

## The Consistency of Political Party in Legislative Recruitment Candidates on Election 2019

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### Abstract

The legislative recruitment candidates as the election 2019 are still having problems including the candidates of legislative and former of the legislative convicted felon. This tendency occurs in legislative recruitment candidates by political parties both at central and regional levels, nationwide there are 199 legislative candidates and 49 corrupt legislative candidates. Thus, it is necessary to evaluate and to measure the consistency of Political Parties in the process of recruitment the legislative candidates. This research used the concepts of Election and Democracy theory and Political Recruitment. The type of this research is a single case with a qualitative approach by observation, in-depth interview and documentation. Informant selection using purposive sampling technique as of obtained the informants who are suitable for the research criteria, namely commissioner of KPUD Riau, Bawaslu Riau and Elite Political Parties. Furthermore, data analysis through ethical and emic interpretation afterwards elaborate in a study of electoral and democratic governance as according to the discussion under this study. The result of this research showed that consistency of political parties in legislative recruitment candidates as the election 2019 is not selected yet and half-hearted in spirit establishment for anti-corruption. The bad intuitional of political parties in develop structure and political culture, thus showing that the caderization process is not professional-oriented parties in functional political recruitment.

**Keywords:** *Political recruitment; Democracy; Election*

### 1. Introduction

Direct general election simultaneously will be held in 2019 is still have problems. The prominent issues include there are still enlisted the legislative candidates who are indicated as ex-corrupors. It has led to a polemic in society, where the political parties in general election 2019 were neglected in the process of legislative candidates' recruitment. Based on data from Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), 199 of legislative candidates are ex-corrupors (Bawaslu, 2018). Here are the findings from Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) political parties who recruited the legislative candidates (bacaleg) who are indicated as ex-corrupors:

No	Political Parties Participants 2019	Ex-corrupors of legislative candidates
1	Gerindra	27 People
2	Golkar	25 People
3	Nasdem	17 People
4	Partai Berkarya	16 People
5	Hanura	15 People
6	PDIP	13 People
7	Demokrat	12 People
8	Perindo	12 People
9	PAN	12 People
10	PBB	11 People
11	PKB	8 People
12	PPP	7 People
13	PKPI	7 People
14	Garuda	6 People
15	PKS	5 People
16	Partai Sira	1 People
17	PSI	-
18	Partai Aceh	-

19	Partai Daerah Aceh	-
20	Partai Nangroe Aceh	-
21	Unexplained	5 People
Total		199 People

*Source: Bawaslu RI*

From the data above, there are 16 national political parties and 4 local political parties as participants in general election 2019 and total of political parties who joined election 2019 is 20 political parties. As stated in Law Number (No). 7 of 2007 on the election in article 11 section 1, every participant of political parties should occupy the Integrity Pact. Below are the content of Integrity Pact:

1. In the process of legislative candidates' selection, we guarantee all the legislative candidates DPR/DPRD in the Province, DPRD/Regency/City that is submitted to General Elections Commission (KPU) Province/Regency city must have integrity and high commitment not to commit criminal acts of corruption, collusion and nepotism or to violate laws.
2. The candidate names for DPR/DPRD in the Province, DPRD/Regency/City that listed in Model B.1 form are not ex-convicted drug dealers, sexual crimes against children and/or corruption.
3. If we violate the rules that we have stated in this Integrity Pact, there are candidates submitted or candidates who are listed in Provisional Candidate or selected candidates whose status are ex-convicted drug dealers, sexual crimes against children and/or corruption, we are willing to be subjected to administrative sanctions in the form of cancellation of proposed candidates.

The Integrity Pact decisively explained that to be a candidate for the legislative who will take part in election 2019, will never get involved in cases of corruption or other legal cases, this is an effort to prevent parliament from being controlled by the corruptors. However, the reality is inversely proportional where the parliament and the government through the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights and Ministry of Home

Affairs requested to ex-corruptors be allowed to become candidates. The overlap of the General Elections Commission (KPU)'s decision with the directions of government's policy describes the out of sync stakeholders in realizing clean elections.

The condition above also happened in Riau Province in 2018 during the registration process of legislative recruitment candidates, and it was noted that there were five (5) candidates who were indicated as corruptor (KPUD Riau, 2018). Chairman of Regional General Election Commission (KPUD) of Riau Mr. Nurhamin said, the results of verification from the list of provisional candidate (DCS) once the registration stage of candidates that took place on 5 to 18 July 2018, from 1.000 candidates from 12 regencies and cities carried by 16 political parties competing to fight over 65 seats in DPRD Riau have been recorded as being indicated by the corruptors. The function of political parties as political recruitment needs to be questioned in its process in legislative recruitment candidates who will participate in election 2019 in Riau because this would be an indicator of the consistency of political parties in political function recruitment that is appropriate with integrity pact.

Therefore, the 2019 election must be able to have much better implemented, hard work for the Regional General Election Commission of Riau is to minimize the candidates who will compete but not indicated corruption. This is a duty for the Regional General Election Commission of Riau to consolidate the political parties that recruit candidates. Regional General Election Commission (KPUD) of Riau, Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) and the political parties must be able to become essential instruments in realizing honest and clean elections in Riau province in 2019. From the problems that mentioned above, the researcher formulated the theme of this study namely the consistency of political parties in the process of legislative

recruitment candidates in Riau province in 2018 following the terms and integrity pact. Research is needed to examine the problem of political parties consistency in recruiting legislative candidates to contribute strengthening the democracy, and the problems that have happened will not interfere the stability of election organizers in the future both in Riau and Indonesia. To study how the consistency of political parties 2019 in legislative recruitment candidates in Riau will be something interesting.

### *Democracy and Elections*

In political discipline, there are two different understandings of democracy; normative understanding and empirical understanding. In a normative sense, democracy is something that a country should ideally do or maintain, such as we recognize the expression "Governance from the people, by the people, and to the people". These normative expressions are usually translated into the constitution of each country. However, we should also note what is normative may not always be reflected in the context of daily political life in a country. Hence, it is essential to look at the meaning of democracy empirically, namely democracy, in its embodiment in practical political life (Gaffar, 2010).

According to Joseph Schumpeter's methodical framework of thinking that "democracy" is a "constitutional procedure for reaching political decisions in which individuals have the power to make decisions through a competitive struggle in order to gain the real voice of the people.

Besides, Dahl said that democracy produces the consequences of a country's political life, such as: 1). Avoiding government tyranny; 2). Generate recognition of human existence; 3). Guaranteed universal freedom; 4). Appreciating a person for doing what they want; 5). Strengthening moral autonomy; 6). Guarantee the human development process; 7). Respect personal interests; 8). Guarantees political equality; 9). Bring more harmonious and peaceful life; 10). Produce

prosperity. Christine Susanna Tjhin further provides some of the fundamental principles of democracy; there are:

### **1. Participation**

Democracy, in its essence, involves the aspirations of the people in carrying out their active and conclusive role in the political process. Participation is a crucial element in empowerment. It is not only in the form of 'voting' in general elections/regional head elections held regularly. Participation guarantees involvement in the Policy process, by involving LSMs, political parties and other networks. Nevertheless, all of this must be based on the assumption that the rights to participate already exist and the community/citizens have capacity and resources to participate, and the government has provided political networks and institutions (through which all of the community can participate).

### **2. Equality**

Every individual is seen as politically equal. In other words, each individual is treated as a citizen regardless of a different race, ethnicity, class, gender, religion, language, or other identities. Democracy encourages plurality and diversity, and it also manages diversity without violence. Democracy cannot exist if the acquisition of basic rights is discriminatory. Democracy must also oversee marginalized sectors of society through the implementation of affirmative policies in order to achieve equal status and empowerment. This affirmative policy must be free from prejudice or stereotyping.

### **3. Transparency**

Public institutions get authority from the community, so there must be a device that allows the public to oversee and supervise these public institutions. The community or groups appointed by the community must be allowed to question the performance and work of these public institutions. Moreover, all information regarding work processes and their performance must be accessible to the public and mass media.

#### 4. *Accountability*

Accountability will only be possible if a state or public institutions are transparent and open. Accountability is essential in democracy because it will ensure people's representatives who hold the popular mandate and not deviate from the path of their order and function. Accountability requires the people's representatives to be responsible for their attitudes and actions, and if there is a deviation, the imposition of sanctions on those responsible must be part of this accountability.

#### 5. *Responsiveness*

In a democracy, public or state institutions must be accessible to different groups of society. These institutions must prepare for responding demands of citizens in every making process of policy quickly and wisely. The ability of these institutions to deliver service (service delivery) shows the quality of these institutions and ultimately, the quality of democracy itself.

#### *Political Recruitment*

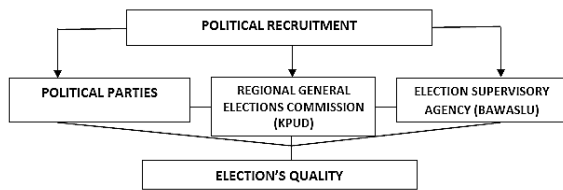
Political recruitment is an applied function of political parties. It is essentially the process of placing leaders in certain positions. The election and appointment of political figures is a transformation of a selection of community members to occupy a unique role in a political system. Budiarjo said that political recruitment is the process by which political parties seek and invite talented people to participate in the political process (Budiarjo in Surbakti). Meanwhile, Surbakti explained that the meaning of political recruitment is the selection of the appointment of a person or group of people to carry out several roles in the political system in general and government in particular. The definition of political recruitment can be concluded as a way to reach people from various groups who are considered capable of playing a role in the political process and at the same time as a way to select qualified prospective leaders. Political recruitment in a unique sense can be interpreted as a process whereby individuals

are selected to carry out political roles in government through standards.

There are two types of recruitment done by the party, and there is recruitment carried out for cadres of new members who are considered capable of playing a role in the political system, and which are done to select prospective leaders. Candidates for leaders are people who are nominated to become party leaders or leaders of a political office. Forms of political recruitment have a diversity that depends on the political values held by the political elite. Some forms that are often considered necessary are for example, the patronage system, the spoil system, and the co-option system. Political recruitment, the most imperative thing is the mechanism used. The mechanism is a method used to arrive at the desired goal. Political recruitment is related to the process of selecting, appointing, and placing certain people in — political positions.

The researcher will emphasize the recruitment mechanism as a way to recruit legislative candidates. The mechanism of political recruitment has immense diversity and has important implications for political recruitment, and it depends on the political values that are believed. The recruitment mechanism can be done by selecting elections, through examinations, as well as training or the direct and indirect election. In this research, what is meant by the mechanism of recruitment of legislative candidates is: "the efforts made by political parties to make preparations, selection for later determined and registered as candidates that they support in an election". The recruitment process of candidates is only a stage of the whole process of the (direct) election mechanism because, after the recruitment process of candidates, there are still stages of the campaign, voting and

counting of votes, as well as determination and inauguration.



**2. Theoretical Perspectives**

*2.1 Research Method*

This study used a qualitative method, due to it prioritizes the quality of data obtained through the delivery from informants, who is related to the research problem. The selection of this method is because the researcher wants to comprehend it, study in-depth and elucidate related to the recruitment process of legislative candidates who will participate in the 2019 election. The approach and design that is used for this research is study case, with description type to find the relation pattern between social phenomena and explain it in detail. John W. Creswell stated that study case is often carried out by political and government research (Creswell in Yandra, 2013:98). The steps which are used by Robert K. Yin, study case is a form of depth-research about an environment aspects, and it also can be detailed about a person or a social unit during a certain period (Yinn in Yandra, 2013: 99). The following research approach and design is expected to be able to describe the efforts such as what was done by KPUD Riau, Bawaslu, Political Party in the process of electing candidates for the legislative

candidates by the requirements of candidates who have been set.

**3. Result and Discussion**

This research attempts to elaborate and describe intact linked to a mapping of prospective legislative candidates to become legislative candidates in the 2019 elections who are indicated as corruption. Based on data from the General Election Commission (KPU) which announced 199 legislative candidates (bacaleg) convicts, corruption was partly not accepted and the filing was returned to the proposing parties. Nevertheless, with various political dynamics and the process of demands made by legislative candidates (bacaleg), not all of them want to resign, there are still bacalegs until the legislative candidates finally persist in participating in the 2019 Election contestation process.

Furthermore, there is 32 lists of additional names of legislative candidates who are former prisoners of corruption cases. So these 32 additional names complete 49 names of former candidates for corruption inmates previously announced by the RI KPU on January 30, 2019, the total of candidates for ex-convicts of corruption currently reached 81 people.

The following are all the names of ex-corruption legislative candidates who have been announced by the RI KPU in two stages (distinguished from before and additional names):

Partai Golkar					
The previous			Additional		
No	Name	Regional selection	Name		Regional selection
1	Hamid Usman	Maluku Utara 3	Achmad Sunardi	Junaidi	Provinsi Lampung 7
2	Desy Yusnandi	Banten 6	Christofel Wonatorei		Kabupaten Waropen 1
3	H Agus Mulyadi	Banten 9			
4	Petrus Nauw	Papua Barat 2			
5	Heri Baelanu	Pandeglang 1			
6	Dede Widarso	Pandeglang 5			
7	Saiful T Lami	Tojo Una Una 1			

8 Edy Muldison Blitar 4

Source: KPU RI

<b>Partai Gerindra</b>					
<b>The previous</b>			<b>Additional</b>		
<b>No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Regional selection</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Regional selection</b>	
1	Moh Taufik	DKI 3	None	None	
2	Herry Jones Johnny Kereh	Sulawesi Utara 1			
3	Husen Kausaha	Maluku Utara 4			
4	Ferizal	Belitung Timur 1			
5	Mirhamuddin	Belitung Timur 2			
6	H Al Hajar Syahyan	H Al Hajar Syahyan			

Source: KPU RI

<b>Partai Berkarya</b>					
<b>The previous</b>			<b>Additional</b>		
<b>No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Regional selection</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Regional selection</b>	
1	Mieke L Nangka	Sulawesi Utara 2	Muhlis	Provinsi Selatan 3	Sulawesi
2	Arief Armain	Maluku Utara 4	Zambri	Kabupaten Barat 1	Pasaman
3	Yohanes Marinus Kota	Kabupaten Ende 1	Djekmon Amisi	Kabupaten Talaud 3	Kepulauan
4	Andi Muttarmar Mattotorang	Kabupaten Bulukumba 3			

Source: KPU RI

<b>Partai Hanura</b>					
<b>The previous</b>			<b>Additional</b>		
<b>No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Regional selection</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Regional selection</b>	
1	Welhemus Tahalele	Provinsi Utara 3	Muhammad Asril Ahmad	Provinsi Utara 3	Maluku
2	Mudasir	Provinsi Tengah 4	Rachmad Santoso	Kabupaten Kartanegara 1	Kutai
3	Akhmad Ibrahim	Provinsi Utara 3	Darjis	Kabupaten Ogan Ilir 4	
4	YHM Warsit	Kabupaten Blora 3	Andi Wahyudi Entong	Kabupaten Pinrang 1	
5	Moh Nur Hasan	Kabupaten Rembang 4	Hasanudin	Kabupaten Banjarnegara 5	
6			Bonar Zeitsel Ambarita	Kabupaten Simalungun 4	

Source : KPU RI

<b>Partai Demokrat</b>					
<b>The previous</b>			<b>Additional</b>		
<b>No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Regional selection</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Regional selection</b>	
1	Jones Khan	Kota Pagar Alam	Firdaus Djailani	Provinsi Bengkulu	
2	Jhony Husban	Kota Cilegon 1	Farit Wijaya	Kabupaten Pesisit Barat 2	

3	Syamsudin	Lombok Tengah 5	Imam Subandi	Kabupaten Ogan Komerling Ilir 4
4	Darmawati Dareho	Kota Manado 4	Syamsudin Oliy	Kabupaten Bolaang Mangondo Utara 1
5			Rahmanuddin	Kabupaten Luwu Utara 1
6			Polman	Kabupaten Simalungun 4

Source : KPU RI

#### Partai Perjuangan

The previous			Additional	
No	Name	Regional selection	Name	Regional selection
1	Abner Reinal Jitmau	Provinsi Papua Barat 2	Mat Muhizar	Kabupaten Pesisir Barat 3

Source : KPU RI

#### Partai Keadilan Sejahtera

The previous			Additional	
No	Name	Regional selection	Name	Regional selection
1	Maksum DG Mannassa	Kabupaten Mamuju 2	Muhammad Zen	Kabupaten Okut Timur 1

Source : KPU RI

#### Partai Bulan Bintang

The previous			Additional	
No	Name	Regional selection	Name	Regional selection
1	Nasrullah Hamka	Prov Jambi 1	Sahlan Sirad	Provinsi Bengkulu 5
2			Syaifullah	Provinsi Kepulauan Bangka Belitung 1

Source : KPU RI

#### Partai Garuda

The previous			Additional	
No	Name	Regional selection	Name	Regional selection
1	Ariston Moho	Kabupaten Nias Selatan	None	None
2	Yulius Dakhi	Kabupaten Nias Selatan		

Source : KPU RI

#### Partai Perindo

The previous			Additional	
No	Name	Regional selection	Name	Regional selection
1	Smuel Buntuang	Provinsi Gorontalo	Andi Gunawan	Kabupaten Lampung Timur 1
2	Zulfikri	Kota Pagar Alam 2	Ramadhan Umasangaji	Kota Pare-pare 1

Source : KPU RI

PKPI				
The previous			Additional	
No	Name	Regional selection	Name	Regional selection
1	Joni Kornelius Tondok	Toraja Utara 4	Raja Zulhindra	Kabupaten Indragiri Hulu 1
2	Mathius Tungka	Poso 3	Yuridis	Kabupaten Indragiri Hulu 3

Source : KPU RI

PAN				
The previous			Additional	
No	Name	Regional selection	Name	Regional selection
1	Abdul Fattah	Jambi 2	Bonanza Kesuma	Provinsi Lampung 7
2	Masri	Belitung Timur 1	Firdaus Obrini	Kota Pagar Alam 2
3	Muhammad Afrizal	Lingga 3		
4	Bahri Syamsu Arief	Kota Cilegon 2		

Source : KPU RI

PKB				
The previous			Additional	
No	Name	Regional selection	Name	Regional selection
1	None	None	Usman Effendi	Kabupaten Pesawaran
2			EU K. Lenta	Kabupaten Morowali Utara 1

Source : KPU RI

PPP				
The previous			Additional	
No	Name	Regional selection	Name	Regional selection
1	None	None	Emil Silfan	Kabupaten Musi Banyuasin 4
2			Ujang Hasan	Kabupaten Bengkulu Tengah 1,
3			Rommy Krishna	Kabupaten Lubuklinggau 3

Source : KPU RI

Regional Representative Council (DPD)				
The previous			Additional	
No	Name	Regional selection	Name	Regional selection
1	Abdullah Puteh	Provinsi Aceh	None	None
2	Abdillah	Provinsi Sumatera Utara		
3	Hamza	Provinsi Bangka Belitung		
4	Lucianty	Provinsi Sumatera Selatan		
5	Ririn Rosyana	Kalimantan Tengah		
6	La Ode Bariun	Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara		
7	Masyhur Masie	Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara		
8	Abunawas	Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara		
9	A Yani Muluk Syachrial Kui Damapolii	Provinsi Sulawesi Utara		

Source: KPU RI



Political parties who participated in the 2019 Election may be concluded as the most recruited legislative candidates for ex-convicts of corruption. These narrated political parties are less selective or half-hearted in upholding anti-corruption, or vice versa as a note the recruitment of legislative candidates into the domain of political parties does not have internal party control. This reality describes the recruitment system of political parties needs to be enhanced in the recruitment process later, there will not be found legislative candidates who have had legal problems. Instead, it needs to be understood that the scanning mechanism must refer to democratic principles, and all the process can have implications for public trust. However, another interesting perspective and analysis to review are if someone who has already served a sentence has received legal consequences for his actions, but ethically or appropriateness becomes a question to be traced to the integrity of the offender. It can be understood that the recruitment mechanism of legislative candidates needs to be regulated explicitly in the Election Law. The quality of democracy will be realized if the legislative candidates who will participate in the contestation are far from legal complications or problems. However, in Indonesia, it has an understanding of the person concerned is not abolished political rights; the person still can vote and be elected in general elections.

### *3.1 Implications of Political Recruitment on the Process of Democracy*

Political parties as usual in theoretical discussions have functioned as political education, the articulation of interests, and aggregation of interests, political socialization, political communication, political recruitment and managing conflict. It is not much different from what is discussed in political party theory, and our constitution also outlines that one of the functions of political parties is to recruit cadres and distribute qualified cadres into public positions such as President, vice

president, regional head, DPR/DPRD and other public positions. The consequence of this function is that it requires political parties to produce cadres who are reliable, qualified and far from legal issues.

To produce this kind of cadre, each political party has a different system and mechanism. There are political parties that recruit their cadres from scratch. It means that this cadre has indeed grown and grew from the party concerned. There are also political parties that glance at cadres, but after someone does not occupy a public position. This type is mostly done by new parties. This is because the new party provides the broadest possible opportunity for anyone, especially former public officials, to engage in a new party and some even ex-convicts of corruption. In contrast to parties that have long been established, such as the Golkar, cadres is a duty that has been carried out long before the cadre succeeded in holding public office.

So far, there has been an assessment of a kind and successful political party is when the political party can distribute as many cadres as possible into public positions consistently. In this context, there is a big problem that needs to discuss together. From the current set of public positions, the laws and regulations require that every public position must not be filled by people who are affiliated with a particular political party or they must be neutral. There is an unsynchronized between the functions of political parties, which is the recruitment of cadres, but on the other hand, public offices are available to require the value of "neutrality". Whether these two things collide with each other or are they natural, or vice versa, some have career positions in Indonesia and those who are political.

From the author's observations, recruitment cadres are an essential function of political parties in addition to other functions. The meaning of recruitment cadres is broad in dimension. Includes not only the ideology education of a political

party but also education to become a true statesman. Recruitment means in a political party, and there is a strict selection process for how to produce cadres who have a statesman vision. If only all political parties were able to produce cadres who had a statesman vision, then the clause that public office must be neutral did not need to be regulated in every requirement for filling public positions. Let the political party mechanism educate its cadres to become statesmen and be able to develop the nation and state for the prosperity of their people.

On the other hand, if there is a political party cadre who is more concerned with the group or does not act as a statesman in carrying out the duties as a public official, then the people will punish the political party where the cadre came from. This process needs to be carried out to ensure the functioning of political parties, one of which is distributing cadres into public positions. Also, automatically for the establishment of a reliable party system, it will strengthen the building of democracy that is being formed and developed.

Though, the number of political parties is still not identical with the strong institutionalization of democracy in this country. Since the influential patrimonial political culture, democracy is still limited to discourse. The other concrete sources and authorities. Ben Anderson, once said that in the past "kesekten" was what made someone in power. Then in the New Order era, ABRI became a new source of power. Now it seems that money has so forcefully intervened in political life in the country. The expertise of the elite in articulating the source of power has been as impressive as if democracy had proceeded here.

Thus, the real problem in our political life and party system is not the number of political parties on the side, but the quality of the institution. Indeed, the number of political parties will be a problem in the decision of making the process. More and more ineffective. Moreover, if the primary

motive is not ideology but interest, then it is increasingly difficult to take an agreement. Even within a political party, various interests can emerge. Without being accompanied by an even and precise allocation of resources (authoritative allocation of values), decisions will be challenging to be accepted by policymakers. Conversely, the political process will take place safely if all interests receive their share.

We must be optimistic to face the problem of consolidation. If the willingness to make a change is based on thoughts that support the principle of change in general, then methods of transformation and replacement must be done. Culturally, the act and role model of leaders is crucial in the process of change. Wherever our society still values the essence of a leader. It is there that the essence of Patrimonial State can still be maintained. The sayings "the just king of the king is worshiped, the tyrant king is refuted", it seems that it can still be used as a reference for our leaders. Then, Consistency should be as a guideline in making changes must be demonstrated by them as well. Under the norms of democratic transparency and competence have to be used as a handle in carrying out this last function. The elements such as 'like' and 'dislike' should be removed if need to do an update.

In this way, political supports and legitimacy of a leader will continue to be maintained. We believe that political parties can be facilitators for the development of civil society. Political parties must not merely as a medium for the vertical mobility of their activists, but are encouraged to develop two main functions: inputs and outputs. Input functions include articulation and aggregation of interests, socialization and political education of the people. Its output function is in the form of contribution in decision making and oversight of policy implementation. Even though the role of political parties has so far been deemed not to carry out this function, and is lagging behind those pressure groups or interest

organizations in society, we have to make efforts to strengthen the institutionalization of political parties in society.

For this reason, we would be pleased to be able to find out how difficult it is to construct democracy in a problematic society that requires ways and patterns that are more "painstaking", simple, and realistic. Dankwart Rustow suggested that for democracy to be sustainable, it must be built through many generations. In this way, democracy needs a process, so that democracy isn't directed towards short/short-term change/reform efforts.

Distributing the role of strengthening the pillars of democracy to individual candidates does not have a ban. One of the benefits considered to be prominent is to improve the competitive climate and open up more great spaces for political participation in society. However, along with these benefits, the ability of political parties to compete may be weakened. Apart from the limited benefits, the limited policy is for individual candidates, not parties. There are not many benefits in increasing the role of political parties in democratic life. Especially in the context of the community being focused on individual candidates, there will be a risk of a decline in the party's image. Individual candidates can build an ugly campaign against the party. Besides that, in the internal context of the party itself, the degree of obedience and loyalty of cadres/sympathizers who had been built so far towards party independence could decrease even though we hope that the party will become the central pillar of our democracy.

In this regard, a State that wants to improve the climate of public political participation in order to improve a growing democratic system must look at the principle of who wants to be empowered and supported rather than those who want to be limited. In addition, the State must place full emphasis on the party and its partners in civil society as the domain of its

institutionalization process. Therefore, in the process of competition politics that appears widely in party institutions and institutions at the level of its community partners in the public sphere will increase the vitality and sustainability of democracy itself.

### 3.2 *Quality and Direction of Democracy*

Lesslie Lipson stated, it is true that democracy as an understanding can influence and be influenced by other factors in people's lives. The success or failure in a democracy can record the cause of its tendency through the social system it has by the community. There are three elements of the community that are strictly related to the issue of democracy, including in Indonesia during the drawing process ahead of the 2019 elections. First, the existence of the people themselves. Then their race, religion, and language must be considered as well because this might affect political interests. Second, the communities that influence political life on earth. Third, the economic situation is an important feature that influences democratic life. An economic situation involving the ability of natural resources, science and technology that changes people's lives, and also the ownership of capital and the distribution of people's income.

In the classical sense, of course, democracy means that all citizens have the right to participate in every election process, policymaking and decision making that will affect them, both individually and collectively. This understanding of stable democracy reflects the basic need of humans to express themselves. Democracy is always considered important because intrinsically, democracy can meet the basic needs of the lives of these people.

In a modern sense, democracy connotes representation (representative democracy) which controls that the majority of the public vote is delegated to a few people/elites, who are then given the authority to govern on behalf of the majority public voice. However, the philosophical roots remain the

same, namely, to ensure the fulfilment of individual freedom.

The elitist face of liberal democracy suffers from weaknesses, namely elitism in this democracy will further foster cultural elitism. The ruling class, in Mosca's term "the ruling class", assumes itself to carry out the general will of the majority of people. The biggest concern of this conception is the rise of tyranny in the name of the majority. In the United States, the fear of the emergence of tyranny in the name of the majority has dramatically influenced the building of its political system.

In contrast to the practice of democracy in other places which generally aims to permit people (empowering the people), Samuel Huntington said that democracy in the United States is mainly used as a means to prevent someone or a group of people from having too much power. Because of that, those who are elected through elections, have limited power in the constitution and guarantees of individual freedom in terms of speaking, getting information and the press, and freedom of opposition. Concretely, restrictions are made through checks and balances, federalism, bills of rights and judicial review mechanisms.

Another problem that distinguishes a democracy from a liberal constitutional democracy is centred on how these two conceptions view the scope of governing authority. Constitutional liberal democracy is about the process of obtaining and accumulating power. It can be concluded that democracy is related to how to choose the government and or how the government obtains legitimacy for the power it holds. Meanwhile, liberal constitutional democracy is all about controlling, limiting and overseeing the net of power. What about the initial process of democracy, if the elite is a kleptocracy group who will represent the people in parliament are ex-convicts of corruption, of course, the goal is to slow down the achievement of democracy.

Therefore, our democratic system must be built in two directions. A government that has strong legitimacy as the winner of an election must have the political will to guarantee the freedom and political rights of citizens. Meanwhile, from the bottom, we must organize ourselves to build institutions of control overpower, so that power does not become elitist. Concerned with the above reality, with the journey of democracy in Indonesia, which has entered two decades, it should be able to move its democracy towards strengthening civilian nationalism. The author agrees with Larry Diamond that democracy will be consolidated if democracy "gains broad and strong legitimacy from citizens so that it is highly unlikely that it will collapse. In other words, democracy is consolidated when it becomes the only rule of the game, and when no one can imagine acting outside the democratic system; when a group that loses uses the same rules (democracy) to avenge its defeat.

The existence of strong legitimacy from citizens, or the existence of acceptance as the only rule of the game in building and implementing the government is characterized by insignificant behaviour against democracy from existing forces, growing widespread belief in society that democracy is the best political system, and the functioning of the State effectively in law enforcement so that perpetrators of kleptocracy (corruptors) do not get a special place in politics. The consolidation of democracy as seen from the attitude of broad support from the community can be determined by the performance of democracy itself, for example, whether people feel satisfied with the implementation of democracy or not. This satisfaction is related to the performance of the democratic government itself, namely how the community supplies the performance of the government in solving various problems faced by the community, including in legislative nominations. Therefore, it is natural that ex-convicts of corruption should not be allowed to participate in the process

of voting because it would interfere with the ethical value of democracy.

#### 4. Conclusion

The consistency of political parties in the function of political recruitment especially in the process of legislative nomination for the 2019 elections is seen as not selective, and there is still legislative candidates from the former convicted of corruption cases. This shows that the political party is half-hearted in anti-corruption enforcement. With the presence of legislative candidates convicted of corruption shows that the mechanism of democracy is not working well, and it has implications for the quality of democracy itself. The mechanism of re-commitment of legislative candidates by political parties needs to pay attention to the track and record of cadres who will be proposed so that there is no problem in the future

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