The Impacts of Direct Local Elections to The Community Life
(Study in Palu, Donggala Regency, and Parigi Mautong Regency)

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Abstract

This article intends to analyse the impacts of direct elections to the community life. The impacts, in this study, are particularly on political, social, and economic sectors. This research conducted in Palu, Donggala Regency, and Parigi Mautong Regency. The findings of this study were obtained from qualitative research, which the data obtained through qualitative enquiries such as Focus Group Discussion (FGD) which involved some parties who understood, comprehended, and organised the election; in-depth interview to informants, distribute a questionnaire to 162 respondents; do a literature study, and documentary reports. The result of this research shows that the process of election impact positively to the social and political life of the community but not the economical. The result of this research further reveals that there are several negative impacts throughout the implementation process of the local elections.

Keywords: Pilkada, community life, politics, economic, social, Palu, Donggala, Parigi Moutong, Sulawesi Tengah.

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A. Introduction

Direct local elections conducted in Indonesia since 2005\(^1\). It referred to constitution number 32, 2004 on local government. Many have labelled Indonesia as “the world’s largest political decentralization project”\(^2\). There was a political dynamic towards the direct local election in 2013, and it was more intends in 2014. The house of representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat - DPR) initially debated about whether the local leader and its vice should be elected directly by the community as is usually done, or they should be elected by the regional house of representative or DPRD. This debate eventually pushed the government to be involved. The government’s involvement was especially on the newly elected government to arrange local regulation as the replacement of annulled constitution of local election produced by the house of representative, but it is felt less in supporting the consolidated of democracy.

Furthermore, the constitution number 8, 2015 on the determination of local government replaced the constitution number 1, 2005 on the determination of local government replaced the constitution number 1, 2014 on the election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor. This research sets in 2015 as the election arranged by the constitution above but the spirit refers to the previews constitution that is

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constitution number 32 2004 about local government. This research evaluates the impact of the local election in 2015 to the three autonomous regions in Central Sulawesi; they are the local election in Palu 2010, in Donggala regency 2013, and in Parigi Mautong Regency 2013.

The implementation of local election essentially is placing the community as the owner of sovereignty (Constitution of Indonesia 1945, article 1 paragraph 2). Sovereignty is one of the implementations of democracy essence in a political system. It means that the local election is the benchmark for the implementation of the democratic political system. The result of the election held openly with freedom of speech and association is considered reflect participation and aspiration accurately. Dede Mariane further suggests that the implementation of the election always has essential meaning for the political journey of a nation. The role of the election in this case in the implementation of the local election are: 1) a form of effort of peaceful change, 2) as the arena of dispute and competition of fair, various political powers, 3) and as an attempt to put distance between the institution and the people to be closed. Dahl (in Mutiarin, et.al. 2011), fundamental feature of the running democratic political system are: free and fair election, freedom of delivering speech and association, right to choose, the existence of alternative sources of information, right to all people to sit on a public position, as well as institution that allow people to be able to control the administration/government.

Direct local election involved society is expected to choose a leader who can create a positive impact on community life. A leader who is a able to make, develop, implement, and evaluate public policy in the effort to the welfare of people. Public policy is a response of government (leader) to fix community life. M Hill furthermore believed that democracy should be to generate participative formulation system and it provides powerful legitimacy to the policy taken.

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Besides, democracy demands the readiness of policymaker to pass through a long political process to use negotiation skill and to compromise to all stakeholders because democracy caused the divergence, not convergence.

The elected leader of right local election is a leader who is standing by the side of the community, a person who can bring towards progress and prosperity of the region according to the principles of regional autonomy. This context of autonomy refers to the constitution number 32, 2014 on the local government, which means as for right, authority, and obligation in autonomy to organise and to manage their own affairs and the community interest in accordance with the constitution number 23, 2014 on the local government. It is to reinforce the notion by replacing the words that are in line with the legislation “in the system of the unitary of Republic Indonesia”. Further, the implementation process of local election provides several impacts at least regarding political, social, and economical factors.

There are several problems revealed during the process of local election in those autonomy areas. Some sources in the community such as Non-Governmental Organization (LSM), and Association of Legal Aid for People (PBHR) of Central Sulawesi (2013:89) expressed that socialisation of local election as a form of political education and a part of the process of local election is not implemented as expected. The organiser of local election (KPUD and Panwaslu in that three area) organised it only to fill the obligation of the constitution. It impressed that they are not conducted their obligation correctly. The same case happens to the political parties. The member of the parties has not implemented their function as expected that is to provide socialisation of politic (education) to the community.

In fact, there were significant amount of missing vote at the local elections in the three autonomous regions. In its 2013 report, the Association of Legal Aid for the People (PBHR) of Central Sulawesi (2013:97), a Non-Governmental Organization (LSM) in this province recounted that the percentage of “shall choose” missing voice were about 15% in Palu 14.5% in Donggala, and 15.5% in Parigi Mautong respectively.

Furthermore, the processes of local elections drain many funds for the candidate of Regent and its vice, and Mayor and its vice. The PBHR of Central
Sulawesi in 2013 also reported that a partner of a candidate of Regent spent about 10 to 20 billion Rupiah. The fund is used to rent “boat” that is a term to buy political parties to be their bearers or partner as the requirement in the local election, fund the team, campaign, and other needs because nothing is free. Activists of democracy and local election state that the fund will seek to be returned when the candidate has selected. It assumed that the local leader suspected as corruptor because of a large fund of the local election. The Ministry of Home Affairs launched data; from 2004 to 2012 there are 173 local leaders involved in case of corruption (Radar Sulteng, December 14th 2012).

Another compelling case that needs to be released is money politics. Focus Group Discussion in Donggala Regency is presenting the observer of democracy, local election, as well as the non-governmental organisation in Central Sulawesi. They express that generally, the candidate of local leaders that compete in Donggala use money political during the local election. The money is used to attract the sympathy of people. One of the team of the campaign in FGD state that, the money is used to: 1) provide billboard and campaign tools, 2) the procurement of basic needs or the so-called “sembako” to be distributed to people, 3) cash to be given to people towards the Election Day or it is known as drawn raid. According to one of the campaign team, it is impossible to gain vote without money. People feel that it is a must to provide them money or even sembako. It seems that societies assess the elected local leader through their generosity in the form of distributing things to them.

Basing on the problems highlighted above, this study aims to answer the question of how is the impact of local election to community life. The scope of the impact mention is in political, social, and economical life. This qualitative research is trying to minimise the distance between the researcher and those who are being researched (Creswell, 2002:5) through phenomenology approach. This approach is to comprehend how a person experiencing and provide meaning in its experience.7

Besides the qualitative tools of enquiry, this research employed the qualitative method, included the numbers in the form of the table of frequency as

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questionnaire tabulation result of respondents (primary data). The primary data was obtained through the result of field activities, namely: 1) in-depth interview to several informants, 2) focus group discussion to several informants who considered being able to provide data and information, 3) Observation (direct observation) to the communities’ activities related to data and information needed, 4) the use of available secondary data to institution that concern about the local election, 5) literature review, to identify various data and information which will enrich this research. Methodologically, the result of the technique of data collection is primary and secondary data that will be analysed through data collection, data presentation, data reduction, conclusion, and verification. Each component of the data analysis was subsequently linked, continued, and influenced thoroughly.

A. Discussion

The election of the local leader through local election showed that regional autonomy as part of a process of democracy is on going. The elections should be interpreted as a process in which the people decide who becomes the leader based on the context of autonomy. It has been stated that democracy means the opportunity for people to accept or reject those who will govern them. It is the leader selection mechanism, but at the same time, it prevents the arbitrariness of the leader after they get selected or sitting in power. In line with that opinion, there are two effective mechanisms that could prevent the power misappropriation and arbitrariness in democracy system, they are: regular election and equal competition among political parties. So, essentially democracy requires the elections to select representatives of the people; and therefore, the leadership of the government guarantees "equal chance" to every party and candidates for the leaders to win through free choice of the sovereign people.

The local election is expected to not only to be succeeding because of the democratic implementation but also substantially affect positively particularly in community life. Democracy is not the purpose but the process of reaching it to

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8 Miles and Huberman, 1992, p.20.
10 Rasyid, ibid, p. 38. See also, Holzhacker et al., 2016, p. 7; Sjahrrir, et al. 2014, p. 168.
realize the justice and prosperous society. Impact mention is real regarding political, social, and economical. The positive impact from the process of local election can be realised if the implementer or KPUD applied proper management. Management is defined as an effort to reach the goal by using someone else hand. In this study, management is defined as getting things done through other people\textsuperscript{11}. Furthermore, some analysts\textsuperscript{12} state that functions of management at least covers five main things: planning, organising, staffing, leading, and controlling. The views of this expert ensure the positive impact of an activity that is creating through appropriate management. This political, social, and economic impact is studied in this research.

B. Political Impact

Politically the impact in the process of local election is studied through political education, political participation, political recruitment, and political money. Based on research, political education as the impact of the local election considered by the community. Political education will mature the individuals time to time in doing every political activity in their life. Informants’ who has been interviewed from three different regions (Palu, Donggala, and Parimo) states that the process of local election matures the community. It means that the process of political maturation is running as the local election held every five years. In the New Order era, people gave the full authority to DPRD to choose the local leader. They never know how it was going and how was the political process along with it. They only received the result given to them. The democracy at that moment is called representative democracy. Since the Reformation era, especially since the 2005s onward, the local leaders directly selected through direct election by the community based on the mechanism and the applicable rules. The local election also considered as the embodiment of political decentralisation through regional autonomy. This process is believed to be able to bring the people to the government in the form of choosing their own leader by them, so that, the


community can participate the management of development including controlling the development\textsuperscript{13}.

The political impact of the process of organising elections in the three areas that become the focus of this study correspond with only limited research examining matters concerning: political education, political participation, political recruitment, and money politics.

All these processes considered by the public as a means of obtaining the political education in the organisation of the local elections according to the certain stages. Various reports on the media concerning the implementation of each stage of the local elections for people considered being able to provide knowledge and political insight\textsuperscript{14}. Through reports in the mass media, they (community) then discuss or at least listening to other people talk. According to the informants, it is clear that the political education increases the knowledge and the political insight that will be useful to be used to choose a leader or to do other political activities in the future. Of the 162 respondents, 61% stated that the mass media concerning the stages of the elections provide knowledge and insight; only about 12% of respondents stated the opposite.

In addition to the mass media reports, other stages considered as a vehicle for political education are: updating the voters, the nomination of Regional Head / Deputy Head of Region, campaigning, voting day, dispute resolution elections and the inauguration of the Regional Head / Deputy Head of Region. Among many stages of the organisation of the elections, there are two stages attract the attention according to the recognition of informants and FGD, namely, campaign and voting day. For the community, as raised in the FGD and interviews with informants, the campaign ultimately drain the attention and provides many benefits, especially knowledge, insight, and political experience. "Obviously this is very helpful in the future," said a source in Palasa village, district. Tomini, Parigi Moutong district. Respondents’ opinions regarded to the stages of the campaign

\textsuperscript{13} Pheni, 2005, p. V.
\textsuperscript{14} Mukrmin, The influence of mass media in political change in Indonesia, Politika, Jurnal Ilmu Politik, 2012(b), vol. 3, no. 2, p. 62-65.

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that provide knowledge and understanding of politics to the people can be seen in the following figure.

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\text{n} = 162
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*Source: Authors, 2015.*

The Election Day (*Hari Pencoblosan* or *Pemilihan*) is the main stage of many stages of the local election. The Election Day according to informants and participants of FGD is a day where everything is poured out. The hard work of success team, the candidate of the local leader and its vice, the organiser of the local election, police officer, and the community, is seen to this day. That is why all parties are waiting for this moment, and events afterwards that are the counting vote from the voting poll (TPS) then counting activities in the form of recapitulation in PPK, to then proceed with the finalisation of vote count recapitulation in general election commission of Regency/City.

Voters zealously and enthusiastically waited for the winner of this election. From some FGDs conducted during the study reveals that a variety of opinions participants in essence argued, voters are very enthusiastic to participate on the polling day. In fact, they are also waiting for the counting moment at each polling station. Applause soon will be heard if the name of the candidate is called upon. The opposite, grumbling attitude also sounds if the candidate is not called when
poll workers do the counting. Voters who have own candidate come to the polling stations to support other candidates respectively. Amazingly they remain compact, still joking, jovial, even though they support a different candidate. When the counting was done, and the winner was already known in the polling stations, the supporters who lost remain compact with supporters who win. In this context, the voting public has been studying different. In fact, because they are already experienced several elections, they seem mature. They respect the supporters who wins, otherwise the win also still appreciate the supporter of the losing candidate. That is true of a dispute, and there is winning and losing. Learning like this turned out to have matured society. If the atmosphere of the elections can be maintained or increased, then the elections concerning feeling conflicts will not happen. The key is that all parties must hold and run the rule of elections as determined. Furthermore, based on the opinion of 162 respondents included in the study, they found voting by voters provide a positive political impact of education: 51% and only 1% of respondents have not impact anything. As for the rest, 27% stated quite an impact, 11% believe it is an impact of political education, and the remaining 10% expressed less impact on anything.

From the standpoint of political participation of the people, at least judging from their participation in the voting, according to information from each of the Chairman of the Commission in districts and town, community participation can be quite high, in Kota Palu 72%, in Donggala 74% and 70% in Parigi Mautong. This percentage is somewhat higher in the era of openness as it is now. Mahfud Massuara, the Chairman of the Commission of Donggala Regency, states that in the middle of abstentions campaign of various reasons by the electoral activists that are not satisfied with government performance, the enthusiasm of people in three areas/cities is quite high in following elections. It can be seen from the percentage of their participation.

C. Social Impact

Socially the impact of the local elections of research location in three districts as raised in some of the FGD by presenting the organizers of elections and public figures who are concerned with the organization of the elections and in-

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depth interviews (depth interview) are carried out on various informants, social impact felt by the public in accordance with the elections, divided into: social rationality, social cohesion, and the discussion of the conflict.

People of Palu, Donggala, and Parigi Moutong, said that the public is more rational from time to time in dealing with various issues concerning to the elections. People in these three areas are often plagued by the issue of social conflicts even though the escalation relatively small. People in Palu, Donggala, and Parigi Moutong always troubled by local fights between villages in their daily life. A term of PAD is famous in these three areas. It is not an acronym for Revenue Village but Fights Inter-Village. Things to be proud of is the PAD (District Revenue) never developed enlarged and threatened the security of the entire region in each district. The security forces, the community, and the local governments can work optimally, synergistic, and well so that conflicts can be resolved, even though the alleged growing strongly, particularly in the community, this conflict is simulated.

The conflict turned out the community to be mature. Abdul Kadir Patta, a sociologist of Tadulako University, expressed that the public learned through the conflict and the threat of conflict, including the lasts more extended conflict in Poso. During the learning process, people find that the conflict does not benefit anyone. Conflicts caused isolated areas; the economical movement is obstructed, then it led to the deterioration of society. Kadir Patta states that the lesson moves people to build social cohesion, as such, with the hope they can build territory and welfare. The community must come together and consciously pursue it because facts show that conflicts never solve the problem.\(^\text{15}\)

In the context of the local elections, social cohesion strengthened by the society from social construct, which existed since the old time. Social cohesion has become a part of their culture, which it prevents people from conflict. The elections

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proved not to divide them. Opinions of respondents amplify that statement, as the following figure depicts.

\[ n = 162 \]

Source: Authors, 2015.

Furthermore, the facts in the FGD, in-depth interviews with a number of parties revealed that the people’s choice on elections are of course different, but not lead them into conflict. Furthermore, a variety of activities that potentially sparking a conflict that became part of the process of organizing the elections, such as campaign did not create conflict to the communities. Even so, the process potentially resulted in social conflict; however, people realise that the difference is a necessity in a democracy and does not necessarily cause disintegrate of society. That is why, according to an informant, in Parigi Moutong during the announcement of the winner of the elections, large-scale demonstrations, especially from supporters of losing candidates, political activity does not cause conflict communities. The demo was really just to protest and to pressure against the organizers of the elections. Similarly, the same thing happens in the other two areas, Palu and Donggala. Problem dissent (respect the opinion) in the elections in three areas of research proposed by 162 respondents, as can be seen in the following figure:
n = 162
Source: Authors, 2015

D. Economical Impact

Candidate of Regional Head / Deputy Head of Region who wants to compete in the elections is setting up a significant number of funds. It is recognised by a member of Success team of candidates in local elections of Palu. According to him, every couple of candidates spends about 10 billion to 25 billion rupiah. The funds mainly used to finance some successful teams and to "rent a boat", the term for paying a political party, set up attributes of socialisation and campaigns, as well as the cost of basic food preparation and distributing money to the constituents during the campaign and before the election day. The amount of money that must be provided is of course for many people are substantial. Among many individuals in the community, not many of them can set up the fund. Surprisingly, many of them are interested in becoming a candidate for Regional Head / Deputy Head. Many candidates are willing to borrow money to fulfil their desire according to the information obtained through focus group discussions and interviews with informants. In fact, the amount of money spent will not be possible to turn back from salaries and incentives that would be obtained if the concerned elected later. Therefore, there are many Regional Head and Deputy Head are tangled by the case of corruption.

According to the FGD participants and interviews with informants, even though the pair of candidates spending much budget with respects to its participation in the elections, but in general it is not able to lift the economy.
Economic levels of society remain so alone, said an informant. The pairs of candidates during the campaign, especially before the day of elections are often split groceries and even money, but giving it certainly did not significantly help the public, improve the economy. The following figure presents the respondents’ opinions regarding the granting or prospective partner donation of Regional Head and Deputy Head.

![The Effect of Political Spending of Candidates against Community Income](image)

**n = 162**

*Source: Authors, 2015.*

The figure above shows that the significant majority is 42% and 29% reported that political spending of a candidate does not affect the income of the people. Another small portion is 7% and 5%, states affecting And Highly influencing.

The remarkable thing is the contribution in the form of money distribution does not affect the community to choose whom they want to choose in the local election. Why so? From Interview with several informants known, people in Palu, Donggala, and Parigi Moutong has relatively the same culture. To the community, what the prospective leaders provide is a daily common thing. In fact, if there is a leader in the community who does not like to give, they are concerned as the leader who is not protected. Thus, the provision made by the candidates to the society is not seen as an effort to influence constituents. In fact, according to an informant, providing something to give is seen as the opening word at a meeting. Leaders always offer something when they met people, such as cigarette, betel-leaf
series and others (see Aragon 2007 on “leaders and elites in Central Sulawesi”). This habit continues to get carried away and seen as something ordinary.

E. Negative Impact

There are some negative impacts of the local election according to an analyst. The negative impacts included: 1) lack of enthusiasm of society; 2) The implementation of weak administration; 3) the inadequate of direct elections socialization process; 4) Institutional subscriptions are not independent; 5) there are an unclear number rules; 6) the submission of candidates is dominated by political parties; it is narrowed individual candidates; 7) money politics; 8) Appears many new political actors, especially at the local political level that are not ready to lose; 9) political escalation and conflict peaked towards the elections, while anticipation is not prepared; 10) Direct elections also leaving a legal dispute. Not all of these issues occurred in other regions in Indonesia. This study shows the issue stand in the elections in Palu (2010), Donggala (in 2013), and in Parigi Moutong (in 2013), namely: 1) enormous costs must be prepared by each candidate; 2) Political Party cadres are less appreciated, they prefer candidate derived from outside the party; 3) the commitment elections organizer is weak in performing the tasks and roles, and 4) the local culture is permissive against money politics.

The local election affects the bureaucracy surely. The neutrality of bureaucratic apparatus sometimes hindered by the local election. It found that some bureaucrat stands beside some to a specific candidate, but actually, they have to be neutral and only loyal to the nation, not the administrator. Other researcher finds out that similar pattern took place where the non-neutrality of bureaucracy affects the quality of bureaucrat and its public service.

Significant cost prepared by each pair of candidates will undoubtedly have a negative effect, especially when the candidates win the elections. He will try to find a way to get funds through abuse of power as Regional Head / Deputy Head, and this is corruption. If it is identified by the law, the person is concerned to be in prison, as experienced by the Regional Head / Deputy Head of the current area.

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Even if they managed to escape the law, then such practices are indeed detrimental to the people and the area. Construction of the real welfare of the people will never materialise. People would live backwards and always become a victim.

Furthermore, significant costs of the election caused misunderstanding between candidates when they are elected and run the leadership. Regional head and its deputy is busy "fight" to discuss the authority division. Why is that? According to a community leader in Donggala, the fight happened because both parties are already spending lots of budgets. Perhaps the Deputy Regional Head spend more money than the elected Regional Head. Plus when they were still a pair of candidates, usually they make a covenant, even before a notary. The agreement regulates the allocation of responsibilities. In fact, when they get elected the Regional Head does not meet the agreement that has been made; the authority is not in for, because there are no basic rules. As a result, the Deputy undermines the Head of Regional openly in front of the public. The division of authority turns into doing money business. That is why Deputy Head (Wakil Bupati or Wakil Walikota) often prosecutes the division of authority, and it leads them to be less harmonious until the end of their governmental period.

Another negative impact caused by the election is that political party tend to support a candidate out of their party compare to their own candidate who is fulfilling the requirement. This practice is to occur in the three-researched regions. A political party as the entrance for every candidate to compete in the election becomes “rent” or rental vehicles. The administrator or even the central board turn the political party as means to raise fund, not a mode to compete for the progress of party and society they represent. The negative impact of this practice is that the competent cadres generally cannot emerge as a regional leader. In fact, from the beginning, since they were young, they build the party, raising the party, and the party won the fight. These cadres should emerge as qualified and ready constituents chosen but they are forgotten. Ironically, the party where they struggled less concerned because they are lacked the funds.

The crucial problem that caused a negative impact on improving the quality of elections is the weak commitment of the organisers of the elections. The organisers are those city election commissions, election supervisory committee, PPK, PPS, and KPPS. They are parties that determine the quality of the elections. Thus they are also determining the quality of elected leaders. A negative impact on
their presence felt immediately. That is why the quality of the election especially the elected leader are not expected as people desire. The organisers of the election may "come into play", so the quality of tainted elections, the elected leader of the voters are not satisfactory.

Money politic is hard to prevent in the local election. It has a negative impact on the candidate as well as to the community. The local culture is involved in the development of money politic. The community has set their mind that the "charity" provide the candidate is a common thing. It is considered as the attention and the protection of the candidate. In fact, there is a presumption in the community that if the candidate does not give something to people, it is seen as the stingy candidate leader. This feeling that perhaps will enrich the practice of money politics in the future. Money politics is clearly unfavourable for the development of democracy whose quality is expected to be better and improve over time.

F. Conclusion

The local elections in the three areas of research (Palu, Donggala, and Parigi Mautong) were conducted successfully. Now the winning local leaders are encouraged to work especially to bring the community’s prosperity. The elections that have taken place in three regions have a positive and negative impact on people’s lives. Even so, the positive impact is most widely produced compared to the negative impact. The positive impact can be noted, among other things: the political impact, social impact, and economic impact.

Nevertheless, the negative impact espouses the local election that should be the concern of all parties to be continuously addressed and rectified to obtain a quality organization of the elections, able to contribute positively to society and to the development of democracy, improving the quality of election particularly to omit the negative impact that of course not just a matter for the government. The participation of all parties and community is possible to realise a synergy of all parties, stakeholders and shareholders. To realise the democratic elections that support the prosperity of Region and Indonesia.
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