

Concurrent Election in Indonesian Politics: Opportunities and Challenges of Political Perspective

TITIN PURWANINGSIH, SEPTI NUR WIJAYANTI

Received: 12 January 2017
Accepted: 25 January 2017
Published: 15 March 2017

Corresponding author:
Titin Purwaningsih
Lecturer of Government
Affairs and Administration,
Faculty of Social and
Political Science,
Universitas
Muhammadiyah
Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
Email:titin.p.widodo@gmail
l.com

Septi Nur Wijayanti
Lecturer of Faculty of Law,
Universitas
Muhammadiyah
Yogyakarta, Indonesia
septiwijayanti@ymail.com

ABSTRACT

Concurrent elections in Indonesia will be held in 2019, but there has been no policy to regulate them yet. The purpose of this research is to map out the opportunities and challenges of concurrent elections and also to identify some problems of the implementation of concurrent election in Indonesia from political perspective, especially from the 4 actors, namely the government, political parties, electoral administrators and the society. This is a qualitative research using primary and secondary data from documentary and interview with some political experts. The results of this research indicate that concurrent election will strengthen the presidential system, increase the efficiency of the party organization and electoral administration, and also increase the participation of voters. But there are some problems in the implementation concurrent elections in Indonesia, namely: 1). Preparedness of the electoral governance, 2) arrangement and synchronization of election laws, 3) simplification of the electoral system and 4) simplification of the political party system, and 5) political awareness of political actors and society.

Key words: concurrent elections, presidential system, political parties, electoral governance.

24

INTRODUCTION

Concurrent election in Indonesia is held based on Constitutional Court No. 14/PUU-XI/2013 about the reviewing of several articles of Act No. 42 /2008 about Presidential election. One of the decision is that general election and presidential election are held simultaneously or implemented in National concurrent election which will be commenced in 2019 election.

The argument of concurrent election is that it can be supportive of Presidential system effectively and can increasing political participation. But it could be achieving by well preparation of electoral law, electoral management body and also the voters. There are several electoral laws of 2014 election, namely Act No 42/2008 about Presidential election, Act No. 12/2012 about general election, Act no. 8/2015 about Local Head's election, so we need to synchronize and codification them.

RESEARCH METHODS

The purposes of the research are 1) to identify the potential problem triggered by the implementation of concurrent election, 2) to map out the opportunities and challenges of concurrent election especially from 4 main actors: government, electoral management body, political parties and voter.

This is a descriptive qualitative research, which is use primary data consisted of the background of concurrent election, opportunities and challenges in hold concurrent election, identification of the problems of concurrent election; and also use secondary data. The Data was gathered by documentation, in-depth interview, and focus group discussion with some political experts, electoral commissioners, legislators, political party's officers and bureaucrats. The data was analyzed using an inductive approach.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The research employed several theoretical frameworks such as theory of concurrent election and effectiveness of governance, concurrent election and political participation and concurrent election and efficiency of electoral management.

1). Concurrent election and effectiveness of governance

It is believed that concurrent election enables to result an effective governance because of the coattails effects. Concurrent election with a strong president candidate will be followed by vote to legislator's candidates whose came from the supporting party of the president. Coattails effects are defined as "*the ability of a candidate at the top of the ticket to carry into office...his*

party's candidates on the same ticket," and the concept typically is operationalized as a correlation between the presidential and legislative vote in a given constituency" (Samuels, 2003:83).

It can be said that if the executive and legislative power come from the same party leads to the durable government. Concurrent election can minimize political fragmentation at legislative institutions as stated by Samuels (2000):

This conceptualization assumes that coattail effects emanate from higher to lower offices, because voters tend to pay greater attention to executive races. First, candidates for congress assess the likelihood that a candidate for executive office can help them win election. Second, based on this assessment they act to improve their chances of winning by associating or not associating their campaign with the executive office candidate's. Third, if the executive office candidate is popular and congressional candidates are relatively adept campaigners, voters will respond to congressional candidates' efforts.

Concurrent election is expected to result more effective government in Indonesia. The Presidential system based on "the winner takes all" principle, and usually implemented in two parties' system. There is no coalition in the presidential system (Linz, 1994). So concurrent election is also expected to minimise the number of political party in Indonesian political party system.

The problem is that presidential system in Indonesia leads to proportional representation system. Duverger stated that proportional representation system tends to result multi parties' system. There were more than 10 parties in Indonesia, so there was no majority political party in the legislative institutions. In 2004, Golkar as the winner just obtained 21.58 %, in 2009 election Democrat Party as the winner only gained 20.85 % and in 2014 election PDIP gained 18.95 % of the seats in representatives. There was no majoritarian party in legislative institutions in Indonesia, so President have to build a strong coalition from them. Unfortunately, strong fragmentation in the legislative institutions could make democratic instability (Mainwaring, 1997: 198-228). Linz stated that multi-party system and presidential system is the fragile, complex, and complicated combination (Linz, 1994).

Based on their study, Scott Mainwaring and Shugart (1997) stated that presidential and multi-party system is a problematic combination. This combination resulted unstable coalition, presidential system contaminated by political parties and also the parliament tends to weakening the president. In presidential system, not only the biggest party but also a small party has

an opportunity to win the presidential election (Cheibub, 2007: 7-8). For example, Democrat Party was the runner up in general election 2004, however the presidential candidate SBY-JK which supported by this party be the winner in the presidential election. But, no supported by majoritarian party in the House of Representative brings difficult consequences to president. The coalition of his cabinet was based the purpose of forming cabinet instead of based on the same vision and mission, so the coalition was unstable.

Separation of power, fragile coalition and minority governance has a potential problem that would be "deadlock" in the relationship between legislative and executive. Presidential system without majoritarian parties in the House of Representative can also trigger to "divided government", which the president and parliament are controlled by two different parties. Divided government has happened in the United States in budget decision making between them that caused the government was shut down for two weeks. Obama is supported by Democratic Party but the congress is dominated by Republican Party

It is noted that concurrent election does not always result stable governance because coattails effect does not always happen. Previous studies show that the presidential election will affect to the party system through the coattails effects as stated by Cox (1997), Jones (1994), Mainwaring and Shugart (1997), and Shugart and Carey (1992) (Golder, 2006:34-48). Other studies reveal that presidential election causes fragmentation of party system (Filippov, Ordeshook dan Shvetsova, 1997). Meanwhile, other studies provide evidences that there is no relation between presidential election to party system as stated by Coppedge (2002) and Samuels (2000) (Cheibub, 2007:7-8). Coattails effect will happen depend on the number of presidential candidate that influenced by heterogeneity of the society.

2). Concurrent election and political participation

General election is the reflection of democracy. According to Schumpeter, general election is a political method and a mechanism to elect a leader (Sorensen, 2003:14). Dahl and Held also support the argument about the relation between general election and democracy. They stated that there are three dimensions of political democracies: competition, participation and political and civil freedom (Sorensen, 2003), which with political and civil freedom give voters to participate in the election. Thus, it is reasonable that general election is the important dimension of democracy.

General election is a mechanism in electing the political leaders. Recently there are several general elections such as legislative election, presidential election, and also local head election. These could make political boredom for

people because they have to spare their time and energy more to the ballot. Concurrent election spent less time from people to go to the ballot, so it is assumed that concurrent election will increasing voter's participation through interesting national issues of presidential election.

3). Concurrent election and efficiency of electoral management

There are 3 election held in Indonesian politics: general election, presidential election and local leader election. In 2004, 2009 and 2014 general elections, voters elect the member of House of Representatives (DPR RI), member of Regional Representatives Council (DPD RI), member of provincial parliament (DPRD Provinsi) and also member of district parliament (DPRD Kabupaten/Kota). Three (3) months after those series of election, presidential election was done. Local Head election was done in local area and it was based on the length of the local head period of each district.

These elections not only caused inefficient electoral management, but also inefficient political parties and voters. In 2009 general election for example, the legislative election required IDR 19 trillion and 2014 election spent IDR 24.1 trillion. The president election budget was IDR 7.9 trillion. The budget did not include head district election which was charged to the local government. It is reasonable to state that the various election is considered money consuming and it is influence to budget for development programme in the society. Concurrent election will make more efficient electoral management and make more efficient political parties.

ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH FINDING

Concurrent Election does not only have an impact on constitutional law or politics but also it has significant implication to the study of political science. In political perspective, concurrent election has advantages in politics and consolidation of democracy in Indonesia as follows.

1. Concurrent election aimed at creating congruent result

Academically, concurrent election is only feasible in presidential system. Concurrent election is implementation of legislative and executive election on the same day to create a congruent government, which is the president was supported by majoritarian in parliament and it could make a stable and effective government. Therefore, there is an assumption that concurrent election has positive correlation to strengthen the president. The concept and design are based on the Latin American countries which applied presidential

election and cause unstable government and conflict between the president and the parliament. To overcome this problem, Brazil conducted concurrent election in 1994 and 15 years later, Brazil had stable government. Shugart stated that the congruent has been created from the effect of coattail effect in which the elected president influences the election of legislative candidates. It means that every voter will vote legislative members coming from the elected president's party.

2. Concurrent election to encourage policies based coalition

Concurrent election can encourage policies based coalition, because they have the same mission and vision. The coalition not only to gain power (office-oriented approach) but also to create the policy according to their ideologies (policy-oriented approach) and minimized pragmatism. Applying the presidential election for two times in Indonesia shows that it does not result a long term coalition. By concurrent election, the coalition is expected to naturally simplify political parties.

3. Concurrent election to encourage more democratic political parties

The present of political parties is significance in the modern democracy. The existence of independent, autonomy and competitive political parties is *conditio sine quo non* in implementing democracy. It is believed that democratic system facilitates the independent, autonomy and competitive political parties.

4. Concurrent election to minimize conflicts among supporting political parties

Holding concurrent election is efficient as it saves time and budget. The budget can be allocated to fulfil constitutional rights of the citizens in Indonesia. The fact that 65% of the electoral budget is allocated to organizers' honorarium provides evidence of inefficiency in election practice. Concurrent election is expected to minimize electoral budget as political budget, campaign budget and candidates' budget are in one scheme. This model also can reduce money politics and corruption. Therefore, concurrent election is a model that can lead to drastic changes in *presidential threshold* as all of the qualified political parties are allowed to propose the presidential candidates.

The opportunities and challenges of concurrent election

Concurrent election can reduce flaws in politic practice. Here are the opportunities and challenges of concurrent election:

1. Opportunities and challenges for voters Opportunities

It is believed that concurrent election increases the participation of voters. According to Norris, voters' participation in legislative election are lower than presidential election in serial election because of voters consider that presidential election is more important than legislative election (Stockemer and Calca, 2012: 1-23). Down stated that the decreasing participation among voters as the effect of budget consuming for several times to go to the ballots. The policies about election remain vague so that it is difficult to interpret the suggested policies into real policies (Stockemer and Calca, 2012: 1-23). The spreading issues in the legislative election and presidential election can be different because they proposed different candidates although the candidates are come from the same party.

There is a tendency of decreasing number of participation in Indonesia in the serial election. The participation percentage of Indonesian citizen in 2009 general election was 71% and in presidential election was 60%. Meanwhile, in 2014 election the participation in general election was 75.11% and in president election was 70%. The decreasing number of participation can be avoided in concurrent election.

Experts argue that concurrent election increases the participation of voters, spent budget and time more efficient. Riker and Ordenshook stated that concurrent election can give psychological support as the voters consider that they choose two officers at once (Stockemer and Calca, 2012: 1-23). In the United States concurrent presidential and gubernatorial election, it has been proven that this election model increases participation of voters.

Challenges. Although concurrent election leads to several efficiencies, it takes longer time for the voters to elect candidates in the ballots. They at least have to choose from 5 ballots, consist of president and vice president, House of Representatives, Regional Representatives Council, Provincial Parliament and District parliament. In addition, the size of election paper is bigger so it is time consuming to open and re-fold the paper.

Anderson (2011) stated that concurrent election leads to difficulties for the voters as it gives much issues at once, and they tend to elect national candidates and issues. Thus, it requires well socialization to the voters to increase the willingness to vote.

Table: The Opportunities and Challenges of Concurrent Election in the Political Perspective

Actors	Opportunities	Challenges
The government (the House of Representatives and the Executive)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stronger Presidential System - President will keep pace with Parliament; the President will be supported by majoritarian power in Parliament - The coalition will be more solid - Minimizing the political horse-trading between the legislative and executive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Need simplification of the party system - Need simplification of the electoral system - Policy-based coalition
People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The participation of people will be increased because psychologically people votes for political officials - Time, effort and expense of the voters are more efficient because they only came once to the polls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People is difficult to vote because there are too many candidates - The time used in the polls becomes longer because the ballots becomes more complicated - Need to increase voters' awareness - The people are very heterogeneous
Political parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time, effort and expense of political parties are more efficient - The formation of Coalition to support the President could be done earlier - Either big or small party has an equal chance of winning the presidential election 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is Coattail effect - Parties are required to offer a candidate for President who can be accepted by other parties and popular
Election organizers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The efficiency of time, effort and cost needed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Need more careful management of election - Need a simpler ballot design - Need a simplification of electoral system - Time required in the counting of the vote is longer - The Election Law is not synchronized with each other - Need additional polls - Socialization to the voters

2. Opportunities and challenges for the government (President and House of Representatives)

Opportunities. The concurrent election is feasible to create strong and stable presidential system. The coalition is formed early based on the same vision and mission. According to Karen Cox (2004:124), concurrent election gives advantages to the supporting parties of presidential candidate and it can reduce fragmentation between legislative and executive. Thus, it results a more solid coalition. If the majority coalition in the parliament wins the presidential election, it will struggle to win the local head election. The same party at the local and national level makes the government easier to coordinate the governance.

Challenges. To create a solid and vision-mission based coalition, the government should simplify the parties' system. Simplification of the party system will be achieved if the electoral system is improved. Synchronization of electoral laws regarding to concurrent election is required such as in political parties Act, general election Act and presidential election Act.

3. Opportunities and Challenges for Political Parties

Opportunities. By performing concurrent election, political parties can perform efficiently. Political parties can save the budget and time to conduct the campaign. The coalition to propose the president and vice president can be done early and majority or minority political parties have the same rights to propose their candidates. Proposing popular candidates can be one of the ways to increase the vote and win the election.

Challenges. Political parties should be able to propose popular presidential candidates to gain more support from the coalition. Concurrent election demands political party to implement different strategies in winning the election. As stated by Sartori, the change in election systems will bring consequences to the ways and character of competition of each political parties (Diamond and Gunther, 2000: 101) as concurrent election has a coattail effect. If a party is the part of the presidential candidates which has majority supporters, it will gain benefit in legislative election.

4. Opportunities and Challenges for Electoral Management Body

Opportunity. Electoral Management Body is the institution responsible for the success of the general election. In the context of Indonesia, Electoral Management Body include the KPU (The General Election Commission) and Bawaslu (the Election Supervisory Commission) that in the execution of their duties ethically controlled by *Dewan Kehormatan Penyelenggara Pemilu* (The

Election Organizers Ethics Council/DKPP). KPU is responsible for organizing the election from voter data collection, receive and validate the election nomination contestants both political parties and candidates, holding the election, and the vote count recapitulation. While Bawaslu is assigned to monitor the election to comply with the principle of direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair election. The implementation of the role and function are of course related to technical aspects of election and management of election that should be done. Different electoral system requires different procedure, preparation and management of election. Concurrent election brings a big opportunity for Electoral Management Body to held the election efficiently.

Challenge. The change in the electoral system from serial election into concurrent election brings substantial technical consequences election management. The implementation of Concurrent election requires the good capability and professionalism of the electoral management. Although the simultaneous election only needs shorter election time span and more efficient use of the budget, but the preparation of the election requires a fairly longer time. The technical aspects of election administration become more complicated. The election supplies became more various, so it must be carefully set to lessen the problems in election. The problem of election organizer capability is very important to the success of the Concurrent election. As stated by Cox (2004:124), if there are capability problems in handling the logistics, serial election is an option.

Concurrent election also requires more ballots, as well as the longer time required by voter in the voting booth. Therefore, the electoral management is required to design simpler ballots. In addition, socialization to voters should be implemented more widely in order to create a qualified election.

Several other challenges in the concurrent election management are change electoral system from open list to closed list proportional system, simplification of the party system, as well as the realignment of electoral district. The synchronization aspects of the act, especially on the Act of Presidential Election, the Election Law and the Act on Political Parties, are also very important for the electoral management. All policies for the implementation of Concurrent election will be realized if the electoral management body established good cooperation with the Parliament and the Government.

Table: Strategic Design for Concurrent election

	Strengths	Weaknesses
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To have democratic experience - There are independent institutions for election (KPU and Bawaslu) - There is a conflict management institution (DKPP, MK) - A commitment to hold better election - Commitment to create a stronger Government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The existence of elite conflict - The existence of conflict between the political parties/candidates - Multi-party system/the tendency for many parties to rise - Complicated open list proportional electoral system - The Election Law that is not synchronized with each other
<p>Opportunities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stronger Presidential System - President will keep pace with Parliament; the President will be supported by the majoritarian power in Parliament - The formed coalition will be more solid - Minimizing the political horse-trading between the legislative and executive - The participation of the people will be increased - Time, effort and expense of the voters are more efficient - The implementation of election is more efficient 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The preparation for electoral management body - The increasing of the vertical and horizontal coordination in the electoral management - The increasing of people's participation - The increasing of socialization on Concurrent Election to the people - The preparation and synchronization of Electoral Law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The simplification of the party system - The simplification of electoral system - The preparation and synchronization of Electoral Law
<p>Challenges</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People is difficult to vote because there are too many candidates - The time used in the polls becomes longer because the ballots becomes more complicated - Time required in the counting of the vote is longer - The existence of elite conflict 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The preparation of tools to minimize and resolve conflicts - The simplification of the ballot - The simplification of electoral system - The increasing of political awareness of political actors and society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The simplification of the party system - The simplification of the ballot - The preparation and synchronization of Electoral Law

Challenges	Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The existence of a conflict between the political parties/candidates - The existence of conflicts in society 	-	-

From the table, there are several things that must be prepared in the administration of Concurrent Election, namely:

1. The preparation for electoral institutions

The management of 2019 concurrent election requires comprehensive preparation, starting from the electoral law, electoral process to the electoral dispute resolution. The Electoral Laws usually already provides for election scheduling, the scale of electoral districts, method of voting, electoral threshold, the counting of the seat, to the appointment of the elected candidates.

According to JPPR, there are five electoral quality indicators, those are the neutrality of electoral management body, the neutrality of bureaucracy, high degree of participation as well as awareness, honesty and responsibility, and elected legitimate and qualified legislator and president. In my opinion, to achieve a quality general election it is not only by assuring the neutrality of electoral management body (EMB) but also by maintaining the professionalism of the EMB to conduct this election.

This preparation of this election organizer is not just KPU and staff to the lowest level, but it also involves Bawaslu, DKPP, police, the judiciary, and the Constitutional Court which is the electoral management bodies and institutions which are in charge of settling disputes and arbitrate the electoral conflicts.

The general election is a five-year routine agenda, but the dynamics are very diverse in every election that requires anticipation of the election organizer. Moreover, Indonesia is a country that is very heterogeneous in terms of culture, language, and demographic and geographic conditions that must be considered in any execution of the election. As noted by the chairman of KPU Husni Kamil Malik: "In managing the stages of the election, we do not only consider the technical aspects, but the political aspect also cannot be ruled out." Therefore, as stated by the chairman of KPU, election organizers need to apply entrepreneurial government so that it can make innovations in the organization of the election conducted in honest and fair, and accountable election EMB.

The preparation in the implementation of concurrent election should also be made by the Parliament and the Government as a law-making body. In

making the Act governing election must simultaneously be based on the spirit of statesmanship so that the legislation products aimed at interests of the nation, not the particular interests of a political party or group. Because if the legislation products are then being brought into judicial review in the Constitutional Court it will interfere and slow the preparation for the Concurrent election.

2. The Preparation and Synchronization of the Electoral Law

The rules regarding the implementation of the election in Indonesia changed every five years, both the rules on political parties and election in general. With the concurrent election which will be held in 2019 in accordance with the Decree of the Constitutional Court, the rules of the game in the form of a set of legislation to support the implementation of it should be made, especially in relation to the Law on Election and the Law on Political Parties. With the simultaneous election between the legislative and presidential election, the Law No. 42 of 2008 on the Election of the President and the Law No. 8 of 2012 on the legislative election must be replaced or codified.

Based on experiences in several general elections, the readiness of the Laws is very important because it will affect the readiness of election management bodies and actors involved in the concurrent election. Ideally, the Simultaneous Election Law is enacted 2.5 years or 30 months before the election, or at least 2 years prior to the election. If the simultaneous election is carried out in the mid-2019, then ideally the Laws concerning the execution of Concurrent election was passed in early 2017. Therefore, the Law on Concurrent election should be included in the national legislation in 2016 and maximum it should be passed in the early of 2017.

Therefore, according to Didik Supriyanto, there are three important steps that must be done: *first*, the government should immediately prepare an academic documents related to the concurrent election laws, *second*; the drafters of academic and draft of Election Law should evaluate the implementation of the previous election in a comprehensive manner; and *a third*; the need for logical and systematic system about election bill (Kompas, October 28, 2015).

The preparation and synchronization of the Act concerning the simultaneous election were done to maintain the quality of the election. Academic documents must be drafted based on the efforts to achieve better election, by evaluating the implementation of the previous election, because in principle, the Constitutional Court's decision on concurrent election is to create a more powerful government, has a strong legitimacy and through more efficient democratic processes.

From the results of the study contained in the academic documents, the draft of bill on concurrent election should be prepared, including the one that regulate the election participants, the election process, the election results and the efforts to prevent the lack of legitimacy of the election results. Problems that arose during previous election, such as the very large election funding issue, electoral fraud or conflicts that arise because of electoral disputes should be anticipated in the Act on the simultaneous election.

3. The simplification of electoral system

The evaluation of the election administration is absolutely necessary to establish the electoral system and better organization of election. From experience in the 2014 election, for example, open-list proportional electoral system resulted the thickness of the ballot and technically difficult in the voting process. Thus, each person needs more time in the polling stations. If the election is held simultaneously, then it will obviously become more complicated in its execution. This needs to be anticipated, such as *the first*; still use an open-list proportional system and to anticipate it, it should be done by creating smaller constituencies. This effort to reduce this constituency brings consequences on the increasing number of election management personnel to be prepared. Extra personnel also mean additional costs.

Second; using closed-list proportional electoral system. This will facilitate the election mechanism at the polling stations; so political parties must have a good and transparent mechanism in the process of political recruitment, and voters will not experience a buying something sight unseen. This second option would also strengthen the cadre of political parties, and to minimize the instant politicians who simply have a big funding. However, attention should be given to the strengthening of the party oligarchy.

Third; concurrent election is conducted through *e-voting*. According to the study of BPPT, *e-voting* will cut the election costs up to 50% (Buletin Bawaslu No. 11, November 2014). This is certainly in line with one of the purposes of concurrent election which is for the efficiency in the administration of election. If this option is chosen, of course, the electoral law governing the technical implementation of *e-voting* should be prepared. As a new voting mechanism, then the *e-voting* would require a different preparation, both for voters and election organizers.

Principally, it is necessary to create a representative electoral system and minimize the issues in the political process. From the experience of the election in the United States for example, the length of the election ballots affected the reluctance of the voters to participate in the election (Richard S Katz and William Crotty, 2014: 534).

By seeing from the system of presidential election, there are three types of the presidential election: *first*; plurality system which is electoral system based on majority voting so that there is no second round of voting. *Second*, the majoritarian system, which is the president, is elected when a majority is of 50%+1, so that when the number is not yet meet, the second round will be held. Third, the runoff with a reduced threshold system, which is the president, is elected if they fulfil certain percentage, for example 45% or 40% with a margin of at least 10% with the second candidate (J. Mark Payne, et al, 2002: 67 -81).

Up until now, we use the majoritarian system, so the president has strong legitimation. But in reality, the acquisition of a majoritarian vote of the president is not in accordance with the acquisition of the party vote which support the legislature. For example, at the time of SBY, he gained 60.62% while the parties that support SBY which are the Democratic Party, PKPI (Indonesian Justice and Unity Party) and PBB (The Crescent Star Party) gaining just 11.33% in the Parliament. Although the support to the President from the people is quite large, but if it does not gain substantial support of the representative bodies it will complicate the governance.

4. The simplification of the party system

Another aspect related to the electoral system is the party system. Until now there are no restrictions on the number of political parties. In a proportional electoral system, there is a tendency of the emergence of new parties in case of conflict within the party. Presidential government system that is based on a proportional electoral system is quite problematic because it can result a fragile government for not obtaining majority support in parliament. The more the political parties are, the smaller chance for the parties to gain a majority.

In the concurrent election, the possibility for the creation of political support to the president and at the same time the support of the representative to the president will be strengthened. Simultaneous election forces political parties to form a coalition before the election. Theoretically, the votes of presidential candidates are usually followed by the vote of party, this is what usually called as the *coattails effect*. Voters of president's supporters tend to choose the legislative candidates from the same party as the presidential candidate.

If concurrent election is carried out, then from 3 presidential election systems it would be better not to use two rounds, so that the election really simultaneously in a single election day. The selection is done by selecting the plurality or *runoff with a reduced threshold* system, by determining the

electoral threshold in the presidential election. The choice of the presidential election system is theoretically would affect the simplification of the political parties.

From a study conducted by Mark Payne et al (2002) in several countries in Latin America, it shows that plurality electoral system produces 2.67 or 3 parties' system of political parties. The majority system generates 4 parties' system and threshold system produces 3.19 or 3 parties. The existence of Coattails effect and selection system of presidential election will be able to simplify the party system. With Concurrent election, the coalition built by political parties is also more mature. In previous election, the coalition built after the legislative election by taking into account the number of seats. The built coalition will also change in the second round of the presidential election, so that the coalition that was built more fragile, while in the simultaneous election, the coalition's built is more powerful.

5. The preparation of tools electoral disputes resolution

A democratic election requires a maturity of both political actors and society. Election also require honest and fair implementation so that it can be accepted by all parties. Nevertheless, the potential for electoral disputes is big. From the data of the Constitutional Court, for example, in the 2009 election there were 628 cases filed by 38 political parties, and in the 2014 election there is an increase of cases which is 702 filed by 15 political parties. With the concurrent election, it is likely that the case submitted to the Court will be greater. Surely this must be anticipated from now. Moreover, the Court has been based on the provisions of the Act which only has a maximum of 14 days in the case of election disputes resolution.

The potential for election disputes could occur related to the election management policy, the Voter List, the process or stages of election and the disputed election results. Currently there are several institutions that deal with the problems and violations in the election dispute which are *Dewan Kehormatan Penyelenggara Pemilu* (The Election Organizers Ethics Council/DKPP) which deals with the violation of the code of ethics; *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (The General Election Commission/KPU) which deals with violations of the electoral administration; *Badan Pengawas Pemilu* (The Election Supervisory Committee/Bawaslu) which handles the election disputes; Police, The Judiciary and decided in the criminal trial linked to the election; PTUN (State of Administrative Court) which handles state administration electoral disputes; and *Mahkamah Agung* (the Supreme Court) which handles the results disputes of the regional election and the Constitutional Court (MK), which handles the disputed election results.

In the implementation of the duties, these institutions must be supported by clear regulations. The regulations governing the concurrent election should also provide explicit provision so that making it easier to resolve the disputes arise.

6. The increased of political awareness of political actors and society

One requirement of the realization of consolidated democracy is the existence of clear rules, and political actors who obey the rules of the game. The problems that emerged in the 2014 election, among others, are the extensive practices of money politics, the electoral fraud, the vote-buying and violations of administrative and electoral rules. To improve the quality of democracy in the simultaneous election, it would require the commitment of the political actors to adhere to the rules and conduct of honest election. To this thing comes true, comprehensive and decisive legal tools are certainly necessary so that political actors do not look for space to use the weaknesses in the rules and regulations.

On the other hand, the simultaneous electoral system will also bring technical changes in the election so these changes should be socialized to the public. This socialization is not only done by KPU/KPUD, but also by the political parties, and also levels of government.

In Indonesia, the participation rate is still high. Even based on the results of research conducted by LIPI, there was no difference in the level of participation among the low/high education and village/town. There is also no difference between the high/low socioeconomic statuses. However, the level of political participation that occurs still tends to be in the category of mobilized participation. But in the city and educated society, there is a tendency of increasingly high number of abstentions. Theoretically and based on the experience of some countries, concurrent election is able to increase the level of community participation as the figure in the presidential election is quite interesting.

Participation needs to be accompanied by the efforts to increase political awareness in the community, so the community is not easy to be tempted by the politics of money and being able to choose qualified candidates. Election are expected not only to produce a popular candidate, but also a leader who has sufficient capacity and capability.

CONCLUSION

Theoretically, concurrent national election will produce a more stable presidential government because it will awaken a strong coalition based on policies, minimizing the possibility of divided government, because of the

coattails effect of the presidential election to the legislative election. However, the effect on the coattails effect of political fragmentation was also influenced by the heterogeneity of the community and the number of presidential candidates. Therefore, in achieving the objectives of concurrent election, Indonesia faces a number of challenges, both challenge for the government, society, political parties and the electoral management. The challenge for the government is the need for simplification of the party system and the electoral system; for the community is related to the voting mechanism and voter awareness level. The challenge for political parties is the institutional preparedness of political parties, especially in the anticipation of a coattails effect and the candidacy process, and the challenge for electoral management is how to achieve better management of election, and to achieve a much simpler election mechanism.

Therefore, there are a number of agendas to be prepared to face a concurrent national election in 2019 which are the preparation of electoral institutions, the preparation/synchronization of electoral laws, the simplification of the party system and the electoral system, the preparation of electoral dispute resolution and increased the political awareness of the society.

REFERENCE

- Andersen, David J. (2011), Pushing the Limits of Democracy: Concurrent Election and Cognitive Limitations of Voters. PhD Dissertation. New Jersey: The State University of New Jersey, 2011, as cited in *Pemilu Serentak 2019*, position paper, ERI researchers group (electoral Research Institute), 2014.
- Cheibub, Jose Antonio, (2007), *Presidentialism, Parleментарism and Democracy*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, Karen, (2008), "Japan: Adapting to a New Electoral System", in *Electoral System design: The New International IDEA Handbook*, International IDEA.
- Diamond, Larry and Richard Gunther (edited), (2000), *Political Parties and Democracy*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London.
- Golder, Matt, (2006), Presidential Coattails and Legislative Fragmentation, *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, No. 1, January 2006, Pp. 34–48, 2006, Midwest Political Science Association, ISSN 0092- 5853.
- Linz, Juan, (1994) 'Democracy, Presidential or Parliamentary: Does it Make a Difference?' in Juan Linz and Arturo Valenzuela (eds.) *The Failure of Presidential Government*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott, *Presidentialism*,

- Multipartism, and Democracy: the Difficult Combination*, Comparative Political Studies 26: 198±228. [PDF]
- Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew S. Soberg Shugart (1997) `Juan Linz, *Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal*, Comparative Politics (Jul.): 449±71.
- Samuels, David (2003), *Ambitions, Federalism, and Legislative Politics in Brazil*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Samuels, David (2000), *Concurrent Election, Discordant Results, Presidentialism, Federalism, and Governance in Brazil*, Comparative Politics, October.
- Sorensen, Georg, (2003) *Demokrasi dan Demokratisasi, Proses dan Prospek dalam Sebuah Dunia yang Sedang Berubah*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta, 2003.
- Stockemer, Daniel, dan Patricia Calca, (2012), *Presidentialism and Voter Turnout in Legislative Election*, Journal Parliamentary Affairs, 6 November 2012.