



RESEARCH ARTICLE

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DIRECT LOCAL LEADER
ELECTION FOR DKI JAKARTA, INDONESIA

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ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received 22nd April, 2018

Received in revised form

08th May, 2018

Accepted 17th June, 2018

Published online 31st July, 2018

Key Words:

Implementation,
Election, Leader,
Local and Direct.

ABSTRACT

The mechanism to implement local leader election must conform with political development, people dynamic, and democratic progress at the place where the election was held. Therefore, the objective of this research was to understand, review, describe, and also analyze the second round of the 2017 DKI Jakarta's local leader election (*pilkada*), which was implemented through direct election method. Research type was qualitative with constructivism paradigm. Result of research showed that the implementation of direct election can be facilitated by not only clearly explicit regulations and technical guidances, but also by effectively enforceable operational order.

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Citation: Pius Lustrilanang, Yuli Andi Gani, A., Tjahjanulin, Suryadi and Julizar Idris. 2018. "Qualitative Analysis on The Implementation of Direct Local Leader Election for DKI Jakarta, Indonesia.", *International Journal of Current Research*, 10, (07), 71772-71781.

INTRODUCTION

Local Leader Election (*Pilkada*) is a mechanism to select and delegate discretions toward legitimate individuals to manage leadership posts at local governance (Ramlan, 1992:181). Local Leader Election is also a local political activity required by the mandates of National Constitution (UUD 1945) to symbolize Indonesia as a democratic nation. Amendment on UUD 1945 has brought significant change on local governance system. As stated in Article 18 Verse 4 of UUD 1945, "Governor, Regent, and Mayor as local governance leaders in Province, Regency, and City shall be elected democratically". The phrase "elected democratically" not only imparts infinite or less standard meanings but also evokes confusion. A reason behind this confusion is that indirect election cannot be said as not democratic, but at the same time, direct election cannot be presumed as more democratic. Direct election was implemented since 2005 as a result of change over the method of local leader election.

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24941/ijcr.31631.07.2018>

This change was indeed required by constitutional mandates, given through Article 56 jo Article 119 of Law No.32/2004 concerning Local Governance and also Government Regulation (PP) No.6/2005 concerning Manuals of Election, Verification, Appointment, and Dismissal of Local Leader and Vice-Local Leader. Not only direct local leader election is a political event organized by local people but it also represents improvement on previous local leader election system. The previous system involves a deal based on which local leaders are elected by local legislators (DPRD), and legal bases of such deal are given by Law No.22/1999 concerning Local Governance and also Government Regulation No.151/2000 concerning Manuals of Election, Verification, Appointment, and Dismissal of Local Leader and Vice-Local Leader. The enactment of Law No.32/2004 elicits new flavor to local political autonomy. Indonesian political dynamic around direct local leader election is very oscillating despite the presence of Law No.32/2004 concerning The Election of Governor, Regent and Mayor, as the legal base of the election. Efforts have been taken to turn back direct election to indirect election, where indirect method will authorize DPRD to conduct internal election mechanism. However, huge costs involved to win the election can open paths for corruption or reduce governance effectiveness, and thus increase conflict escalation (Nugraha,

2016: 59). Turn-back movement into previous system shall then reemerge indirect mechanism where DPRD will sort over eligible candidates for local leadership posts. This idea is still attended due to an assumption that new election mechanism through direct election method not only fails to deliver good impact on local governance, but it is also costly and potentially producing more corrupting local leaders. At certain point of time, direct election method provokes controversy and encounters people resistance. Apart from these drawbacks, direct election is still not only considered as more democratic, but also as the possible way to produce leaders who are willing to stay close with people and care them. Representative-based election mechanism involving DPRD has been condemned as the retrogression of democracy. Dealing with this controversy and also people resistance, Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (*Perppu*) No.1/2014 was then enacted, which required local leader election to be organized by people in each locality and also be implemented through direct election mechanism. Normative base for this mechanism is given by Law No.1/2015 concerning Approval of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (*Perppu*) No.1/2014. This *Perppu* provides explanations about Revision on Law No.22/2014 concerning The Election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor.

However, Law No.1/2015 was subjected to a change. First revision on this law was given by Law No.8/2015. One year later, on June 2nd of 2016, as validated by DPR's Plenary Session, Law No.10/2016 was not only born as second revision on Law No.1/2015, but also contained with few points concerning improvement for local leader election mechanism. These points are explained as following.

First, political party is only allowed to submit candidates for the posts of Governor/Vice-Governor, Regent/Vice-Regent, and Mayor/Vice-Mayor if it holds eligibility given by the laws to enlist constituents into candidacy. Shall dispute be happening among political party's administrators concerning candidacy, then final decision on candidacy is always given to political party's central office due to its proximity to the Office of Political Party Tribunal. The settled candidates are then filed into the relevant ministry, usually that handling governance, law, and human right issues.

Second, when candidates' registration and determination by political party's administrators are still in process, and if the deadline by the Office of General Election Commission (KPU = *Komisi Pemilihan Umum*) for Province or that for Regency/City is about to over, then the right of decision concerning candidacy will be given to the administrators authorized by the decree of the relevant ministry (Article 40A, Verse 5).

Third, with the assist of individual candidates or of the success team authorized by candidates, then the inservice (on-duty) KPU will go to the Office of Vote Collection Committee (PPS = *Panitia Pemungutan Suara*) to submit documents of patronage terms. Accordingly, PPS conducts a factual verification at least on twenty eight (28) days before the Office registers the candidates. This factual verification is done through census that involves direct visit to candidates' patrons (supporters) (Article 48, Verse 6). If the Committee cannot see patrons during factual verification, then candidates are given allowance at least for three (3) days to present their patrons at PPS Office starting from the date when PPS did not see the

patrons. But, if candidates still fail to show their patrons for factual verification, then their patronage terms are considered as invalid (Article 48, Verse 8). Shall one of candidates pass away during waiting period, precisely from registration date until the election day, then the candidacy of the deceased will be nullified.

Fourth, the inservice KPU will validate candidacy when candidates obtain more than 50 percents votes of legal electors. If the obtained vote is less than threshold, the defeat candidates are allowed to run for candidacy on the next election. This allowance is provided by the laws but on certain schedule (Article 54D, Verse 3).

Fifth, Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu = *Badan Pengawas Pemilu*) receives the reports of election-related administrative violation, and accordingly, takes an examination and makes decision on it maximally in fourteen (14) days of work. The inservice KPU must execute Bawaslu's decision by issuing KPU's ordinance at least on three (3) days of work since the date of Bawaslu's decision (Article 135A, Verse 4). Shall disputes over final vote acquisition be occurred, then the case will be sent to Constitutional Court (MK = *Mahkamah Konstitusi*), which then establishes specific court agency to solve the case (Article 157, Verse 3).

Sixth, election participants have a right to submit to MK the request of abrogation against the accumulated election votes reported by KPU. This request will be administered by MK on forty five (45) days of work since the date of receiving supplicants' notification. The nature of MK's decision is always final and binding (Article 157, Verse 9).

Seventh, Governor and Vice-Governor are inaugurated by President. Shall President be absent, the inauguration is performed by Vice-President. If Vice-President has an issue, certain minister will then be appointed to proceed the event. Moreover, Regent and Vice-Regent, and Mayor and Vice-Mayor, are taken for their oath by Governor. If Governor has an excuse, Vice-Governor takes their oath. If either Governor or Vice-Governor is incapable to attend inauguration, certain minister of central government is then appointed to represent the inaugurator for the induction (Article 164, Verse 3).

Eighth, both schedules and procedures to inaugurate Governor, Regent, Mayor, and all their vices, have been stated in President's Decree. Local leader election for each regional post was proceeded simultaneously. Government officers whose terms end on July and December 2016 must prepare themselves for succession. Meanwhile, for those whose terms end on 2017, local leader election was organized on February in that year. Article 201, Verse 3, has declared that Governor, Regent, Mayor and their vices, who were successfully elected in the 2017 election, will serve their terms to 2022. For those whose terms end on 2018 and 2019, then the election was arranged on June 2018. First round took place on 9 December 2015 in 8 provinces, 222 regencies, and 34 cities in Indonesia. Problem still remains. Not all participants can sincerely accept the election results. Legal suits concerning the election results were enormous reaching for 147 indictments (Suara KPU, 2016: 6). Laws not only provide opportunity for the accusers to bring up issue on hearing desk, but also compel them to justify their accusation in the trial in front of General Election Commission (KPU) as the accused, and also before Constitutional Court (MK).

The most reason why applicants bring the case to MK is the accusation of fraud during the election day. The type of fraud was varying, such as *money politic*, intervention by public officers, steering committee's lack of neutrality, and data manipulation (KPU, 2016: 7). Fraud accusation against the steering committee at vote collection place is mostly related with violation against ethical code of general election, and the case must be presented on the hearing before The Honorary Board of The Election Organizers (DKPP = *Dewan Kehormatan Penyelenggara Pemilu*). Being founded on 12 June 2012, until March 2013, DKPP has received 90 claims of ethical code violation. Those claims have been settled through various decisions, such as:

- Sanction of dismissal: 5 chairs and 15 members of KPU, 1 chair of Election Supervisory Committee (*Panwaslu*), 2 members of Election Supervisory Committee, and 5 members of Election Independent Commission (KIP = *Komisi Independent Pemilu*).
- Sanction of reprimand: 4 chairs and 6 members of KPU, and 1 member of *Panwaslu*.
- Sanction of written admonition: 1 chair of KPU (Kusuma, 2016: 52).

Agustino (Pikiran Rakyat, 28 November 2015) have compiled notes from field observation on simultaneous direct local leader election since 2015. These notes comprise few points as following.

First, candidates may not be decided democratically because their candidacy always needs the consent from the managing board of central office of the supporting political party. KPU only receives registration documents noting recommendation given by the general chair of central managing board (DPP = *Dewan Pimpinan Pusat*) of the supporting political party. Shall the recommendation not exist, KPU disregard the candidates. Indeed, it converses with representation theory stating that local leaders failed to represent their region will not be able to serve their people.

Second, political dynasty still remains strongly influential in local leader election. Law No.1/2014 concerning The Election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor attempts to narrow down the room and opportunity for political dynasty. KPU has released an ordinance (PKPU = *Peraturan KPU*), PKPU No.9/2015, consisting of several measures to produce progressive change to break up political dynasty chains. However, this ordinance is impeded by Constitutional Court's Decree No.33/ PUU-XIII/2015 concerning The Election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor by excuse that KPU's ordinance has been conflicting with Article 28J Verse (2) of UUD 1945. Constitutional Court (MK) may regard as the violation against human right if government (through KPU's ordinance) forbids individuals from being the candidates of local leaders due to their genealogical connection with incumbents. Such MK's regulation indeed has ascertained the growth of political dynasty. However, this growth is not correlated with people trust, but it always associates with money politic done by incumbents to keep their dynasty on throne.

Third, the replacement of *two-round system* with *first past the post* (FPTP) as a method to determine the winning candidates has influenced the chance of candidates for being elected. Two-round system gives opportunity to any candidates to exploit simple majority supports (minimally 30 percents) to

optimize their regional legitimacy. Conservely, FPTP reduces the opportunity to attain the needed public support (legitimacy). Second round will not proceed if vote difference between winner and loser is very small or precisely around 2 percents.

Fourth, Law No.8/2015 has prohibited political party from recommending for election for candidates who receive campaign fund contributed by foreigner, Central Government, Local Government, National/Regional Enterprises, and any fictitious entities. Surprisingly, this law does not forbid candidates from taking any contributions. But, this law has required the supporting political party to open specific account at certain bank for the interest of campaign fund, but this banking account is not compulsory for the candidates.

The Minister of Internal Affair, Tjahjo Kumolo (<http://www.detikberita.co/2016>), has reported that there are eleven (11) problems emerging latently during local leader election that must be anticipated in the next election:

- Electoral List is always problematic, or easier to be blamed on;
- Some electors may not have electronic ID (or e-KTP) and the inclusion of their presence may disturb the determination of Permanent Electoral List (DPT = *Daftar Pemilih Tetap*);
- Roles and functions of election supervisory agencies are yet to be optimum;
- Issues concerning independency, integrity, and credibility of general election organizers have strongly arised;
- After the election day, some electors seek to participate into the administration of *the elected officers* in exchange for their votes;
- During the election day, few electors only attend Vote Collection Place (TPS) and do not use their electoral right;
- Political party representatives are only present ahead of or during the election day, but their seat is always empty before vote counting is over, and remains vacant until second round is held (if it is necessary);
- Each province has local distinction or culture, and such non-electoral problem overburdens election process and election organizers;
- Law enforcement against election crimes and election-related problems, either caused by technical or non-technical factors, is yet to be effective;
- Crucial social issues are still emerging, such as SARA, money politic, campaign fund, *abuse of power*, distorted neutrality of bureaucratic politic, and mobilization of civil servants that may disturb election integrity; and
- Some regions are not yet signing Local Bequest Covenant Draft (NPHD = *Naskah Perjanjian Hibah Daerah*) concerning with security service for local leader election.

In 2017, when second round of simultaneous direct local leader election was conducted, there were 101 regions organizing this democratic festive. Governor Election was conducted in seven provinces, including Aceh, Bangka Belitung, Banten, DKI Jakarta, West Sulawesi, Gorontalo, and West Papua. Local leader election for Regent and Vice-Regent was held in 76

regencies, while the election for Mayor and Vice-Mayor was run in 18 cities. Reviews disclosed that simultaneously direct local leader election in 2017 had potentially evoked a conflict. Bawaslu creates a mapping based on Election Vulnerability Index (IKP = *Indeks Kerawanan Pemilu*) comprising of 101 regions that organize local leader election on 15 February 2017. Three dimensions are measured in IKP, respectively: implementation, contestation, and participation. Concerning with implementation dimension, there are organizer integrity, organizer professionalism, and violence against organizer. Contestation dimension is related with candidacy, campaign, and contestant. Participation dimension is associated with people involvement. Vulnerability indicator includes three levels, precisely: high, moderate, and low. The following is Bawaslu mapping data on vulnerability in the 2017 Governor Election in DKI Jakarta.

As shown by the table above, region with high vulnerability includes West Papua, Aceh, and Banten. Other regions remain in moderate and low levels of vulnerability. For implementation dimension, region with high vulnerability level includes West Papua, Aceh, and Banten. High vulnerability level in contestation dimension is found in regions of Banten, DKI Jakarta, and West Papua. High vulnerability level for participation dimension occurs in regions of Aceh, West Papua, and Banten. There are three causes of conflict that must be understood to keep conflict at minimum. It includes: (1) unprofessional, less independent, and irresolute election organizers; (2) mobilization by local political elites; and (3) conflict potentials due to multi-interpretation regulations and *money politic*. Indonesian Science Organization (LIPI) has mapped conflict potential in simultaneous direct local leader election into three stages. First stage is at the verification of candidates by Local General Election Commission (KPUD). In this stage, massive action of patrons is quite apparent especially when their candidates do not pass verification. KPUD is often accused for being partial or not independent. Second stage is during the giving of votes, and third stage is the announcement of results of local leader election. There are 101 localities implementing simultaneous direct local leader election in 2017, but DKI Jakarta is the region receiving the most public spotlight. Interestingly, this region is the capital city of Indonesia, but becomes the reference for other regions for its SARA cases, and one prominent case is when one contestant is accused for religion humiliation. DKI Jakarta's local leader election is inescapable to a conflict. Indeed, conflict seeds are emerging in obvious way, such as in forms of people resistance to candidates' campaign or massive action by candidates' patrons to express their accusation against other contestants.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The ultimate objective of this research is to find out better and accountable alternatives to the implementation of direct local leader election in order to produce leaders at local leadership posts who are professional, high-quality, and competent, with integrity and responsibility to the aspiration of local peoples. Regarding to this argument, frame of thought of this research was built on the base of constructivism paradigm. The application of constructivism paradigm always involved reflexivity and indexicality (Bakri, 2003: 77). Constructivism paradigm emphasized on empathy and dialectical interaction between researcher and research subject (Birowo, 2004: 108).

The truth for the result of research must be built on interpretation and thought conception that *knowledge and truth are created, not discovered* (Schwandt, 1997: 73). Truth about reality is the result of construction of meanings (*empirical-constructed facts*), and therefore, empirical reality (objectivity) is actually not existed, but it is only the construction of meanings of empirical reality beyond the self who makes construction (Muhadjir, 2000: 189). In methodological context of this research, constructivism paradigm uses two methods of interpretation, namely hermeneutic and dialectic. According to Sugiyanto and Parjito (2010: 61), hermeneutic method is done through identification of truths or with construction of opinions of everyone, while dialectic method proceeds by comparing and intersecting opinions derived from hermeneutic method in order to procure joint consensus of truths. Therefore, it can be said that truth as final result is the integration of opinions, which is relative, subjective and specifically explaining certain things that have been examined. Type of this research is one that uses a specific design pattern to look for ideal model for the implementation of direct local leader election because the election still leaves problems behind, including violation or fraud against election laws. This violation is committed not only by election contestants and their patrons, but also organization units that organize local leader elections. Related with this research design, method of research is qualitative because it is suitable to the observed contextual phenomena and also to research objective. Research is focused on the implementation of DKI Jakarta's local leader election. The election is conducted directly and simultaneously in 2017. Some issues are highly attended, such as: (a) Legal bases for the implementation of direct local leader election; (b) Stages for the execution of direct local leader election; and (c) Situations during the implementation of local leader election. Three sources of data are used, respectively persons, events and documents. Data of persons include those who lead the organizational units assigned for the implementation of the 2017 DKI Jakarta's local leader election. Data of events are occurrences, activities, and situations at the environment in relation with the implementation of DKI Jakarta's local leader election and also the exercise of public leadership by the implementing units for local leader election.

Research location is Province of DKI Jakarta and this is a province that participates into simultaneous direct local leader elections in 2017. Several websites were surfed to collect data related with public leadership in the implementation of the 2017 DKI Jakarta's local leader election, and these websites were provided by DPRD Office, Governor Office, KPUD, Bawaslu, BKPP, General Attorney Office, Panwaslu of District, and other related officers in legal region of Province of DKI Jakarta. Informants as person-based data are determined and also expected to provide holistic and contextual information. Therefore, the determination of informants is conducted with *purposive sampling*. This method of sampling is aimed to determine informant for certain purposes (Sugiono, 2001:62). The word "purposive" is concerned with the signification of role (*capacity*) and involvement (*intensity*) of informants in the implementation of DKI Jakarta's local leader election and also in the exercise of public leadership by the implementing units for local leader election. Indeed, this public leadership involves and affects many persons, but not all of these persons are selected as informant. Based on this purposive method, some informants were obtained from three organization units assigned for DKI Jakarta's local leader election.

These informants, or research subjects, are the representatives of those organization units. Given the demand of research, the three organization units are: (1) The Enforcing Organization of Local Leader Election, such as leaders in DPRD and Local Government of DKI Jakarta, and leaders of relevant units; (2) The Implementing Organization for Local Leader Election, such as KPUD and Bawaslu, which are actually involved in the implementation of DKI Jakarta's local leader election; and (3) The Supporting Organization for Local Leader Election, which consists of KIP, DKPP, and LSM that will act as the watcher or observer of the implementation of DKI Jakarta's local leader election. Answering the problem of research, three methods of data collection are proposed, respectively observation, depth interview, and documentation. In respect to the framework of qualitative research, data are analyzed in any times when research gains new data. After data are compiled from each collection method, it is directly described and analyzed without waiting for the total data, and it allows research to make supplements to any data considered as incomplete. In this research context, both data collection and data analysis are conducted simultaneously with inductive-abstractive logic, meaning that data are analyzed and also interpreted using certain words or just simplified into the most readable terms to describe the object of research (Bungin, 2003: 64).

Data analysis is referred to a model suggested by Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014: 33), and this model is known as *interactive model* comprising of three paths: (a) data condensation, (b) data presentation, and (c) conclusion and verification. This model explains that there are few interactions across research paths and these interactions emerge simultaneously. The following figure illustrates this model.

In scientific research, any data used to answer research problem must be legitimate. To be legitimate, data shall be objective, valid, and reliable. Objective data help people to have same interpretation on any questions provided to them. Validity gives a certainty that data collection methods have provided information necessarily needed by research. Therefore, valid data contain with compatibility between the collected data and the available data as research object. Reliability is connected with consistency and stability of data collection process. Therefore, reliability gives assurance that the collected data are to be consistent at any times. Data bias can be eliminated by avoiding any elements of personal subjectivity during data collection and data interpretation. To examine objectively data legitimacy, research uses four criteria, such as *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability*, and *confirmability* (Moleong, 1999: 133).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Result

Implementation of Direct Election for DKI Jakarta Leaders: DKI Jakarta is one of seven regions organizing the second round of local democratic event for electing Governor through simultaneous direct local leader elections, which are nationally held on 15 February 2017. The 2017 DKI Jakarta's local leader election had drained public attention, not only those who live in DKI Jakarta, but also the outsider beyond DKI Jakarta and even Indonesia citizens. Two reasons stay behind this radiant attention. The most important reason is that Jakarta is the capital city of Indonesia, while other reason concerns with the case inflicted by one contestant who is

allegedly committing humiliation against certain theology professed by certain adherents. These reasons convince people to consider DKI Jakarta as the region with high level of vulnerability on contestation dimension.

Legal Bases for the Implementation of DKI Jakarta's Local Leader Election: Normative base for the implementation of the 2017 DKI Jakarta's local leader election is Law No.10/2016 concerning Second Amendment to Law No.1/2015 concerning the Election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor. Administrative base refers to the terms of current governor that end around July to December 2016 and 2017. The Chair of KPUD DKI Jakarta, during research interview, said that:

"The implementation of the 2017 DKI Jakarta's local leader election has been regulated in Law No.10/2016. This election shall also be organized because the terms of the current governor will end on year of 2017. Both reasons answer the question of why DKI Jakarta's local leader election was organized simultaneously with some elections in other provinces in Indonesia" (Interview, 21 February 2017). The above statement is supported by documents kept with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and these documents explain that Law No.10/2016, as the legal base for the 2017 DKI Jakarta's local leader election, is the product of dynamic processes to determine rules concerning simultaneous and direct local leader election. It began with Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (*Perppu*) No.1/2014 concerning The Election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor. To enforce this normative base, Law No.1/2015 was enacted to legalize Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No.1/2014 to become the Law (Ministry of Internal Affairs for Indonesia Republic, 2017: 2). According to the Chair of DPRD DKI Jakarta, the exercise of Law No.10/2016 as the legal base for the implementation of DKI Jakarta's local leader election, involves various efforts to respond and deal with weaknesses and empirical issues during direct local leader election, and still, it must be done in respect to Law No.8/2015. The following is the result of interview with the chair of DPRD: "The implementation of DKI Jakarta's local leader election is yet to comply with provisions in Law No.8/2015. But, if opinions and occurrences in few regions are taken into account, the provisions in Law No.10/2016 have been quite anticipative and responsive to any problems disturbing the implementation of local leader election, which among others is internal conflict of political party relating with the legality of political party's managing board. Such case is only one of relevant cases that shall be solvable by Law No.10/2016". (Interview, 21 February 2017). Consistent to this opinion, the Chair of KPUD DKI Jakarta added that Law No.10/2016 as the legal base for the 2017 DKI Jakarta's local leader election has been quite responsive to several cases in local leader election, at least it remains so because it still includes provisions stated in Law No.8.2015. Indeed, the Chair of KPUD also said that Law No.10/2016 has facilitated the implementation of the 2017 local leader election because this law provides guidances to settle down any problems related to the election, especially those inherited from previous period of election due to lack of legitimate bases.

Stages for the Implementation of DKI Jakarta's Local Leader Election: Law of Local Leader Election No.10/2016 has provided mandates and also administrative provisions for the succession of DKI Jakarta leaders in 2017.

Table 1. Vulnerability Index of Simultaneously Direct Local Leader Election in 2017

No	Name of Province	Means Score	Implementation Dimension	Contestation Dimension	Participation Dimension
	IKP Rank	Total IKP			
1	West Papua	3.381	3.378	2.917	2.667
2	Aceh	3.327	3.267	3.125	3.000
3	Banten	3.147	3.133	3.708	2.433
4	West Sulawesi	2.367	2.556	2.083	2.233
5	DKI Jakarta	2.297	1.822	2.958	1.500
6	Bangka Belitung	2.293	1.956	2.625	1.900
7	Gorontalo	2.015	1.556	2.083	2.067

Source: Bawaslu, 2016

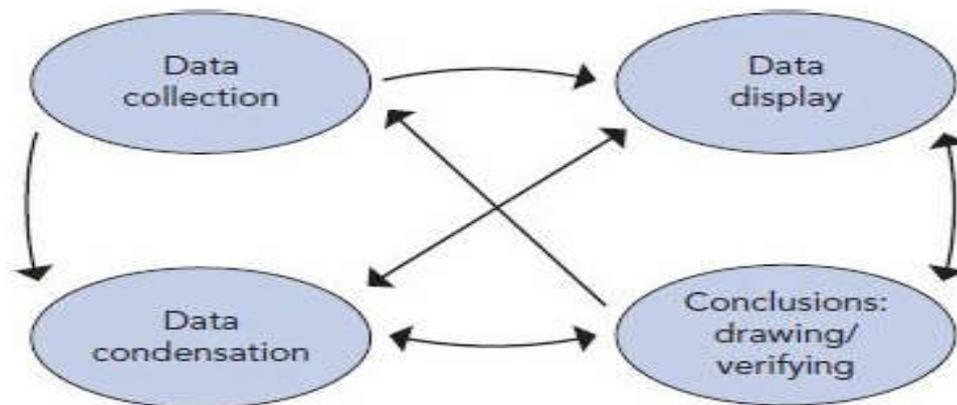
Table 5.1. Contestant Pairs in The 2017 DKI Jakarta's Local Leader Election

No	Contestant Pairs	Supporter Political Party
1	Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono and Sylviana	Demokrat, PAN, PPP, PKB
2	Basuki Tjahaya Purnama and Djarot Saiful Hidayat	PDI-P, Hanura, Nasdem, Golkar
3	Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno	Gerindra, PKS

Source: KPUD DKI Jakarta, 2016.

Table 5.2. Vote Recapitulation for the Candidates of DKI Jakarta Leadersin 2017

No	Candidate Pair	Supporting Political Party	DPRD Seat	Round 1	Round 2
1	Agus-Silvy	Demokrat, PAN, PPP, PKB	28	937,950(17.02 %)	-
2	Ahok-Djarot	PDI-P, Nasdem, Hanura, Golkar	52	2,364,577 (42.99 %)	2,350,366 (42.04%)
3	Anies-Sandi	Gerindra and PKS	26	2,197,330(39.95 %)	3,240,987 (57.96%)



(Source: Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, 2014: 33)

Figure 3.1. Components of Data Analysis: Interactive Model

It is signed by the ending of terms of previous governorship held by Basuki Tjahaya Purnama and Djarot Syaiful Hidayat. The stages of this succession process are explained as follows:

Stage of Preparation: This stage begins with notification letter sent by DPRD DKI Jakarta to KPUD DKI Jakarta. As informed by the Chair of KPUD, the preparation for DKI Jakarta's local leader election is initiated with the notification given by DPRD DKI Jakarta concerning the ending of terms of DKI Jakarta governorship. Since the receiving of this notification, few steps of preparation are made.

First, election-related rules are discussed and then determined. Indeed, KPUD DKI Jakarta as the organization that implements direct local leader election must respond the notification given by DPRD DKI Jakarta concerning the ending of terms of DKI Jakarta governorship resulted from the 2012 local leader election. The response begins with coordination deliberation to discuss and determine rules of games and also stages of activities related with the election.

Mandates to implement this election are given to KPUD DKI Jakarta. Activities that are political allocative in nature, such as place arrangement, budgeting, and candidacy, still comply with guidances from KPU central office. Activities with coordinative, administrative, and technical elements are still the domains of KPUD DKI Jakarta. One technical domain is related with election schedule. For the registration of governorship candidacy, KPUD DKI Jakarta sets the schedule on 19-21 September 2016 either for individual candidates or representatives from political party. During this registration period, individual candidates must enclose the copy of recapitulation of factual verification given by KPUD DKI Jakarta before registration period. The copy of recapitulation helps KPUD to ensure whether candidates' patronage level has fulfilled minimum requirement. For candidates supported by political party or coalition of parties, the registration must include signatures of the chair and the secretary of the supporting political party at local level. Political party candidates must also enclose the letter of consent from the managing board of the supporting political party at central level.

After registration period, KPUD DKI Jakarta did the verification on the candidates from 19 September to 9 October 2016. During the verification, KPUD DKI Jakarta gives chance only once for individual or political party candidates to correct their patronage terms, especially when terms are not completed. Deadline for correction is given from 29 September to 1 October 2016. The schedule of the process toward the 2017 DKI Jakarta's local leader election has been made by KPUD DKI Jakarta in the following orders:

- From 3 August to 7 August 2016: The submission of patronage terms for individual candidates (while it is not required for political party candidates because their patronage is obvious).
- From 19 September to 21 September 2016: The registration of candidates.
- From 19 September to 9 October 2016: The verification of candidates.
- On 22 October 2016: The determination of candidates.
- On 23 October 2016: The drawing and announcement of serial number.
- From 26 October 2016 to 11 February 2017: Period for campaign and public debate.
- From 12 February to 14 February 2017: Silent Period.
- On 15 February 2017: The collection and counting of votes.
- From 16 February to 27 February 2017: The recapitulation of votes.
- From 8 March to 10 March 2017: The determination of elected candidates without dispute (Documentation from KPUD DKI Jakarta, 2016).

The 2017 local leader election in DKI Jakarta was done in two rounds, and the collection and the counting of votes for the second round was arranged on 19 April 2017. The following is the schedule for the second round.

- From 5 March to 19 April 2017: The recapitulation of electoral list.
- From 4 March to 15 April 2017: The socialization of the recap.
- From 6 April to 15 April 2017: The campaign and dissemination of vision and mission.
- From 16 April to 18 April 2017: Silent Period.
- On 19 April 2017: The collection and the counting of the votes.
- From 20 April to 1 May 2017: The recapitulation of votes.
- From 5 May to 6 May 2017: The determination of elected candidates without dispute (Documentation from KPUD DKI Jakarta, 2016).

Second, result of discussion concerning rules of game is socialized to the electors. The socialization done by KPUD DKI Jakarta not only informs about the implementation stages of direct local leader election, but also aims to educate the electors about the election. This activity proceeds from 30 April 2016 to 11 February 2017. For opening the access to information about the implementation of DKI Jakarta's local leader election, KPUD DKI Jakarta does the following activities for the socialization:

- Distribution of pamphlet and poster. These socialization media are effective to remind the electors about the day

of election, the candidates, and their vision and mission. The objective of socialization through these media is to convince the electors to come to Vote Collection Place (TPS) and to persuade the people to be the smart elector, not prepaid-electors.

- Provisioning of information and liaison centers. These facilities provide data and information about DKI Jakarta's local leader election for all stakeholders who concern with the election.
- The use of outdoor media. This kind of socialization involves the use of billboard, street banner, sticker, banner, and others. Outdoor media are mostly attached at strategic locations such as street bank, public facility, public center, and other crowd spots.
- The utilization of printed and electronic media. Although DKI Jakarta's local leader election is local, but printed and electronic media used to socialize the election news are afforded by not only people in DKI Jakarta, but also by Indonesian citizens because the election news are broadcasted by national scale media, such as Kompas, Merdeka, Suara Pembaharuan, TV One, Metro TV, Internet, and others.
- Face-to-face encounter. This socialization method is used by utilizing various forums including that provided by KPUD DKI Jakarta or that initiated by society. Through this face-to-face encounter, KPUD DKI Jakarta can explain anything about elements or techniques of local leader election, and also about rights and roles of electors to support the implementation of local leader election in order to produce election that is clean and high-quality.

The purpose of socialization about DKI Jakarta's local leader election, besides to identify the potential electors and the organization units that organize local leader election, is also to explain the stages of implementation of local leader election and to educate the electors about material object, precisely provisions or policies concerning direct local leader election. The following is the statement given by one commissioner of KPUD DKI Jakarta during interview with the author:

"The spirit of *Direct Local Leader Election Act* is already good but people are yet ready to carry out. They still need socialization about what kind of democracy is without money politic, what is the consequence of money politic, and why using other's election right is forbidden. Relying only on Bawaslu to deliver this socialization is not enough. Despite this inadequacy, Bawaslu seems more effective in deterrent. It goes to campus because campus always has spaces where students express their opinion on democracy or even their own academic system. College students are not only stakeholders of the nation other than the government, but also represent the people. Empathy to the people or citizens, therefore, must be considered as important, especially when they have same understandings and perceptions. However, people may interpret laws and regulations differently, and thus, making various interpretations into the same words is always necessary. People must receive information in clear way as possible. It must be so because many persons can become plaintiff, while at same time, others can become defendant"(Interview, 21 February 2017).

Third, coordination deliberation and technical guidance are carried out. Both activities are possibly the crucial element in the preparation of DKI Jakarta's local leader election. KPUD

DKI Jakarta does these activities at least three times, precisely coordination deliberation for the socialization and updating of electoral list, technical guidance for the collection and counting of votes, and technical guidance for logistic management. These activities started from 30 April 2016 to 14 February 2017. These activities help the election organizers to understand technicalities of local leader election, especially when they must face violations against election laws or barriers impeding the election. The understanding of such issue may facilitate them in using preventive measures.

Fourth, ad-hoc election organizer agencies are established. KPUD DKI Jakarta asserted that two such agencies are District Election Committee (PPK = *Panitia Pemilihan Kecamatan*) and Vote Collection Committee (PPS = *Panitia Pemungutan Suara*). These agencies perform technical process of vote collection on the field. As said by the chair of KPUD DKI Jakarta, these ad-hoc agencies are the aids of KPUD to carry out its administrative function concerning vote collection on the "D" day of election. The founding of PPK and PPS was scheduled from 21 June to 20 July 2016, while the other agency.

The Group of Vote Collection Organizers (KPPS = *Kelompok Penyelenggara Pemungutan Suara*), was founded on schedule from 15 November 2016 to 14 January 2017.

Fifth, permanent electoral list (DPT = *daftar pemilih tetap*) is updated and also determined. This activity was scheduled from 18 August 2016 to 8 December 2016. The issue concerning permanent electoral list is always an issue around the election, and simultaneous direct local leader election in 2017 cannot escape from this. People judge KPUD's performance from many aspects, and one of them is from administrative system of electoral list. For instance, some peoples may ask whether their name is listed or not in DPT or wonder whether their name is multiplied across TPS, village/sub-district, district, regency, or even province. During interview with the author, the chair of KPUD DKI Jakarta said that:

"Since 2012, DKI Jakarta is getting trouble with DPT—precisely, with the people who are the elector but their names are not in the list. These non-listed persons are always hesitate from going to TPS despite the possibility of still giving vote by showing electronic ID (E-KTP). Second potential problem is that Form C6 is not distributed to the people and this minimizes the importance of Form C6 as the letter of announcement for giving vote at the election day. Indeed, the less-informed people may choose to not go to TPS and they let their vote to be abused. The lacking of information keep some peoples to be vulnerable to the irresponsible individuals. Their vote may be used by other. Vote doubling is also possible. However, double elector shall face the law, particularly Law No.12/2008, which its Article 115 has stated that "double elector or one with fraud identity will be sanctioned by imprisonment" (Interview, 27 March 2017). This statement is supported by the Chair of Bawaslu DKI Jakarta who insisted that the topmost problem in DKI Jakarta's local leader election is concerning with the accuracy of DPT data. Based on the result of data updating, DPT for the 2017 DKI Jakarta's local leader election comprises 7,132,856 electors distributed at 13,067 TPS, with number of beginner elector of 199,840 (2.81%) and number of disabled elector of 5,371 (0.08%) (Documentation from KPUD DKI Jakarta, 2016).

According to KPUD DKI Jakarta Commissioner, number of the second-round DPT in DKI Jakarta's local leader election has increased more than the first-round DPT. This increase proceeds from the presence of new electors and also those who are verified in the first-round as the participant in Additional Elector List (DPTb = *Daftar Pemilih Tambahan*). KPUD DKI Jakarta Commissioner for Division of Data Updating, Mochammad Sidik, indicates:

"If compared to the first-round DPT, there are more names in the second-round DPT. This increase is possibly due to the fact that some DKI Jakarta citizens are already listed into DPTb at the first-round. As shown by data of KPUD DKI Jakarta, the first-round DPT consists of 7,108,589 electors, while the second-round DPT contains with 7,218,254 electors. Total of the second-round DPT are declining if compared to the second-round Temporary Electoral List (DPS = *Daftar Pemilih Sementara*). Based on verification given by KPUD DKI Jakarta, there are 46,495 electors deleted. Some corrections are given to DPS, because in some cases, there is data doubling in two TPS, and the involved names are deleted. Electors who pass away before the second-round and those moving out from DKI Jakarta are also deleted.

The number of those deceased and migrated is very significant, which as a result, has decreased names in DPS before it is settled into DPT" (Interview, 10 May 2017).

Stage of Execution: After all preparation stages are completed, next step is to execute DKI Jakarta's local leader election. The execution process has been regulated by the election-related laws with certain rules enforced by KPUD DKI Jakarta. This execution stage can be explained as following.

First, candidates are set into register. The process begins with registration of governorship candidates. As said by the chair of KPUD DKI Jakarta, the execution of DKI Jakarta's local leader election is referring to the provisions stated in Law No.10/2016. The following is the statement given by the chair of KPUD DKI Jakarta during interview with the author:

"The candidacy for DKI Jakarta governorship through the 2017 local leader election takes reference from provisions stated in Law No.10/2016. Political party that supports governorship candidates must have minimally 20% of DPRD seats, while individual candidates shall have support minimally 6.5 – 10% of DPRD seats. The requirements for individual candidates include: having religion; being loyal to Pancasila; having integrity; never engaged with law cases; not serving as PNS, TNI, and POLRI; and if coincidentally, they still hold political job, they must resign" (Interview, 26 February 2017). The statement above is consistent with Article 7 in Law No.10/2016, which comprises provisions that may suitable to the candidacy of Governor and Vice-Governor posts. These provisions are given as follows:

- Every citizen has equal right to run for candidacy and to be nominated as candidate for Governor and Vice-Governor, Regent and Vice-Regent, and Mayor and Vice-Mayor.
- The candidates for Governor and Vice-Governor, Regent and Vice-Regent, and Mayor and Vice-Mayor, as stated in verse (1), must fulfill the requirements as follows:

- believing in monotheism;
- having loyalty to Pancasila, Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia 1945, the aspirations of Proklamasi Kemerdekaan on 17 August 1945, and the spirit of Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia;
- minimally graduated from senior high school or equivalent, and aged at least at 30 (thirty) years old for candidates of Governor and Vice-Governor, or at 25 (twenty five) years old for candidates of Regent and Vice-Regent and Mayor and Vice-Mayor;
- having capability in physic and mental, and being free from narcotic abuse based on health checkup;
- never receiving sentence as convict on judicial decision with permanent legal force, and for the case of ex-convict, the person must openly and honestly announce before the public concerning this ex-convict status;
- not being withdrawn for the election right on judicial decision with permanent legal force;
- never committing contemptible conducts based on letter of good deed released by police department;
- submitting the list of personal wealth;
- not being responsible to pay debts as individual or as legal entity, which the failure for payment may harm the finance of nation;
- not being suffered from bankruptcy on judicial decision with permanent legal force;
- having Tax ID Number and equipping self with personal tax report;
- never holding any posts of Governor, Vice-Governor, Regent, Vice-Regent, Mayor and Vice-Mayor in 2 (two) terms in a row for any candidacies for Governor, Vice-Governor, Regent, Vice-Regent, Mayor and Vice-Mayor.
- never holding any posts of Governor for Vice-Governor candidacy, or those of Regent/Mayor for Vice-Regent/Vice-Mayor candidacies in same region.
- must resign from any posts of Governor, Vice-Governor, Regent, Vice-Regent, Mayor and Vice-Mayor in other region after being stated as the candidate of the election region;
- not being serve as officers appointed by Governor, Regent and Mayor;
- declaring through written proof indicating resignation from any memberships of DPR, DPD, and DPRD after being stated as the candidate of the election region;
- declaring through written proof indicating resignation from any memberships of Indonesia National Army, Indonesia National Police, and Civil Service, including Village Chief or other equivalent titles, after being stated as the candidate of the election region;
- resigning from any posts from local or national owned enterprises after being stated as the candidate of the election region.

Following up these provisions, the 2017 DKI Jakarta's local leader election was participated by 3 pairs of contestants. All these contestants are carried over by the coalition of political parties. The composition of political party support is explained as follows:

- Governor and Vice-Governor candidacies through Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno are carried over by Partai Gerindra and PKS with 26 seats in DPRD.
- Governor and Vice-Governor candidacies through Agus Harimurti and Sylviana Murni are carried over by Partai Demokrat, PPP, PAN and PKB with 28 seats in DPRD.
- Governor and Vice-Governor candidacies through Ahok-Djarot are carried over by PDIP, Nasdem, Golkar, and Hanura with 52 seats in DPRD.
- After verification on the validity of administrative data, three contestant pairs are passed and receiving serial number. By the presence of this serial number, the contestant pairs are considered as the contestant for DKI Jakarta's local leader election for period 2017-2022. The contestant pairs are arranged as follows:

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