

Demokratisasi Pilkada Satu Pasangan Calon

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Abstrak

Pilkada dengan satu pasangan calon telah dilaksanakan di Indonesia sejak tahun 2015 dengan memberikan kesempatan kepada pemilih untuk memberikan pilihan setuju atau tidak setuju. Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 100/PUU-XIII/2015 merupakan dasar pelaksanaan Pilkada satu pasangan calon tahun 2015 dan Undang-Undang nomor 10 tahun 2016 untuk tahun 2017. Kendati telah ada dasar hukum yang mengaturnya dan telah memenuhi unsur demokratis karena telah memberikan ruang kepada masyarakat untuk berpartisipasi, namun penyelenggaraannya belum sepenuhnya berjalan secara demokratis. Peraturan tentang Pilkada dengan satu pasangan calon tidak secara mendalam mengatur tentang asas fairness. Paper ini fokus pada minimnya sosialisasi, hanya terdapat visi misi pasangan calon saja dalam TPS dan ketidaksetaraan pengaturan dan mekanisme kampanye. Tujuan paper ini adalah agar terjadi kesetaraan antara pasangan calon dengan kotak kosong sehingga demokratisasi dapat terwujud. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan analisis fenomenologi untuk melihat minimnya sosialisasi dan ketidaksetaraan kampanye dalam Pilkada satu pasangan calon. Selain visi dan misi pasangan calon yang ditempel dalam TPS, gambar kotak kosong yang berisi informasi apabila kotak kosong yang menang juga diperlukan agar terjadi kesetaraan. Disamping itu, empat bentuk kampanye yaitu debat publik, iklan di media massa dan pemasangan serta penyebaran alat peraga harus dibuat setara sesuai dengan mekanisme pemilihan yang berlaku.

Kata Kunci: Pilkada Satu Pasangan Calon, Demokratisasi, Desain Sosialisasi dan Kampanye.

Democratization in Pilkada One Candidate Pair

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Abstract

Pilkada one candidate pair has been held in Indonesia since 2015 by giving voters a choice of agree or disagree. The basis is Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 100/PUU-XIII/2015 and Act Number 10 of 2016 for Pilkada 2017. Although there has been a legal basis governing it and has fulfilled democratic element because giving space to the public to participate, but the organization has not fully run democratically. The regulation does not deeply regulate the fairness principle. This paper focuses on the lack of socialization associated with blank box and campaign inequalities and mechanisms and there is only vision of the candidate pair in the polling station. The objective of this paper is to make equality between candidate pairs with blank box so that democratization can be realized. This research uses phenomenology analysis approach to see the lack of socialization and campaign inequality in elections of one candidate pair. In addition to the vision and mission of the candidate pairs attached to the polling station, any information about blank box is also required for equality. Another forms of campaigns are public debate, mass media advertising and the installation and dissemination of props should be made equally.

Keywords: Pilkada One Candidate Pair, Democratic Election, Socialization Design and Campaign.

INTRODUCTION

Democracy at the local level is seen as a very important thing for the community at the local level itself. One of them is seen in the involvement of society in the process of managing the government which is the right and obligation of society as an important part of government. The involvement of the community is manifested in the form of electing leaders in their respective regions over Pilkada. Since 2005, Pilkada in Indonesia has been implemented directly based on Act Number 32 Year 2004 regarding Regional Government System.

Direct Pilkada is a momentum for the development of democracy in Indonesia. Vincent Agustino (Leo Agustino: 2005) said that: "The direct election of regional heads (Pilkada) is a new phenomenon for contemporary politics in Indonesia. When this phenomenon is well managed, it will undoubtedly embody the possibility of strengthening democracy at various

levels, ranging from regional to national level. Because, in a political theory, disposal and establishment at the national level is largely determined by the presence and reliability of the local level, direct electoral management needs to be given important attention at the practical level”.

The dynamics of democracy through elections is now happening again. Pilkada held simultaneously since 2015 bring up to the phenomenon of one candidate pair in some areas. In 2015 there are 269 elections simultaneously throughout Indonesia. However, not areas that will hold the election have more than one candidate pair. There are some areas that only have one candidate pairs so at the time there is the possibility of election postponed because of Law no. 8 of 2015 requires that elections can run at least two candidate pairs.

The phenomenon of this one candidate according to R. Nazriyah caused by the electability of a candidat that is too high in the region (R. Nazriyah: 2016). By analyzing the electabilities, the candidates certainly do not want to lose because the cost of Pilkada was very expensive. Only candidates who have high capital and high electability who do not want to retreat. If they just trial, they prefer to retreat because the cost of Pilkada is too expensive.

The emergence of a single candidate pair due to the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK). In its verdict, the Constitutional Court overturned the rule which states that members of the legislative or other public officials may participate in the elections without resigning from their positions. That is, if members of the legislative and other public officials who want to move forward to be a participant Pilkada then must resign from office. The Constitutional Court's decision constitutes a single candidate. After the Court's decision, people certainly do not want to lose their job or position if not elected.

Meanwhile senior researcher of Populico Center Nico Harjanto said the emergence of the phenomenon of one candidate pairs in elections unison 2015 proves that Indonesian political education is not good. Political parties that do not submit their cadres to be candidates are judged to have reneged on their electoral pledges. It means political parties in the area are not ready to compete to win or lose. Whereas their electoral pledges are ready to win and ready to lose. Political parties should not be afraid of losing the election, despite having to fight stronger competitors. Political parties who dare to compete will be calculated in the future. Related to the reluctance of a number of political parties in carrying their nominee in the election, according to Sri Budi Eko Wardani political party is considered to have failed to perform its functions in recruitment and nominate cadres.

In a study conducted by Wafia Silvi Dhesinta stated that the biggest reason why Blitar District is only followed by one candidate pair of regional head is because of the reluctance of other political party to carry its candidate in elections in 2015 (Wafia Silvi Dhesinta: 2016).

Iza Rumesten views the phenomenon of one candidate pair as two sides that have advantages and disadvantages (Iza Rumesten RS: 2016), he states: "On the one hand it shows that the dynamics of democracy in the

country is increasingly showing progress and our society is getting "literate" and intelligent politics, but on the other side it raises a new problem that is whether the Pilkada will be postponed or published Perppu. It because lawmakers do not predict the emergence of a single candidate. This fact shows that lawmakers have not been able to make laws that fulfill the philosophical and sociological aspects so that the law can be well received by its presence in the community without causing conflict and long life".

The lack of clarity on the implementation and non-fulfillment of the right to vote and the right to be elected in the Pilkada one candidate pairs, made a number of parties to conduct material test regarding the minimum requirements of candidate pairs in Pilkada regulated in Law Number 8 Year 2015. Upon the request, Constitutional Court gave a verdict on the judicial review of Act No. 8 of 2015 with Decision Number 100/PUU-XIII/2015. Through the verdict, the Constitutional Court opens the way for some areas that have only one candidates pairs to keep elections in 2015 without postpone until the next period. Interestingly, the Constitutional Court rejected the petition requesting the Constitutional Court to interpret the single candidate to be accepted by the blank box mechanism. The Constitutional Court defines a single candidate with the election through the "agree" and "disagree" columns with the aim of granting the people's right to vote as the ultimate sovereign in democracy.

As a change from Act Number 8 Year 2015, Act Number 10 Year 2016 has accommodated one candidate pair. In Article 58C paragraph 2, it is mentioned that the election of 1 (one) candidate pair shall be conducted by means of a ballot containing 2 (two) columns consisting of 1 (one) column containing the photograph of the candidate pair and 1 (one) blank column which is not pictorial.

Although the right of the people to vote and participate in determining the process of governance in the local elections has been accommodated, many people are reluctant to choose one candidate pairs because there is no competition. As a result there are a decline in the level of community participation in some regions that have one candidate.

The study conducted by Wafia Silvi Dhesinta on the cause of the low level of public participation in Pilkada in Blitar Regency which has one candidate pair is due to lack of socialization conducted by KPUD about the procedure of voting process in TPS with the ballot "agree" and "disagree ", the people do not know the election procedure like this referendum model correctly. Pilkada One candidate pair is also minimal participation because some citizens deliberately do not vote for reasons of candidate figure that does not match with conscience, even some citizens feel that there is no competition.

The election of one candidate pair is considered to have received less attention from the electoral management bodies and stakeholder. The JPPR has been concerned about the lack of socialization for the Pilkada one candidate pair which could impact on the low number of people's participation on polling day or the high number of unauthorized votes in each

polling station. Moreover ex Commissioner KPU Sigit Pamungkas admitted that the lack of socialization resulted in the ignorance of the community which ultimately led to a phenomenon of low public participation to come to the polling station.

The lack of socialization by KPUD that conduct Pilkada one candidate pair received criticism from various circles. Chairman of Tulang Bawang district parliament accused the KPUD not working for socialization to the community. In Kabupaten Landak there is a concern that voter turnout in this area are declined. Due to the socialization of the rules regarding the election of one candidate pair is considered minimal. Therefore, election observers are urging that socialization to be improved. The focus of the socialization is that the understanding may cast a blank box for people who do not agree with the candidate.

In Tebing Tinggi municipal, Pilkada also lacks of community participation. Because there are still many people who do not know the date of voting and the candidate. Some Tebing Tinggi residents claimed to know only if the Pilkada Kota Tebing Tinggi only one candidate pairs, namely Umar Zubaidi Hasibuan-Okni Siregar. They also do not know how to vote with one candidate pair. Although there are some voters who are aware of the election followed by one candidate pair, they do not know the way to be done in the polling station whether to vote or just choose to agree or disagree due to lack of socialization.

The lack of socialization is also recognized by the organizers. West Java Provincial KPU member Aang Ferdiman explained to Tasikmalaya regency, it does not deny the challenge that is lack of socialization due to the late stages so that campaigns and socialization are lacking. Moreover, Panwaslu Tasikmalaya also assess the socialization conducted by the KPUD is less massive. A day before voting Tasikmalaya residents still face a confusion, due to lack of socialization. Although it can be an invitation for voting, but how to vote, who the candidate, some voters do not know. Residents also feel confused, whether to determine the choice or not, because during this socialization both from the Tasikmalaya Commissioner and from the couple itself is not active.

In Blitar, community participation is about 56% due to many abstaining voters. Because the lack of optimal performance of political parties and supporters to win their candidates due to the principle without any hard work candidates that they support will definitely win. In addition, the dynamics that occur in society was fairly low. Therefore, the absence of alternative candidates, making people reluctant to vote.

Although Pilkada with one candidate pair has fulfilled democratic elements because it has given space to the public to participate, but its implementation has not fully run democratically. Regulations on the election of one candidate pairs related to socialization and campaign are not deeply regulated on the principle of equality.

In an effort to democratize the Pilkada one candidate pair, the KPU requires appropriate socialization and campaign arrangements. The KPU is

often caught in a position of alignment when conducting campaign propagation campaigns. On the other hand, if there is no intensive socialization, there is a tendency for voters not to attend the polling station because they do not want to vote for one candidates.

For example, the KPUD Tasimalaya is often given a report on the organizers' lack of confidence at the sub-district level to the sub-district in spreading campaign props. Any attempt to invite voters to participate was interpreted as shepherding voters. When receiving campaign props and pairs, PPK and PPS officials always ask questions and show their fear of non-independent behavior (Komisi Pemilihan Umum: 2017).

In addition, the disharmony of the arrangement becomes the base of the spread of campaign props that are often accused of organizational alignments in it. KPU should refer to PKPU Number 7 Year 2015 on Campaign. Article 30 says, the KPU put up props of candidate campaigns. The disharmony of arrangements was also found in the socialization and installation of polling station equipment. At the polling station, there is only one poster of the candidate pairs. Posters containing brief profiles, visions and missions are displayed as information for voters before entering the polling station booth.

Campaign mechanisms that are not regulated equally as voters are not given an equally important portion of understanding to vote in favor if the single candidate pair is not in line with voter expectations proven to have potential for voter turnout. Without explanation there is an option to agree or disagree, the election with single candidate pair is the same as there is no election because there is only one candidate pair.

This research is necessary in addition to being able to see the effect of the regulation in this case the Act and Regulations of the KPU especially related to the socialization and campaign to the impact of the democratization of one candidate pairs, as well as an effort to increase community participation. Efforts to provide better design are aimed at increasing the participation of the people to make choices in the election of one candidate pair. Increased public participation is necessary because one of the parameters of democratic elections is the presence of high community participation in the elections.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous Research

In order to strengthen the research the researcher needs to explain previous research related to the theme of Pilkada one candidate pair, as follows:

First, Wafia Silvi Dhesinta's research, from Gadjah Mada University entitled "Single Candidate In General Election of Regional Head And Concept Of Democracy (Analysis Of The Election Of Regional Head Of Blitar Regency Of 2015). In hesr writings that the single candidate polemic in elections 2015 unanimously believed because a number of political parties

are reluctant to carry it's nominee. The process of simultaneous pilkada execution in Blitar still has problems such as lack of socialization conducted by KPUD about the procedure of voting process. Unison pilkada unrest was also minimal participation, because some residents deliberately didn't vote for the reason that the candidate figure didn't match their conscience, some felt no competition in the elections. Further Dhesinta concluded that the phenomenon of a single candidate, especially in Blitar district, if deemed theoretically is not something that can be said is not democratic. Participation is the main point in the implementation of political democracy.

Second, Hardiyanto's research in collaboration with Suharso and Budiharto (2016) from the University of Muhammadiyah Malang with the title "Regional Head Election Period 2015/2020 (Political Studies of Single Candidate Law)". In their writings they say that Pilkada with one candidate pair implemented with referendum mechanism in the concept of a pilkada with a single candidate can not be said to be undemocratic. Some obstacles or obstacles arising from the implementation of a single candidate are: First, related to the process of unison pilkada execution which is only followed by one pair of candidate, there are problems such as lack of socialization conducted by the Election Commission on the procedure of voting process at polling stations with ballots "agree" and "disagree". Secondly, some regions do not know properly yet the electoral procedures for the referendum election, the public participation in the election on December 9, 2015 is also low. Third, the ballot design confuses voters so that many ballot are declared invalid, as well as the campaign mechanisms that have not been able to reach the voters thoroughly.

Third, R. Nazriyah's research from University of Muhammadiyah Gresik with title "Single Candidate in Pilkada Serentak Year 2015 against Constitutional Court Decision No. 100/PUU-XIII/2015". In his writings Nazriyah describes the existence of legal vacuum in Act Number 8 of 2015, especially about the emergence of a single candidate phenomenon. Until then the Constitutional Court through the decision Number 100/PUU-XII/2015 states that the Election of Head of Region should still be implemented even though there is only one pair of candidates for regional head and vice regional head candidate although previously been attempted earnestly to get at least two candidate pairs guarantee the fulfillment of constitutional rights of citizens. Thus, Act Number 8 of 2015 needs to be immediately made changes related to the issue of the single candidate.

Fourth, research conducted by Iza Rumesten RS from Sriwijaya University entitled "Single Candidate Phenomenon in Democracy Party". In his writings, Iza states that the phenomenon of the ring up of one candidate pair proves that the dynamics in the country is increasingly showing progress and our society is getting "literate" and intelligent politics, but on the other side it raises a new problem that is what is better whether the pilkada will be postponed or published Perppu.

Fifth, research conducted by Irfan Darmawan from Airlangga University entitled "Design of Election of One Candidate Pairs of Candidate Pairs in

Blitar Regency of 2015 and Pati Regency of 2017". In his writing, Irfan said that the weakness contained in the Blitar Election ballot is the photo of the candidate pair, so that voters vote on the candidate's photo and the ballot is declared invalid. In addition, in the ballot of Pilkada Pati there is no sign/information/number in the blank box. For that Irfan provide design for ballots in the election of one candidate pair is given the number and or description in the blank box.

Concept of Democracy

Democracy is a form of government by the people (George Soerensen: 2003). In Athens, democracy means government by the majority of the poor. Plato reveals that the law will not be respected, but will be seen as an attack on the freedom of the people, causing tyranny, chaos and giving way to a dictatorial government. The solution offered by Plato is to advocate governance by wise, trained and educated people (David Held: 2007).

The notion of democracy is narrowly defined by Joseph Schumpeter as quoted in Held which states that: "democracy is simply a political method, a mechanism for electing political leader. Citizens are given the opportunity to choose among the political leaders who compete for votes. Among the elections, decisions are made by politicians. In subsequent elections, citizens may replace their formerly elected representatives. The ability to choose between political leaders during this election is what is called democracy." In short, democratic methods are institutional arrangements to arrive at political decisions in which individuals gain power to make decisions through a competitive struggle for votes.

Democracy in the narrow sense is also explained by Dahl who suggests that in the various differences of meaning about democracy, there are several criteria that need to be fulfilled by the government process so that all members have equal rights to participate in determining policy. Dahl explained there are at least five criteria, among which are: (1) effective participation; (2) the vote equality; (3) a bright understanding; (4) agenda monitoring; (5) adult coverage. Democracy provides opportunities for it (Robert A, Dahl: 2001). The first step in determining whether a country democratic or not is looking for elements of competition, participation and freedom in the country, not only the formal level but also the actual practice.

Dahl identifies two important roads to democracy: a path that focuses on competition and a path that focuses on participation. The criteria expressed by Dahl means encompassing three important dimensions of ideal political democracy: competition, participation, and political and civil freedom. Increased participation means an increasing number of citizens who gain political rights and freedoms.

Democracy is the best principle and system in the political and constitutional system would be indisputable. This is reinforced by a UNESCO-sponsored report in the early 1950s that no response rejects

democracy as the most appropriate and ideal foundation and system for all modern political and organizational organizations (Affan Gafar: 1992).

Democracy can be distinguished from normative democracy and empirical democracy (Ni'matul Huda: 2011). Normative democracy involves summarizing ideas or ideals about democracy within the realm of philosophy, whereas empirical democracy is a practice in the field that does not always parallel the normative idea. Another term for normative and empirical democracy is as "essence" and democracy as a "performance" in the term legal science.

Robert A. Dahl describes the benefits of a country running the principles of democracy in order to ensure the life of a better society. According to him, there are at least ten benefits of democracy, namely:

1. Prevent the emergence of cruel and cunning autocrats.
2. Ensure the upholding of the human rights of every citizen.
3. Provide guarantees for wider personal freedom.
4. Helping the people protect their basic needs.
5. Guarantee the freedom of every citizen to determine his own destiny.
6. Provide an opportunity to perform moral responsibilities.
7. Provide guarantees to develop citizens' self potential
8. Uphold the political equality of every citizen.
9. Prevent war between countries.
10. Provide assurance of prosperity for the community.

Huntington's opinion in his thesis of "the third wave of democratization" which states elections as the entry point of democratization is the view most widely referred to in examining the correlation between democracy and elections. Elections are the mechanisms that allow for the rotation of the power of public choice-based, the peaceful institutionalization of power, and ultimately allow people to control over public policy.

A democratic political system allows the citizens' constitutional rights to be protected and guaranteed by the state, public policies based on the interests of the people, and power does not go beyond its authority. Furthermore, Huntington asserted that the intended elections were not merely formal procedural, but as instruments that inculcated the principles of freedom in competing and participating to vote and be elected (Samuel P. Huntington: 1997).

Huntington's perspective states elections not only allow democracy to be operational at the grassroots, allowing the people to vote according to their political preferences, but also the legitimacy of a state's rule, eventhough the electoral contribution of democracy is still limited in procedural territory. One of the requirements for the procedural-minimalist democracy is the occupied political position through the election, the free and fair elections, and the peaceful rotation of power through free and fair public contestation, the substantial involvement of individual in the organization of power and adequate guarantee of people's social and economic rights.

In the political system of democracy, free and fair elections is a necessity. In fact, many country makes elections as a democratic claim to the

political system builds. In developing countries elections can not be an accurate parameter in measuring democracy or not a political system, since in practice elections are not carried out using democratic principles. In this context we need to explore the view that differentiates democracy in 3 levels (Jeff Hayness: 2000), namely:

1. Formal Democracy,
2. Facade Democracy, and
3. Substantive Democracy

The concept of elections

A characteristic of a democratic state is the performance of free election. General election is a political means to realize the will of the people in terms of choosing their representatives in the legislature and elect the holder of executive power either the president/vice president or regional head.

Election is one of the means of implementation of people's sovereignty based on representative democracy. Thus, the election can be defined as the mechanism of settlement and delegation or transferring sovereignty to a trusted person or party (Ramlan Surbakti: 1992).

General Election is a means of implementing the sovereignty of the people directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honestly and fairly in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945. Elections in a democratic State become a necessity that can not be Avoided. Through elections, the sovereign people elect their representatives who are expected to fight for their aspirations and interests in a ruling government. The ruling government itself is the result of the choice and formation of the people's representatives to exercise the power of the State.

The task of the ruling government representatives is to exercise control or oversight of the government. Thus, through popular elections the people will always be involved in the political process and directly or indirectly declare sovereignty over the power of the State and the government through its representatives. In a democratic government, elections are a party of democracy. In general the purpose of elections is

1. Implementing people's sovereignty
2. As the realization of the political rights of the people
3. To elect representatives of the people who sit in the legislative body and elect the President and the Vice President.
4. Implement the change of government personnel in a safe, peaceful, and orderly manner.
5. Ensure the sustainability of national development

Elections shall be held democratically and transparently on the basis of electoral principles:

- Direct means that the voting people have the right to directly vote in accordance with the will of their conscience without intermediaries.

- General means basically all citizens who meet the minimum requirements at the age of 17 years or have / never married are eligible to vote in elections. A 21-year-old citizen is eligible to be elected. KPU have the meaning of ensuring a comprehensive opportunity for all citizens who have met certain conditions without discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, race, class, gender, regionalism and social status.
- Free means every citizen has the right to vote freely to make his choice without pressure and coercion from anyone so as to choose according to the will of his conscience and interests.
- The secret means that in voting the voter is guaranteed that the electorate will not be known by any party and in any way.
- Honest means in conducting elections to the government, government and political parties participating in elections, election observers and monitors and all parties involved must indirectly act and act in accordance with the prevailing laws and regulations.
- Fair means in running elections every voter and political party participating in the election gets equal treatment, and free from any party cheating.

Elections for a democratic State are domiciled as a means to channel the people's political rights. Elections have the following meanings:

1. To support or change personnel within the legislature.
2. Establish the support that the majority of the people in determining the holder of executive power for a certain period.
3. People through their representatives can periodically correct or supervise the executive power.

Right to Vote Concept

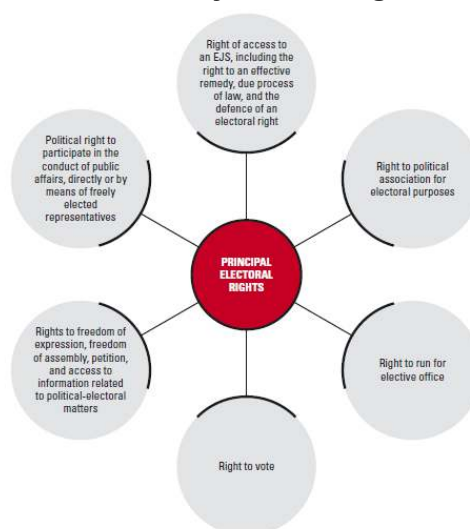
The right to vote is a political right, which in turn is a category of human rights. Public rights are in the constitution of a country and in various international human rights instruments. Although sometimes this right also comes from a legal case (The International IDEA Handbook: 2010). The legitimacy and credibility of a democratic country depends on a commitment to ensuring suffrage based on the principle of direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair.

Among the main voting rights are the right to vote and be elected in direct, universal, free, secret, fair elections; The right to gain access, under the same conditions, to be elected as a public official; The right to associate for election purposes (eg the right to establish or join or not join a political party); And other rights closely linked to this, such as the right to freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and petition, and to access information on political issues. Generally, the right to vote embodies the political right to participate in a public affairs, directly or indirectly manner.

The right to vote can be distinguished from other political rights that do not refer to electoral matters, for example:

- the right to participate in political affairs through a process which does not involve electoral issues (eg appointment of public positions without the need for election);
- free expression right, freedom of association, petition and access to political information aside from elections; and
- Other political rights in some countries to citizens, but not voting, such as defending the state and its institutions.

Chart 1. Primary Select Rights



Source : International IDEA

Democratic Election Indicators

The state conducting the Democratic Election, its government and governance is formed and organized according to the will of the people (Prof. Ramlan Surbakti, Drs., MA., Ph.D: 2016). The will of the people is declared through election not only held periodically but also held based on universal and equal suffrage; Elections not only offer different options but can be freely chosen (genuine), direct, confidential, and fair. This is the first democratic election measure formulated in Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations in 1948 and this criterion is repeated in Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of the United Nations in 1960 which became effective in 1967. Indonesia adopted democratic election criteria in Article 22E Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution as the principles "General Elections shall be conducted on the basis of direct, public, free, secret, honest and fair in five years" (United Nations: 1948).

However, the international community has seen the criteria of the Democratic Election which are referred to as free and fair election, as inadequate. The electoral integrity group declares a statement about Electoral Justice as a parameter of Democratic Elections. This group offers

11 principles or values that make up Electoral Justice, namely Integrity, Participation, Lawfulness, Impartiality and Fairness, Professionalism, Independence, Transparency, Timeliness, Non-Violence, Regularity, Acceptance (The Accra Guiding Principles: 2011).

One year later it was followed by the work of the Global Commission on Election, Democracy and Security which issued a document entitled Deepening Democracy: The Strategy for Improving the Integrity of Elections Worldwide (Global Commission on Election, Democracy and Security: 2012). This Commission offers Electoral Integrity as an additional criterion for achieving deeper Democracy. The latter offers the parameters of Democratic Elections is The Electoral Integrity Project chaired by Professor Pippa Norris. The project that named the Democratic Election as an electoral integrity offers a number of measures of Elections Integrity based on the perception of scientists through a publication entitled Measuring Electoral Integrity Around The World (Pippa Norris, Richard W. Frank, Ferran Martinez I Coma: 2014).

Kemitraan bagi Pembaruan Tata Pemerintahan states that the process of democratic elections is marked by a number of indicators (Kemitraan bagi Pembaruan Tata Pemerintahan: 2013). First, the electoral system not only matches the characteristics of society but is also compatible with the democratic political system (which is contained within it Party system, political representation system, form of government, local government system, political participation system of citizen, etc.) that will be realized. Second, the arrangement of all stages of the election process which not only ensures legal certainty but is also formulated on the basis of democratic electoral principles, namely Direct, General, Free, Confidential, Honest and Fair, Transparent and Accountable. Third, competition between parties or candidates takes place free and fair contestation. Competition between parties and candidates takes place in equality. Fourth, the election organizer is not only professional but also acting independently and impartially in carrying out his duties and authorities. Fifth, the voting and counting process, the tabulation and announcement of the vote count results are conducted in a direct, public, free, secret, honest and fair, transparent and accountable (electoral integrity). Sixth, the electoral dispute resolution system is implemented fairly and timely. And the seventh, the participation of the community in the process of holding the General Election

Socialization

Socialization is a process whereby a person internalizes concepts, values, ideas to others in a group or social institution so as to bring participation within the group or social institution. James W. Vander Zanden (Damsar: 2010: 152) defines socialization as "a process of social interaction with which people acquire essential knowledge, attitudes, values, and behaviors for effective participation in society. Socialization is defined as a lifelong process of how an individual learns the habits that encompass the

ways of life, values, and social norms that exist in society to be accepted by society.

Generally, socialization is defined as the process of planting or transferring the habits or values and rules of one generation of other generation within a group or society. Socialization is also known as the theory of role (role theory). Within socialization process taught the roles that must be run by individuals.

Political Participation

Political participation literally means participation, in the political context it refers to the participation of citizens in various political processes. Understanding political participation is a citizen's activity that aims to influence political decision-making. Participation or public participation in politics is the activity of a person or group of people to actively participate in political life, by choosing the state leadership, and directly or indirectly influencing government policy. Conventionally this activity includes actions such as: voting in general elections, attending general meetings, becoming members of a party or interest group, making approaches or relationships with government officials, or members of parliament and so on (Budiardjo: 2009). Participation can be individual or collective, organized or spontaneous, steady or sporadic, peaceful or violent, legal or illegal, effective or ineffective.

DATA FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Pilkada one candidate pair that occurred in several regions in Indonesia is one form of empirical democracy. The emergence of a candidate pair is a normatively unimaginable condition as the concept of democracy expressed by Robert A. Dahl. This shows that democracy in practice is constantly evolving and influenced by the political system that occurs in that area.

To measure the level of democracy in an election can use the concept of democracy Robert A Dahl, namely the existence of competition and participation. The election of one couple in 2015 and 2017 if deemed theoretically is not something that can be said to be undemocratic. Participation is the main point in the implementation of democracy. Although there is only one candidate pair, the voting process is still carried out because the people's right to vote is the sovereignty of the people whose existence is guaranteed by the constitution.

By the implementation of voting in Pilkada one candidate pair, means the freedom of people's suffrage to decide the fate of their own region and also the voting right of candidate pair to be chosen by the society is not ignored. Although theoretically as expressed by Robert A. Dahl that the criteria of democracy requires the existence of competition and participation. What happens in Pilkada with one candidate pair is a state effort to keep trying to keep people's sovereignty through determination of their fate by choosing a regional head.

Basically the nature of the election is a political process that uses political rights as a raw material for transformation into the sovereignty of the state, then the people have the opportunity to fight for their values and interests by using political rights and other rights. This opportunity only occurs when elections are democratized, with minimal limits made by providing opportunities for the continuity of political bargaining in Pilkada that is mutually beneficial to all concerned parties.

The election process in accordance with the intended mechanism is full or open competition. Thus, all people have the opportunity to express the political rights to determine their best representative. At least, the people who have political rights have the opportunity to "assess" political engineering designed to influence their political rights (Arbi Sanit: 1998). The concept of democracy adopted in Indonesia requires the equal rights and freedoms to elect and express their right to vote in a democratic contest as well as to the candidate for regional head, the right to be elected is a right that must be respected.

Democratization efforts in the Pilkada of one candidate pair must also be seen in the aspect of socialization and campaign. KPU's obligations in the election socialization have been regulated in KPU Regulation No. 5 of 2015 on Socialization and Public Participation. While the campaign is regulated by KPU Regulation No. 7 of 2015 as amended lastly on PKPU No. 4 of 2017.

PKPU about Campaign stated that Volunteers are groups of people who engage in activities to support a certain Pair of Candidates voluntarily in the Elections. The Other Party is a person or group conducting Campaign activities to support the Candidate Pair. It should be the Volunteer and Other Party categories based on the provisions in the Pilkada of one candidate pair may be the party granted authority for the blank box campaign so that it can take a role to direct or seek supporters to vote for the blank box, although the box is blank but includes the election participants in list of the candidate pair, so it should still be treated fairly and equally in the campaign.

As a political option campaign activities supporting blank boxes should be allowed. Campaign blank boxes by other parties are not prohibited because there is no regulation governing them. But the implementation must be in accordance with the existing mechanism. For example, groups who want to campaign for blank boxes must file a license to the security apparatus. A blank campaign financial report is also required to show the donors and use of funds made by the group. In addition, to made equality between candidate pairs with groups representing blank boxes in terms of campaign funds.

In Act no. 10 of 2016 has arranged about one candidate pair contained in Article 54B, 54C & 54D, but has not set about blank box socialization and campaign. Although socialization and campaign related provisions have been stipulated in PKPU number 14 of 2015 on Pilkada with one candidate pair, the arrangement has not fully equal. This can be seen from the dissemination of campaign materials and the installation of campaign props.

PKPU of campaign mentioned that candidate pairs can print additional campaign materials up to 100% of the total number of heads of households and additional campaign aids at most 150% of the maximum amount facilitated by the KPU. Equality between candidate pairs with blank box in the case of campaign materials and campaign props is not accommodated. If campaign materials and campaign props for candidate pairs are printed by KPU and candidate pairs, campaign materials and campaign props for blank boxes no one prints. In some areas, campaign materials and campaign props were printed by community groups campaigning for blank box.

In Pilkada one candidate pair, does not mean there is only one props that contains the vision, mission, program, accompanied by photos of candidate pairs that fill the public space. However, the KPU must create, install and disseminate props containing voting mechanisms and voting procedures as well as optional information on blank box if they do not agree with the candidate pairs. In addition, the information when the blank box that gets the most votes then the next Pilkada shall also be loaded in the blank box props.

Pilkada of one candidate pair also requires rules related to proper socialization. In carrying out the socialization, KPU often in a position in favor of socialization. This is experienced by KPU Kota Tebing Tinggi. When conducting socialization related to candidate pairs and blank box and voting procedures, there were comments to protest over the socialization of blank box by KPU Tebing Tinggi. However, KPU Tebing Tinggi provides an understanding that it is a provision that must be done and still carry out socialization.

On the other hand, if there is no maximal socialization, there is a tendency for voters not to attend the polling station because they do not want to vote for candidate pairs. This is because voters are not given information through socialization if do not agree with the candidates pair they can choose the blank box and if the blank box is selected then the next Pilkada will be held.

Non-harmonious arrangements were also found in the installation of voting station equipment. At the TPS, there is only one poster of the candidate pairs. Posters containing brief profiles, visions, and missions are displayed as information for voters before entering the TPS booth. While the picture box is blank and information about the choice of blank box if not agree with the candidate pair does not exist.

Regulation should be mentioned that the completeness in the polling station includes the vision and mission of the candidate pairs along with the picture of the blank box containing the information when the blank box reaches the most votes then the next Pilkada will be held. This is an attempt to realize equality between candidate pairs and blank box.

Socialization and campaign mechanisms that are not regulated equally such as voters are not given an understanding to vote disagree if the candidate pairs are not in line with their expectations proven to have potential for voter turnout. Without explanation there is an option to disagree, Pilkada

one candidate pair is the same as there is no election because it will only have the candidate pairs that exist.

In article 65 of Act 8 of 2015 there are four forms of state-funded campaigns: public/open debate between candidate pairs, dissemination of campaign materials to the public, display of props, printed mass media advertisements and electronic mass media. The four forms of the campaign in the election of one candidate pairs always have to put forward the principle of equal competition even if only one candidate pair competes with blank box.

Although only one candidate pairs are followed, public debate must be conducted with the aim of dissecting the vision of the mission and the programs offered by the candidate pairs. Several regions conducting Pilkada one candidate pairs carry out public debates in the form of deepening of vision and mission. Panelists in public debates should be given the discretion to provide explorative questions to the candidate pairs and the public is given space to ask questions directly to the candidate pairs.

This is important because there can be no debate versus the candidate pairs representing blank or disagreeable columns. Public debate mechanisms serve as a public test arena against candidate pairs. In the public debate it should also be disseminated information about the voting procedure to the blank box if the voters do not agree to the candidate pairs that exist. So that the public can be present at the polling stations even though they do not agree with the candidate pairs.

KPU Tebing Tinggi only provides campaign opportunities for candidate pairs in the form of public debate as a space to convey and deepen the vision and mission. In the deepening, there is no space for blank box in the form of giving information when the blank box reaches the most votes then the next Pilkada will be conducted through the moderator or the KPU.

KPU Tebing Tinggi did not conduct the campaign in the form of information delivery about the procedure of selecting blank box to the public. KPU Tebing Tinggi thinks only arrange socialization but not campaign, even campaigning blank box. Whereas in the general provisions of PKPU Number 14 of 2015, the Election Campaign, hereinafter referred to as the Campaign, is an activity offering the vision, mission and program of the Candidate Pair and/or other information, aimed at introducing or convincing voters. KPU Tebing Tinggi must conduct a campaign whose purpose is to introduce blank box and convey information that if the blank box is selected as the winner, next Pilkada will be held. In this case, KPU aim is not to directs voters choice to the blank box.

Although only one candidate pair, KPU should not arbitrarily provide free space for the candidate pairs to campaign in the mass media. If this happened, the possibility of assuming the KPU as a candidate pair campaign team will appear in the community and KPU's chances of facing ethical claims in DKPP will be very possible. Therefore, in addition to providing space to the candidate pairs campaigning in the mass media, KPU must also pack advertising in the mass media that can provide understanding as well

as political education to the public that the voters are given space to choose blank box if they do not agree with the candidate pairs. One of the concrete forms is that the KPU is campaigning the form of ballot papers to the public that contains the candidate pairs and the drawings of blank box.

For the principle of democracy to be realized, KPU not only facilitates the four forms of the campaign only for one candidate pair. However, KPU should still provide a space as well as an understanding to the voters to vote in the blank box if they do not agree with the candidate pairs through the socialization and campaign methods. This is not a violation of the organizers' ethics, because the Court's decision indirectly legalizes and facilitates the choice of disagreement to the candidate pairs by voting a blank box by voters.

In order to realize equality in campaigns through four types of campaigns facilitated by KPU, regulations relating to public debate, advertising in the mass media, and the installation and dissemination of props should be made equal to the candidate pairs with blank boxes through the applicable electoral mechanism.

The socialization and campaign arrangement is needed to prevent KPU from being trapped in a position of alignment so that KPU can conduct an intensive socialization in order to increase the community presence in the polling station to vote even though the voters do not want to vote for one candidate pair.

Besides, a good arrangement can increase the confidence of the electoral management bodies at the sub-district level up to Kelurahan in spreading campaign props. So the effort in getting voters to participate in this case is no longer interpreted to lead voters. When accepting candidate campaign aids for candidate pairs or blank box and will pair, PPK and PPS officers no longer feel fear of non-independent behavior.

If socialization and campaigns are not done well then voters who do not agree with existing candidate pairs tend to do a "golput" or abstaining or do not vote by not coming to the polling station. If this happens, then the level of public participation and users suffrage at the polling station will decrease. In order to pour the idea of disagreeing with the candidate pairs, voters may use the mechanism of casting a disagreeable column. This will only happen if the socialization of KPU is well implemented.

If socialization has been done well the participation of the community to come to polling station using the right to vote will increase. Because according to Davis there are three elements in participation, namely: (1) The existence of the inclusion of thoughts and feelings, (2) the motivation to contribute, and (3) shared responsibility (Davis & Newstrom, 1996). Because the essence of participation comes from within or from the self of the society. This means that although given the opportunity by the government or the State but if the will or ability does not exist then participation will not be realized. Participation opportunities come from outside the community. Similarly, although the willingness and ability to participate by the community

exists but if not given the opportunity by the State government then participation will not happen.

Therefore, the three things are willingness, ability and opportunity is a very important factor in realizing participation. Increased public involvement in the implementation of elections, shows the strength of democratic order in a country. Democracy requires the involvement of the people in every state administration. People are positioned as important actors in the democratic order, since democracy basically rests on the logic of equality and the idea that government needs the consent of the governed. Community involvement becomes a basic element in democracy. Therefore, the implementation of General Elections as a means of implementing democracy, of course, should not be separated from the involvement of the community. Political participation is nothing more than an individual's involvement to a variety of levels, or substantially explained, either by means of an effort or effort organized by a good constituent or citizen to elect leaders they value as well.

If the socialization and regulation of campaign in the election of one candidate pair has been democratic, then the concept of Dahl democracy which contains competition and participation at least has been fulfilled. In addition to the community given space to show political rights in the election of one candidate pair, also competition between candidate pairs with blank box will occur. As a result, if the candidate pairs get the most votes, then they are given the opportunity to lead in the area. But if the blank box that gets the most votes, then the next election will be held in the next electoral election.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of Pilkada one candidate pair in Indonesia proves that democracy in practice is constantly evolving. As the implementation of the people's sovereignty, Pilkada one candidate pair must ensure the highest authority in the hands of the people. Because democracy is a form of government by the people.

In an effort to achieve democratization in Pilkada one candidate pair, the existing arrangements, especially socialization and campaigns must ensure equality between candidate pairs and blank box. KPU as the organizer in conducting socialization in Pilkada one candidate pair must convey information that there is room to choose the blank box if the voters do not agree with the candidate pairs. If the blank box that gets the most votes, then the next Pilkada will be held in the next elections simultaneously.

Socialization in the polling station equipment should not only contain posters of vision, mission and pictures of candidate pairs only. But also the picture of the blank box containing the information when the blank box reaches the most votes then the next Pilkada shall also be held. This is an attempt to realize equality between candidate pairs and blank box.

To achieve equality through four types of campaigns facilitated by the KPU, regulations relating to public debate, advertising in the mass media, and the installation and dissemination of props should be made equal to the

candidate pairs with blank box through the applicable electoral mechanism. KPU does not only facilitate four forms of campaigns for one candidates only. However, KPU should still provide a space as well as an understanding to the voters to cast their vote to the blank box if they do not agree with the candidate pairs through the campaign method.

In addition, supporters of blank box either groups or other parties also need to be given space to be able to campaign for blank box, but with the same mechanism as the candidate pair. If the regulation in Pilkada one candidate pair has fulfilled democratic elements, undoubtedly the quality of democracy and voter participation will increase.

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