



Is Less More?

A Look at the Magnitude of Candidate Choices in Indonesian Executive Elections

International IDEA
Asia & the Pacific Regional Office

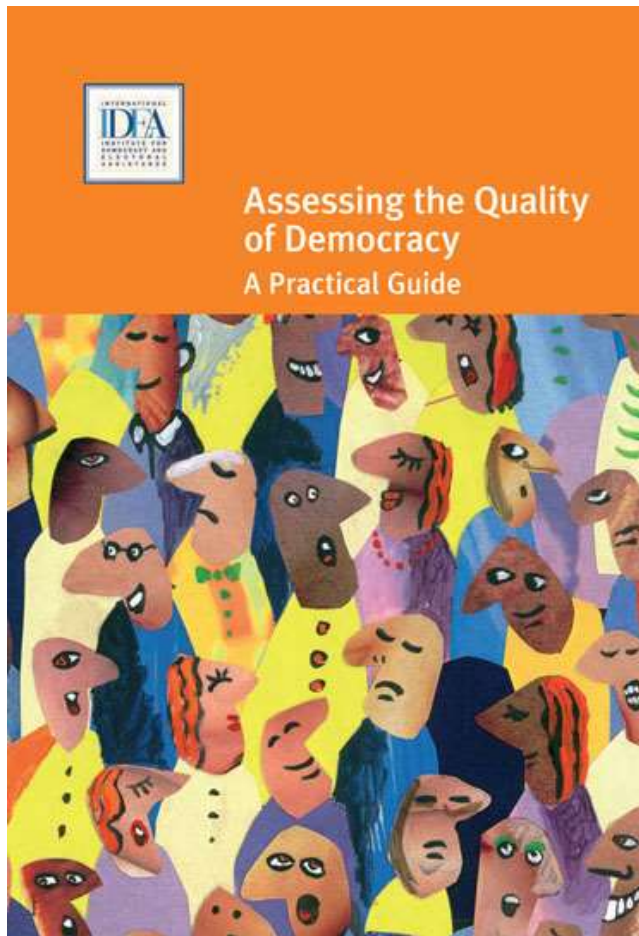
2019 is Election Year





Presentation Outline

- i. Concept of choice & linkage to quality of democracy
- ii. Path-dependent trend: Presidential Threshold
- iii. Path-breaking trend: Uncontested Pilkada Elections
- iv. Conclusion



Popular Control

Political Equality

First edition

The Global State of Democracy

Exploring Democracy's Resilience



Conceptual Framework: The Global State of Democracy

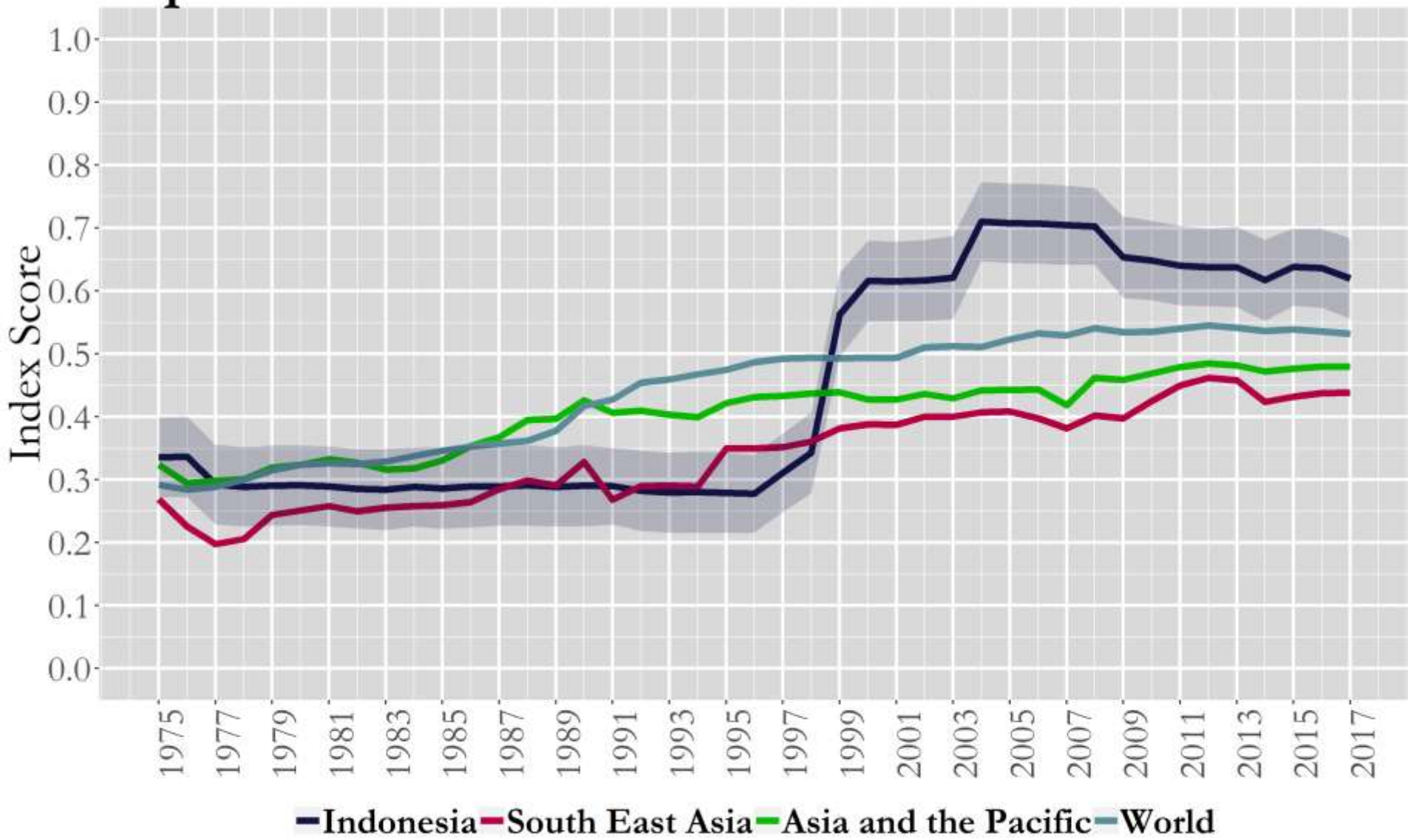


Representative Government
Advancers and Decliners



Source: International IDEA, The Global State of Democracy (2018), <http://www.idea.int/glossary>

Representative Government



Scoring runs from 0 to 1, with 0 representing the lowest achievement and 1 the highest.
Source: International IDEA, The Global State of Democracy Indices, 2017, <<http://www.idea.int/gsd-indices>>



Path-Dependent Trend:

PRESIDENTIAL THRESHOLD



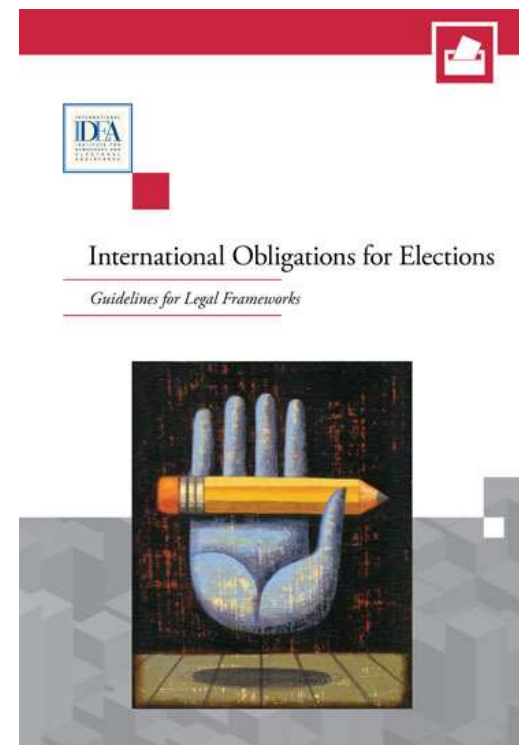
A Path-Dependent Trend

- The Presidential Threshold
- The Increase
- The Reactions
- The Court Cases
 - Saurip Kadi Case (2008)
 - Ethnic Minority Case (2012)



International Practice

- (Non-) Examples from other countries
- International Law
- Indonesia vs the World





Path-Breaking Trend:

UNCONTESTED ELECTIONS

“Kotak Kosong” Phenomenon





The Rising Trend

Pilkada	Number of Uncontested Elections	
2015	3	(1.11%)
2017	9	(8.91%)
2018	16	(9.36%)

2015 Pilkada

Regency	Candidates	Winning Percentage	Nominating Parties	Voter Turnout
Blitar	Rijanto-Marhaenis UW	84.90%	PDIP, Gerindra	56.65%
Tasikmalaya	UU Ruzhanul Ulum-Ade Sugianto	67.35%	PDIP, PAN, PKS	60.19%
Timor Tengah Utara	Raymundus Sau Fernandes-Aloysius Kobes	79.74%	PDIP	64.28%



2017 Pilkada (1)

Regency	Candidates	Winning Percentage	Nominating Parties	Voter Turnout
Kota Tebing Tinggi	Umar Zunaidi Hasibuan-Oki Doni Siregar	71.32%	8 parties (Nasdem, Demokrat, Hanura, Gerindra, PKB, Golkar, PDIP, PPP).	55.8%
Tulang Bawang Barat	Umar Ahmad-Fauzi Hasan	96.75%	10 parties (PKS, Demokrat, PPP, PDIP, Gerindra, Golkar, PAN, PKB, Hanura, Nasdem).	88.4%
Landak	Karolin Margret Natasa-Herculanus Heriadi	96.72%	8 parties (PDIP, Demokrat, PKB, Golkar, Hanura, Nasdem, Gerindra, PAN).	92.3%
Buton	Samsu Umar Abdul Samiun-La Bakry	55.08%	7 parties (PKB, PKS, Nasdem, PAN, Demokrat, Golkar, PBB).	71.5%

2017 Pilkada (2)

Regency	Candidates	Winning Percentage	Nominating Parties	Voter Turnout
Maluku Tengah	Tuasikal Abua-Martlatu Leleury	70.78%	8 parties (Gerindra, Golkar, Hanura, Demokrat, Nasdem, PAN, PBB, PDIP).	68.4%
Kota Jayapura	Benhur Tomi Mano-Rustan Saru	84.34%	7 parties (PKB, Hanura, PAN, Nasdem, Golkar, PDIP, Gerindra).	48.5%
Tambrauw	Gabriel Asem-Mesak Metusala	90.06%	8 parties (Nasdem, PDIP, Golkar, Demokrat, Gerindra, PKS, PKB, Hanura).	98.5%
Kota Sorong	Lamberthus Jitmau-Pahima Iskandar	78.09%	8 parties (Golkar, Demokrat, PDIP, PAN, Nasdem, Gerindra, Hanura, PKB).	66.5%



2018 Pilkada (1)

Regency	Candidates	Winning Percentage	Nominating Parties	Voter Turnout
Kota Tangerang	Arief R Wisnansyah – Drs. H. Sachrudin	85.62%	10 parties (Golkar, Nasdem, PKB, Hanura, PAN, PPP, PKS, Gerindra, PDIP, Demokrat)	68.78%
Lebak	Hj. Iti Octavia Jayabaya-Ade Sumardi	76.96%	10 parties (PAN, Golkar, PDIP, PPP, Demokrat, Nasdem, Gerindra, PKS, PKB, Hanura).	65.46%
Tangerang	Ahmed Zaki Iskandar – Mad Romli	83.72%	12 parties (PKPI, Golkar, PDIP, PKS, PKB, Nasdem, Demokrat, Gerindra, Hanura, PPP, PAN, PBB).	61.53%
Pasuruan	Mohammad Irsyad Yusuf-Mujib Imron	77.55%	9 parties (Golkar, Demokrat, Nasdem, PDIP, Hanura, PKS, Gerindra, PKB, PPP).	66.51%
Tapin	Muhammad Arifin Arpan – Syafrudin Noor	80.89%	8 parties (PAN, PPP, Gerindra, Demokrat, PDIP, PKB, Golkar, PKS).	86.47%
Mamasa	Ramlan Badawi – Marthinus Tiranda	61.22%	10 parties (PPP, PBB, PAN, PKPI, PKS, Nasdem, Golkar, PDIP, PKB, Demokrat).	70.39%

2018 Pilkada (2)

Regency	Candidates	Winning Percentage	Nominating Parties	Voter Turnout
Bone	Fahsar Mahdin Padjalangi – Ambo Dalle	63.05%	11 parties (Golkar, Nasdem, Gerindra, PBB, PPP, PDIP, PKS, Demokrat, PAN, Hanura, PKB).	71.83%
Enrekang	Muslimin Bando - Asman	68.41%	7 parties (Hanura, Golkar, PAN, Demokrat, Gerindra, Nasdem, PDIP).	76.76%
Makassar	Munafri Afiruddin- Andi Rachmatika Dewi Yustitia Iqbal	46.77% (the blank box won with 53.23%)	10 parties (Nasdem, Golkar, PDIP, Gerindra, Hanura, PKS, PKB, PPP, PKPI, PBB).	57.20%
Minahasa Tenggara	James Sumendap – Jesaja Jocke Oscar Legi	67.28%	8 parties (PDIP, Demokrat, Hanura, PAN, PPP, Golkar, Gerindra, PKPI).	87.55%
Kota Prabumulih	Ridho Yahya – Andriansyah Fikri	79.26%	10 parties (PKPI, Golkar, PDIP, Nasdem, PKB, Hanura, Demokrat, PAN, PPP, PBB).	74.27%
Deli Serdang	Ashari Tambunan – Ali Yusuf Siregar	82.25%	11 parties (PKB, Golkar, Hanura, Nasdem, PDIP, PAN, PKS, PPP, Gerindra, Demokrat, PKPI).	58.21%
Padang Lawas Utara	Andar Amin Harahap – Hariro Harahap	80.13%	11 parties (Nasdem, Gerindra, Golkar, PKB, PAN, Demokrat, PKPI, PBB, PPP, Hanura, PDIP).	78.42%



Alliances for Power

Pilkada	Average Number of Nominating Parties For Single Candidates
2015	2.00 (Range: 1 – 3 parties)
2017	7.11 (Range: 7 – 10 parties)
2018	9.80 (Range: 7 – 12 parties)

12 is virtually all parties!

Are Voters Receptive?

Pilkada	Average % Votes Won by Single Candidates	Average Voter Turnout (%)
2015	77.33	60.37
2017	80.39	73.74
2018	73.32	71.03

3-time average:

% Winners' Votes = 77.01%

Voter Turnout = 68.26%





Global Experiences of Single Candidates

- Indonesia is not unique
- In the US
- In the Philippines



Conclusions

1. ICCPR: “without unreasonable restrictions”
2. Popular control becomes limited
3. No contest = No election



Less is not more.



Thank you very much