



RESEARCH ARTICLE

Democracy Issues behind Indonesia's Presidential Candidacy

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ABSTRACT

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After the reformation, Indonesia experienced an awareness of democracy that was previously shackled by oligarchic group practices. This awareness, among others, gave birth to a presidential election model that involves the people directly, and the authority to propose presidential candidates is given to political parties participating in the elections, which previously existed in the People's Representative Assembly (MPR). There are dynamics in the nomination of the president through political parties participating in the elections in procedures and practices that affect the quality of democracy. Therefore, the formulation of the problems in this study is: Does the nomination of the president through political parties participating in the elections strengthen democracy in Indonesia, or does it stagnate? This research used micro comparative law research method, with compared the nomination of the president in Indonesia by political parties participating in the elections in the 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019, and 2024 election periods. The data used in this research was secondary data consisting of documents or relevant literature like regulation, journals, books and any relevant data. The results of this research are the nomination of the President of Indonesia after the reformation has stagnated, even though the authority was transferred to political parties participating in the elections. The stagnation is caused by the old political culture in the form of informal provisions desired by the party elites that are still used to determine who will be nominated. Therefore, official rules from the election organizers are needed to regulate the mechanism of democratic and open presidential nominations.

INTRODUCTION

Since its independence in 1945, Indonesia has been declared as a democratic state. This is as explained in Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution before the amendment which states that sovereignty is in of the people and is fully implemented by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). Until the post-reform era, the concept of a democratic state continued to be maintained but by changing the model for the implementation of popular sovereignty to 'implemented according to the basic law'. This change had an impact on the election of the President, which was previously carried out by the MPR to an election involving the people directly (Aisah Putri Budiarti, 2021). The gradual changes after the reformation were at least partly motivated by the realization that democracy was previously shackled by oligarchic practices by elites who wanted to remain in power at the government.

When examined as a whole, the change in the Presidential election model directly is not a single variable to say that Indonesia has experienced improvements in democracy, because the election is highly correlated with its nomination (pre nomination). Direct elections by the people will be useless when the candidates to be elected are produced on the basis of the will of a handful of oligarchic groups and not from the will of the people who are able to bring prosperity to them (Subhi, 2015).

The importance of the nomination process is also a concern of researchers Reuven Y. Hazan and Gideon Rahat who reveal that the nomination process affects the nature of modern democratic politics and government (Hazan & Rahat, 2010).

The historical track record of organizing presidential nominations in Indonesia after the reformation has taken place periodically every five years in conjunction with the presidential election agenda, namely in 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019, and 2024. In each of these periods, not all political parties participating in the election can propose candidates because each period requires political parties participating in the election to obtain DPR seats or national valid votes with a certain percentage. For political parties participating in the elections that can propose candidates for president, they must recruit candidates in a democratic and open manner. On how to recruit democratic and open candidates, the state leaves it entirely to political parties to interpret. Because political parties participating in the elections are given the freedom to determine how to recruit presidential candidates, there are various dynamics in the nomination process during each period. Referring to the theory of political recruitment by Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski in their book entitled "Political Recruitment: Gender, Race, and Class in the British Parliament," there are several models of political recruitment, namely: the patronage model of recruitment, the meritocratic model of recruitment, the affirmative action model of recruitment, and the radical model of recruitment. Of the four models of political recruitment, the patronage model is a recruitment model that is not suitable for a democratic nomination model because its recruitment is based on informal acceptance criteria, namely the subjective views of party officials. Meanwhile, the three recruitment models are considered compatible with democracy because they are based on more formal criteria of suitability, namely choosing the right person to occupy the position (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). From the description above, the nomination of the president by political parties participating in the post-reform elections is interesting to be discussed further by formulating the problem: does the nomination of the president through political parties participating in the elections strengthen democracy in Indonesia or does it stagnate?

The discussion of presidential candidacy in Indonesia specifically has never been studied before. However, there have been many studies that discuss presidential elections in general. Doris Febriyanti, in the *Journal of Government and Politics*, discussed the comparison of the United States presidential election system with Indonesia. The results of Doris's discussion concluded that although both are democratic countries, the presidential elections in the United States and Indonesia have their own ways (Febriyanti & Pratama, 2017). Furthermore, Muh. Ikhsan Baso in the *Legal Opinion Journal of Law* discusses the General Election System of the President and Vice President of Indonesia with Independent Candidacy. From his research, it was concluded that the elections of the President and Vice President of Indonesia have not accommodated the principles of democracy in full because there is a domination of political parties so that they have not been able to guarantee the political rights of citizens (BASO, 2013). Then, research conducted by Muhammad Syafei in the *Law Reform journal* discusses General Election Design in Indonesia, which concludes that the implementation of simultaneous elections in Indonesia has created extraordinary complexity for participants, voters, and organizers (Syafei & Darajati, 2020).

From these three studies, it shows that the research conducted is different from this research. Research gap of this research is previous research focused on how the mechanism of presidential election in Indonesia, and the probability about nomination of president and vice president from independent candidacy (without political party). This research focuses on democratic issues in the presidential nomination process in post-reform Indonesia, with explained the president candidacy in president election in 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019, 2024. This study also analyzes the pattern of presidential candidacy and presidential candidates in Indonesia that are supported by political parties or coalitions of political parties in every presidential election in Indonesia. The theory used in this study is the political recruitment theory proposed by Pippa Norris and Lovenduski (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995), which divides political recruitment models into four models, namely patronage, meritocracy, affirmative action, and radical models. The use of this theory is to classify the pattern of presidential and vice presidential candidates in Indonesia based on the recruitment theory proposed by Norris and Lovenduski.

Thus, it is certain that this research has never been discussed by previous researchers. Although it has never been discussed by previous researchers, that does not mean that the discussion is not interesting. This research aims to examine Indonesia's commitment as a democracy in terms of presidential nominations so that the quality of democracy can be seen, which is important because Indonesia has entered the third round of democratic development (Saraswati, 2011). Academically, this research aims to serve as a reference for law-making authorities to improve the process of presidential nomination in Indonesia to be more democratic.

METHODS

This research uses the micro comparative law research method, that focuses on legal rules, cases, and institutions that are specific or actual (Barda Nawawi Arief, 2018). The research design used in this study is qualitative research with a descriptive approach. The descriptive approach is a research method that is based on a post-positivism philosophy (Moleong & Edisi, 2004). The purpose of this qualitative descriptive research is to explain, describe and explain more clearly the problems to be studied for participants such as individuals, groups or events that are happening was chosen because it can explain how the process of presidential and vice presidential candidacy patterns in Indonesia. This research compares the nomination of the president in Indonesia by political parties participating in the elections in the 2004–2009, 2014–2019, and 2024 election periods. The data used in this research is secondary data consisting of documents or literature in the form of laws and regulations, books, research results, studies, and other writings or references, as well as data and information searches through websites related to this research. The secondary data obtained is then analyzed using the micro comparative law research method and then presented in the form of a description. The inference technique used is the deductive technique, where the conclusion is obtained from the findings of a matter or case in the process of nominating the President of Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Models of Political Recruitment

Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995), in their book entitled "Political Recruitment: Gender, Race, and Class in the British Parliament," raised several models of political recruitment, namely: the patronage model of recruitment, the meritocratic model of recruitment, the affirmative action model of recruitment, and the radical model of recruitment. The explanation of the political recruitment model associated with the recruitment of presidential candidacies is as follows:

- a. the patronage model of recruitment: a traditional form of recruitment based on patronage, namely through personal friendship, social relations, family ties, or financial influence. In this recruitment, the key criterion is whether the applicant is 'one of us': party loyalty and personal character are seen as more important than policy expertise or formal qualifications.
- b. the meritocratic model of recruitment: a model of recruitment is based on formal, functionally specific performance standards involving the technical qualifications, education, or experience required for a job. This model of criteria tends to be objective, i.e., externally validated, explicit, and standardized.
- c. the affirmative action model of recruitment: a model of recruitment suggests that overriding suitability criteria and acceptance into a particular position or job are legitimate as long as they achieve the desired outcome.
- d. the radical model of recruitment: a model of recruitment suggests that a job needs to be audited to determine the appropriate qualifications. It involves restructuring jobs, questioning the terms offered, and challenging full-time and continuous career models.

From the four of political recruitment models, the patronage model of recruitment is the one that does not fit the democratic model of candidacy, as it is based on informal acceptance criteria ('one of us'). The three recruitment models shown are democratic because they are based on more formal suitability criteria of the right person for the job, provided there is a transparent and clear selection process, training for candidates, financial facilities for candidates to follow the process, and selection to test the range of skills among applicants (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995).

2. Criteria for Presidential Nomination According to the Indonesian Constitution

In the Post-reform the sovereignty of the people, as stipulated in Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution, is determined by the implementation of the Constitution. Therefore, in relation to elections that are based on the sovereignty of the people, their implementation refers to the basic provisions stipulated in the 1945 Constitution. Regarding the nomination of the President, the 1945 Constitution regulates several basic provisions as contained in Article 6 and Article 6A of the 1945 Constitution. In these articles, there are several basic provisions that become the benchmark in the presidential nomination process, namely:

- a. Candidates for President and Vice President must be Indonesian citizens since their birth, have never received another citizenship because of their own will, have never betrayed the country, and are spiritually and physically able to carry out their duties and obligations as President and Vice President [Article 6 paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution];
- b. The President and Vice President are elected in one pair directly by the people [Article 6A, Paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution];
- c. Candidate pairs for President and Vice President are proposed by a political party or a coalition of political parties participating in the general election before the implementation of the general election [Article 6A, paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution];
- d. Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates who get more than fifty percent of the total votes in the general election, with at least twenty percent of the votes in each province spread across more than half of the provinces in Indonesia, are inaugurated as President and Vice President [Article 6A, paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution].
- e. In the event that no candidate pair for President and Vice President is elected, the two candidate pairs that receive the first and second highest number of votes in the general election are directly elected by the people, and the pair that receives the most popular votes is inaugurated as President and Vice President [Article 6A, paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution].

When examined in relation to the process of nominating the President and Vice President of Indonesia according to the provisions of the 1945 Constitution, there are several things that are of concern. firstly, the requirement that candidates for President and Vice President are people who meet the qualifications referred to in Article 6 paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution. This requirement is equivalent to handing over the responsibility to the parties authorized by the constitution to present candidates who have the qualifications as Indonesian citizens since their birth and have never received another citizenship because of their own will, have never betrayed the state, and have the ability spiritually and physically to carry out the duties and obligations as President and Vice President. The most rational effort to obtain candidates with these qualifications is through candidate selection. This selection is also a form of appreciation of the value of competition that is common in a democratic country (Tract Constitutional Amendment: 398-399).

Secondly, political parties, or a coalition of political parties participating in the elections, are the parties authorized by the 1945 Constitution to propose candidates. Therefore, in relation to the

candidates for President and Vice President who are required to have the qualifications stipulated in Article 6 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution, political parties are the organizations that bear the responsibility to conduct a selection of candidates so that the proposed candidates can be ensured to meet the specified qualifications. After a number of people have been selected, it is then up to the party congress to determine which candidates are suitable to be proposed as presidential candidates. This is alluded to in the minutes of amendments to the 1945 Constitution, which reveal that the presidential nomination process is carried out through a political party congress and not from the DPP of the party. This is done with the aim of the proposed candidate first gaining legitimacy from within the party that proposes it (Track of Constitutional Amendment: 339–340).

Various basic arrangements for the nomination of the president in the 1945 Constitution determine the qualifications that must be met by presidential candidates, namely the ability to carry out their duties and obligations as president. Thus, the recruitment of presidential candidates desired by the 1945 Constitution is a meritocratic model of recruitment with a transparent and clear selection process.

3. Presidential Candidacy in Indonesia: The Election Law and its Practice

Prior to the reformation, the election of the president was under the authority of the People's Representative Assembly (MPR), which was considered to be the implementing institution of popular sovereignty. This authority was packaged with the authority to propose candidates, determine, and inaugurate. The historical of presidential elections by the MPR in 1963, 1968, 1973, 1978, 1983, 1988, 1993, and 1997 always resulted in a single candidate being elected and inaugurated as president. In this era, candidate recruitment refers to subjective informal requirements in the form of social relationship factors, family ties, and friendship, with the aim of jointly maintaining their position in government. Therefore, the recruitment model applied during this era can be categorized as the patronage model of recruitment as in the recruitment theory by Norris and Lovenduski (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995).

Election of 2004

Year 2004 was a year of reflection on democracy in Indonesia, which began with the election of a president and vice president directly by people for the first time in Indonesia. The authority to nominate candidates for president and vice president was no longer exercised by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) but by political parties participating in the elections. Political parties participating in the elections are chosen to propose candidates so that the candidates proposed come from the will of the people and meet the basic criteria as specified in Article 6, paragraph 1, of the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia.

In the perspective of the law governing the presidential and vice presidential elections, it regulates more selectively the political parties that can propose candidates for president and vice president because it regulates the requirements that must be met by political parties participating in the elections, namely the acquisition of a minimum percentage of the number of Parliament seats or valid votes nationally. Based on this provision, only political parties participating in the elections that meet the threshold can propose candidates for president and vice president.

In the 2004 General Elections, through Law Number 23/2003 on the Election of the President and Vice President, it was determined that the political parties participating in the elections that could propose candidates for President and Vice President were those that obtained a minimum of 3% of DPR seats or a minimum of 5% of the national valid votes. The existence of this requirement filters 24 political parties participating in the elections into 7 political parties participating in the elections that can propose candidates for president and vice president. Although there were seven political parties participating in the elections that could propose candidates for president and vice president, in reality, the candidates proposed in the 2004 elections were dominated by candidates for president and vice president who were nominated by a combination of political parties participating in the elections. There were five candidates for president and vice president in the 2004 elections, namely:

Table 1 : The President And Vice President Candidates at 2004 Election

Number	Candidates of President an Vice President	Supporting Party
1	Wiranto dan Salahuddin Wahid	Golkar Party, Patriot Party, Nahdlatul Ulama Political Party, National Democratic Party
2	Megawati Soekarnoputri dan Hasyim Muzadi	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, Peace and Prosperity Party
3	Amien Rais dan Siswono Yudo Husodo	National Mandate Party, Prosperous Justice Party, Reform Star Party, National People's Bull Party, Indonesian National Marhaenism Party, Indonesian Democracy Upholding Party, Trade Union Party
4	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono dan Jusuf Kalla	Democratic Party, Crescent Star Party, and Indonesian Justice and Unity Party
5	Hamzah Haz dan Agum Gumelar	United Development Party

Source : General Election Commission Decree Number 36/kpts/KPU/Year 2004 concerning Determining Serial Numbers of Pair of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates to Become Participants in the 2004 General Election for President and Vice President.

The five pairs of candidates proposed were basically obtained without any formal rules governing the candidate recruitment mechanism that can be used as a reference, except for what is stipulated in Article 26 of Law Number 23/2003 on the Election of the President and Vice President, namely that the recruitment of candidates for President and Vice President is carried out democratically and openly in accordance with the internal mechanisms of the political parties concerned or by agreement if the candidate pairs are proposed by a combination of political parties.

The four of president and vice president candidate pairs, numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, are proposed by a coalition of political parties participating in the elections, so that the resulting candidates come from an agreement of the proposing political parties. There is no formal provision regulating the mechanism of the agreement; what is certain is that the general chairman of the party that has the dominant threshold becomes the proposed presidential candidate. This prediction arises because there is a large space for party executives or party leaders at the national level to dominate in determining the person who will be the proposed presidential candidate. The Presidential and Vice Presidential candidate pair number 5 proposed by a single party, the United Development Party, was obtained through an informal mechanism that was not open, which allowed party executives or party leaders to have a dominant role so that there was not much role for party members in the process. Therefore, the process of recruitment of presidential and vice presidential candidates in the 2004 elections by political parties participating in the elections or a combination thereof was qualified using the patronage model of recruitment.

Election of 2009

In the 2009 Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections, there were 44 political parties participating in the elections. With the provision of a minimum threshold of 20% of the DPR seats or 25% of the national valid votes, only the Democratic Party could propose candidates without a coalition with other parties. However, in practice, all candidates proposed came from a combination of political parties participating in the election as shown in the table below:

Table 2 : The President And Vice President Candidates at 2009 Election

Number	Candidates of President an Vice President	Supporting Party
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1	Megawati Soekarnoputri dan Prabowo Subianto	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, Gerindra Party
2	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono dan Boediono	Demokratic Party, Prosperous Justice Party, National Awakening Party, National Mandate Party, United Development Party
3	Jusuf Kalla dan Wiranto	Golkar Party, Hanura Party

Source : *General Election Commission Decree Number 297/kpts/KPU/Year 2009 concerning Determining Serial Numbers of Pair of Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates to Become Participants in the 2009 General Election for President and Vice President*

The mechanism for proposing the three pairs of candidates basically has no difference from the nomination model in the 2004 elections, although this election has a new reference law: Law No. 42/2008 on Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections. The law contains the same rules regarding the nomination of the president as Law Number 23/2003 on the Election of the President and Vice President. The same applies to the recruitment of presidential candidates proposed by a combination of political parties participating in the elections. Therefore, the three pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates in the 2009 elections came from the agreements of the proposing political parties. This condition reflects the same recruitment model as the 2004 elections based on Pippa Norris and Lovendusky theory (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995), namely the patronage model of recruitment, because party executives or party leaders at the national level have a large space to dominate the determination of who can be used as presidential candidates. Even in the 2009 elections, presidential candidates were dominated by party chairmen.

Election of 2014

In the practice of the 2014 Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections, there were 12 political parties participating in the elections. With the same threshold provisions as the 2009 elections, no political party participating in the elections was able to propose candidates, except in coalition with other political parties participating in the elections. The candidates for president and vice president proposed by the political parties participating in the 2014 elections are as follows:

Table 3 : The President And Vice Presidenti Candidates at 2014 Election

Number	Candidates of President an Vice President	Supporting Party
1	Prabowo Subianto - Hatta Rajasa	Gerindra Party, National Mandate Party, Prosperous Justice Party, Golkar party, United Development Party, Crescent Star Party
2	Joko Widodo dan Jusuf Kalla	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, National Democrat Party, National Awakening Party, Hanura Party

Source : *General Election Commission Decree Number 454/kpts/KPU/Year 2014 concerning Determination of Serial Numbers for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates for the 2014 General Election*

In recruiting candidates for President and Vice President in the 2014 elections, there are actually no differences in the arrangements or practices in candidate recruitment with the 2009 elections or with previous elections. Likewise, in practice, the recruitment of candidate pairs is carried out based on agreements with informal mechanisms that still open opportunities for party executives to have a dominant role in deciding which candidates to propose. Therefore, the recruitment of presidential and vice presidential candidates in the 2014 elections still uses the patronage model of recruitment, although it is no longer dominated by presidential candidates with a party chairman background.

Election of 2019

Different from the characteristics of previous elections, the 2019 president and vice president elections were held simultaneously with the elections for members of the local and national parliament. The concept of simultaneous elections has resulted in a reference for obtaining the threshold taken from the previous parliament elections, although the minimum percentage that must be met by political parties participating in the election has not changed. In the 2019 elections, there were 14 political parties participating, while only the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle met the threshold, with 22.26% of the Parliament seats. Although the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle can propose candidates without a coalition, all candidates who appear in this election come from a combination of political parties participating in the election. The candidates for President and Vice President in the 2019 elections are as follows:

Table 4 : The President And Vice Presidenti Candidates at 2019 Election

Number	Candidates of President an Vice President	Supporting Party
1	Jokowidodo dan Maruf Amin	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, Golkar Party, National Democrat, National Awakening Party, Hanura, Indonesian Justice and Unity Party, United Development Party
2	Prabowo Subianto dan Sandiaga Uno	Gerindra Party, Democratic Party, National Mandate Party, Prosperous Justice Party

Source : *General Election Commission Decree Number 1142/PL.02.2-kpt/06/KPU/IX/Year 2018 concerning Determination of Serial Numbers for Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates for the 2019 General Election*

In proposing the two candidates for president and vice president, there are no differences in the arrangements or practices in the nominations in previous elections. Firman Noor said that in the presidential and vice presidential candidacy in the 2019 Election tend to have similarities when compared to the 2014 election (Noor, 2021). The difference is only in the vice presidential candidate. The emergence of presidential candidates Prabowo and incumbent Joko Widodo has been widely predicted by various parties. Jokowi as the incumbent supported by several political parties chose Ma'ruf Amin as his vice presidential candidate. The presence of Ma'ruf Amin as a vice presidential candidate is considered to be able to increase Joko Widodo's electability from the side of Muslim votes because of Ma'ruf Amin's background as an ulama and at the same time garnering the cultural votes of the majority of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) members, the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. Just like the emergence of Ma'ruf Amin which was rarely predicted, the emergence of Sandiaga Uno as Prabowo's running mate also surprised the public. There are no formal provisions governing the nomination mechanism, even though this election has a new reference law: Law No. 7/2017 on Elections. In practice, the proposed candidates are obtained based on the agreement of the proposing political parties and the dominance of party executives or party leaders at the national level to determine the person to be proposed as a candidate for president and vice president. Therefore, the recruitment of candidates for president and vice president in the 2019 elections has not changed from the previous elections, still using the patronage model of recruitment.

Election of 2024

In the 2024 President and Vice President Elections, there are 18 political parties participating in the elections. The presidential threshold requirement applied to political parties participating in the election is same as the 2019 election, which is at least 20% of the Parliaments seats or 25% of the national valid votes obtained from the previous election. Therefore, in this period of presidential nomination, only the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle can propose a candidate without the need for a coalition with other parties. However, in practice, all political parties participating in the general election that obtained DPR seats from the previous general election are in coalition with each

other to propose candidates for president and vice president, giving rise to three pairs of candidates that can be chosen, namely:

Table 5 : The President And Vice Presidenti Candidates at 2024 Election

Number	Candidates of President an Vice President	Supporting Party
1	Anies baswedan dan Muhaimin Iskandar	National Democrat, National Awakening Party, Prosperous Justice Party
2	Prabowo Subianto dan Gibran Rakabuming	Golkar, National Mandate Party, Gerindra Party, Democratic Party
3	Ganjar Pranowo dan Mahfud MD	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, United Development Party

Source : *General Election Commission Decree Number 1632/kpts/KPU/Year 2023 concerning Determination of Serial Numbers for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates for the 2024 General Election*

In the nomination of the two candidates for President and Vice President in this period, there are still no differences in arrangements or practices in the nomination in the 2019 elections. The dominance of political party leaders at the national level who obtain the dominant threshold has a broad will in determining the people who will be proposed as candidates for President and Vice President compared to the political parties participating in the elections in coalition with them. Therefore, the recruitment of candidates for President and Vice President in the 2024 elections has not changed, namely still using the patronage model of recruitment.

Political Party Candidacy is an internal matter of the Political Party's Articles of Association/Bylaws. Although several political parties in Indonesia have explained the rules for presidential and presidential candidate nominations in their Articles of Association/Bylaws, there are several political parties that do not regulate the candidacy rules clearly. This ambiguity is feared to be manipulated by party elites to nominate presidential and vice presidential candidates (Noor, 2021). In fact, it further clarifies the role of political parties as rent seekers in elections. Since the first presidential election in 2004, it is known that the main determinant in the nomination of the President and Vice President in the Presidential Election contest is the Political Party. However, several existing political parties have not fully provided clear rules regarding the nomination of the president and vice president, which is feared to strengthen the role of party elites and the hegemony of the oligarchy in the nomination of the president.

Table 6 : Comparison of Political Party Regulations on Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidation

Political Party	Regulated in the Articles of Association	Candidacy Determiner	Additional mechanisms
National Democrat	Yes	The central board selects temporary candidates for president and vice president.	The central board of directors determines the presidential and vice presidential candidates.
National Awakening Party	No	not explained	not explained
Prosperous Justice Party	Yes	The determination of presidential and vice presidential candidates is determined through a selection process with a	further regulated in the party guidelines

		democratic and open mechanism.	
Gerindra Party	Yes	The advisory board has the authority to determine and nominate candidates for President and/or Vice President.	Not explained
Golkar Party	Yes	open opportunities for the selection of presidential and vice presidential candidates	further regulated in the organizational rules
National Mandate Party	Yes	The determination of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates is determined in the National Working Meeting based on the results of the convention.	The determination of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates is determined in the National Working Meeting based on the results of the convention.
Democratic Party	Yes	the authority of the party's high council in determining presidential and vice presidential candidates	Not explained
Indonesia Democratic Party (PDI P)	No	the prerogative of the general chairman in appointing the president and vice president	Not explained
United Development Party	Unclear	Determine the candidates which are further regulated in the party's daily regulations	The mechanism is regulated in the party's daily regulations

Source : Political Party Articles of Association

Based on the table above, it can be concluded that although the presidential election mechanism has undergone changes after the reformation, where previously it was chosen by the MPR as a people's mandate, and since 2004 until now it has been chosen by the people directly, the election still depends on the candidacy pattern prepared by political parties. So that the process of nominating presidential and vice presidential candidates plays a very important role. But unfortunately, political parties as the main political machine and as the only institution that can nominate presidential and vice presidential candidates in the election, have not fully regulated the presidential candidate candidacy process openly and democratically. The influence of party elites in this case the party's general chairman is still very dominant in determining presidential and vice presidential candidates.

CONCLUSION

The post-reform presidential elections has a new mechanism, namely the election is elected with a pair of candidates for Vice President, and the election mechanism is elected directly by the people, so that procedurally looks more democratic when compared to the presidential elections in the previous era, the old order and new order eras. In addition, the nomination of the president is no longer carried out by the People's Representative Assembly (MPR) but by political parties participating in the elections or their combinations. However, democratization in the process of nominating the president has not undergone fundamental changes, even though the 1945 Constitution and the law on the election of the president and vice president imply that the nomination is carried out democratically through open selection. However, in the practice of nominating the president in the post-reform era, no selection has been made, and the nomination process is still

dominated by elite of political party. In Indonesia regulation, President and Vice President can only be carried by political parties, where the nomination requirements by political parties are not all clearly stated in the political party rules regarding the mechanism for nominating the president and vice president democratically and openly. In fact, several political parties give full authority to the general chairman of the political party in determining the presidential and vice presidential candidates, without having to go through a national deliberation. This is feared to further strengthen the hegemony of the political party elite and present candidate pairs that are not necessarily desired by the people.

So what has happened is that the institution of nominating the President has changed from the People's Representative Assembly (MPR) to the political parties participating in the elections, but the process of recruiting candidates is no different from the recruitment period in the old and new order eras, namely with the patronage model of recruitment. Therefore, official rules in the form of regulations issued by the organizer of the presidential and vice presidential elections, namely the General Election Commission, are needed to formulate a mechanism for nominating the president carried out by political parties participating in the elections or a combination of them that is democratic and transparent. The limitation of this research is that this research explores data through secondary data, in the form of journals, articles, regulations and political party rules related to the nomination of presidential and vice presidential candidates. The recommendation from this research is that policy makers, especially party elites, are expected to present presidential and vice presidential candidates based on the capabilities, quality and professionalism of the candidates, not merely because of pragmatic factors. In addition, to support a more open democratic climate, political parties as the authority holders in nominating presidential and vice presidential candidates are expected to start restructuring the institutional structure of the organization to be more open and democratic, by accommodating the mechanism for nominating presidential and vice presidential candidates in their internal regulation.

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