *CosmoGov*, 2(1), 95–110. <https://doi.org/10.24198/cosmogov.v2i1.11852>

- Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for Sale: Pemilihan Umum, Klientelisme, dan Negara di Indonesia*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Aspinall, E., Fossati, D., Muhtadi, B., & Warburton, E. (2020). Elites, masses, and democratic decline in Indonesia. *Democratization*, 27(4), 505–526. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2019.1680971>
- Aspinall, E., & Mas'udi, W. (2017). The 2017 Pilkada (Local Elections) in Indonesia: Clientelism, Programmatic Politics and Social Networks. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 39(3), 417–426. <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs39-3a>
- Aspinall, E., & Mietzner, M. (2014). Indonesian Politics in 2014: Democracy's Close Call. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 50(3), 347–369. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2014.980375>
- Aziz, N. L. L. (2016). Politik Anggaran dalam Pelaksanaan Pilkada Serentak di Indonesia. *Masyarakat Indonesia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Indonesia*, 42(1), 51–64. <https://doi.org/10.14203/jmi.v42i1.359>
- Chaniago, P. S. (2016). Evaluasi Pilkada Pelaksanaan Pilkada Serentak Tahun 2015. *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review*, 1(2), 196–211. <https://doi.org/10.15294/jpi.v1i2.6585>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. SAGE.
- Djuyandi, Y., & Herdiansah, A. G. (2018). Political Participation of Youth in the West Java Regional Election (Pilkada) in 2018. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 10(2), 195–207. <https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.10.2018.195-207>
- Ekowati, E. Y. (2019). Pragmatisme Dan Politik Identitas Pada Pilkada Untuk Meraih Kekuasaan. *Jurnal Transformative*, 5(1), 16–37. <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.transformative.2019.005.01.2>
- Farchan, Y., Partono, & Gumay, H. N. (2016). Problematika Pilkada Langsung: Studi Kasus Pelaksanaan Pilkada Langsung di Provinsi Sumatera Utara 2005-2007. *Jurnal Renaissance*, 1(1), 33–48. <http://www.ejournal-academia.org/index.php/renaissance/article/view/12>
- Ferza, R., & Aulia, N. F. (2020). 2018 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections: Political Dowry and Policy Implication. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 12(1), 11–20. <https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.12.2020.11-20>
- Hillman, B. (2011). Electoral Governance and Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia. *The Indonesian Quarterly*, 39(3), 301–323.
- Hutapea, B. (2015). Dinamika Hukum Pemilihan Kepala Daerah di Indonesia. *Jurnal Rechts Vinding: Media Pembinaan Hukum Nasional*, 4(1), 1–20. <https://rechtsvinding.bphn.go.id/ejournal/index.php/jrv/article/view/136>
- Inglehart, R. (2000). Culture and Democracy. In S. P. Huntington & L. E. Harrison (Eds.), *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (pp. 80–97). Basic Books.
- Kumolo, T. (2015). *Politik Hukum Pilkada Serentak*. Expose.
- Kurniawan, D. (2016). Demokrasi Indonesia dalam Lintasan Sejarah yang Nyata dan yang Seharusnya. *MOZAIK: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 8(1), 94–111. <https://doi.org/10.21831/moz.v8i1.10770>
- Lay, C. (2007). Pilkada Langsung dan Pendalaman Demokrasi. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 11(1), 63–92. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.11003>
- Legowo, T. A. (2005). Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Secara Langsung, Good Governance dan Masa Depan Otonomi Daerah. *Jurnal Desentralisasi*, 6(4), 1–13.
- Linz, J. J., & Stepan, A. (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. JHU Press.
- MD, M. (2012). Evaluasi Pemilu Pilkada dalam Perspektif Demokrasi dan Hukum. In *Demokrasi Lokal: Evaluasi Pemilu Pilkada di Indonesia* (pp. 3–17). Konstitusi Pers Jakarta.
- Nordholt, H. S., & Hoogenboom, I. (Eds.). (2006). *Indonesian Transitions*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Picard, L. A. (2008). Decentralizing Governance: Emerging Concepts and Practices, edited by G. Shabbir Cheema and Dennis A. Rondinelli. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 38(4), 741–743. <https://doi.org/10.1093/publius/pjn003>
- Romli, L. (2018). Pilkada Langsung, Calon Tunggal, dan Masa Depan Demokrasi Lokal. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 15(2), 143–160. <https://doi.org/10.14203/jpp.v15i2.757>
- Santoso, C. (2016). Participation and Neutrality of State Civil Apparatus in Direct Regional Election: Surabaya City Case. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 8(1), 69–81. <https://doi.org/10.21787/JBP.08.2016.69-81>
- Schedler, A. (1997). *Expected Stability: Defining and Measuring Democratic Consolidation* (Working Paper No. 50; IHS Political Science Series 50). Institute for Advanced Studies. <https://irihs.ihs.ac.at/id/eprint/1026/>
- Schneider, C. Q., & Schmitter, P. C. (2004). Liberalization, transition and consolidation: Measuring the components of democratization. *Democratization*, 11(5), 59–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340412000287271>
- Spinelli, A. (2020). *Managing Elections under the COVID-19 Pandemic: The Republic of Korea's Crucial Test*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA). <https://doi.org/10.31752/idea.2020.15>
- Subekti, V. S. (2015). *Dinamika Konsolidasi Demokrasi: Dasri Ide Pembaruan Sistem Politik hingga ke Praktik Pemerintah Demokrasi*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Tjenreng, M. B. Z. (2016). Democratic System Strengthening Through Concurrent Election Implementation to Improve Political Stability and National Development. *Journal of Social and Development Sciences*, 7(2), 44–56. <https://doi.org/10.22610/jsds.v7i2.1306>
- Wardhani, I. S. (2011, March 1). *Ujian Demokrasi dalam Masa Transisi*. Kompas.Com. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2011/03/01/03084650/ujian.demokrasi.dalam.masa.transisi>
- Webber, D. (2006). A consolidated patrimonial democracy? Democratization in post-Suharto Indonesia. *Democratization*, 13(3), 396–420. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340600579284>