



## The Relevance of Individual Candidates on The Local Leaders Election (PILKADA) in Indonesian Democracy (Study on: Analysis of The Defeat of The Candidate Obon Tabroni-Bambang Sumaryono)

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**Abstract:** This study discussed the relevance of individual candidates in Indonesian democracy, which had regulated the requirements for candidates to advance in Pilkada through individuals. In the Pilkada of Bekasi, candidate of Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono accepted support from various elements of society, this was the background for the candidate Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono to advance as candidates in the Pilkada of Bekasi as individuals. NGOs and labor unions were a strong asset in Bekasi, considering that part of the area was an industrial area. Other than that, Obon Tabroni was also the Director of Serikat Pekerja Metal Indonesia (FSPMI) Bekasi. although they had sufficiently strong support, in fact this candidate lost in the regional elections. This was also the concern in this research. This research used the theory of democracy and local elections. This regulation was ratified by the Constitutional Court (MK) 2007, as well as in Constitution, Article 40 no. 10 in 2016 which regulated the requirements for candidates to advance through the independent. In Indonesia, the individual was less popular, considering that the regional head or presidential candidates mostly used political parties as a vehicle to win. The problems that was faced by individual candidates also still struggled around clichéd issues, namely financial and logistical limitations, the lack of second-class voter participation, as well as other problems that were also frequently encountered by candidate who run through the party. With the increasing number of candidates nominating individually and seeing the conditions put forward by the KPU, it seemed that the existence of these individual candidates needed to be appreciated. This could also be a benchmark, that there had been growing political awareness in our society. Even though the chances of winning the Pilkada through individual were still small.

**Keywords:** Individual Candidates, Regional Elections in Bekasi, Relevance and Democracy.

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## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has held elections since 1955 carried out in an honest and fair manner, the election criteria are based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations, which has become an international standard for every country that runs elections. Mentioning the basis of article 21 Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1984, paragraphs a and c read: Every citizen has the right to play a role and participate in the government of his country, either directly or indirectly, through representatives who are elected legitimately. The people have a will for government authority, this right is expressed in pure periodic elections according to universal and equal suffrage, and the process of its implementation is carried out through secret or procedural voting and free and equal voting.

According to Bowman and Hampton, a democratic local government is a government based on the democracy of the people which is realized in the form of a representative local government. Representative local government is a government that has valuable elements such as independence, equality, brotherhood, political responsibility and participation.

In 2010, Pilkada was held for the election of Governor and Deputy Governor in seven Provinces and election of Regents and Deputy Regents and Mayors and Deputy Mayors in 237 Cities and Regencies. Pilkada was initiated by Law No. 32 in 2004 concerning Regional Government with the aim of improving and increasing the quality of democratic life in Indonesia. Particularly in local government. This is shown by the Pilkada which is the spirit and substantive democratic values at the local level. In this system, the community is given the opportunity to voice or vote for local interests and determine their choices in the regional election process.

In Law Number 12 in 2008 regarding the Second Amendment to Law Number 32 in 2004 regarding Regional Government. That the law provides an affirmation that it is permissible for people who want to progress individually without political parties. Article 41 of Law Number 10 in 2016 stipulates the support requirements for individual candidates who register themselves as governors deputy governors, mayors and deputy mayors, regents and deputy regents.

Individual candidates are in the spotlight in the Pilkada because for each Pilkada often they appear in each regional head election. These individual candidates are a solution in the midst of people who dislike political parties and these individual candidates can be alternative candidates for the society. Data from the KPU in the simultaneous local elections in 2015 shows that out of 20 candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor, 2 of them chose to advance individually. For the Regent and Deputy Regent candidates, 126 out of 676 chose to run individually. There are 144 candidates for the Mayor and Deputy Mayor, 28 of whom have chosen to run individually. This data shows that there has been an increase in candidates for regional heads who are running as individual candidates. In fact, not a few individual candidates won in the 2015 simultaneous regional elections.

The terms and conditions for becoming an individual candidate are not easy, however, they must meet the requirements and go through a long process. In this case, each individual candidate must prepare a filing to register at the Regional Election Commissioner (KPUD). The most important condition is the support from the society by giving a ID Card (KTP) and calculated from the total percentage of voters' DPT (Final Voter List) of at least 6-10%. This is mentioned in Law No. 10 in 2016 which regulates individual candidates.

This is the condition that occurred on the Pilkada in Bekasi in 2017, namely the candidate Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono, in the process of Pilkada, this candidate advanced individually. In this case, Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono succeeded in

becoming candidates for the local elections in Bekasi. In this regard, this individual candidate succeeded in gathering around 156 thousand KTP supports and the KTP became a requirement for candidacy in the Pilkada.

Individual candidates are a new thing in the regional elections of Bekasi, because there have been no previous individual. In 2017, there were only individual candidates who took part in the Regional Election, namely Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono. Therefore, researchers are interested in examining these candidate. Based on the description above, the problems encountered are how are the relevance of individual candidates to democracy in Indonesia, as well as what are the reasons behind Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono choosing to advance through the independent and what are the reasons behind the defeat of the Obon and Bambang. This attracted the writer to describe the relevance of the independent candidates Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono in the regional elections in Bekasi.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This research method used a qualitative research approach as a procedure that produces descriptive data from written statements. Which in this study answers and explains in depth about events at the moment. To obtain the materials needed in this writing, the author used the library method, namely by reading, studying books related to the problem under discussion. In addition, in the elaboration of this research, the writer used summarization and interviews in order to obtain complete and in-depth data. This research was conducted in Bekasi.

The use of data that supported this research both primary and secondary, primary data obtained from various sources including interviews and all sources directly related to the research schedule, secondary data sources obtained from matters relating to research, including books, journals, articles, online newspapers, and various personal and official documents discussing the relevance of individual candidates.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This research has been conducted by many researchers in other educational institutions, such as that conducted by Minmin Anwartina regarding the winning strategy for the Pilkada candidate in Malang entitled: "Kemenangan Anton-Sutiaji (Aji) Dalam Pemilihan Walikota (Pilwali) Kota Malang Tahun 2013" In this thesis, There are several similarities in the discussion, including regarding campaign patterns and winning strategies, the research discusses more about the process of Anton-Sutiaji's victory which incidentally was brought by a small party, which did not get many party votes and proved to be victorious. Meanwhile, in this research the authors discuss more about the process of nominating of candidates as individuals and how relevant it is to democracy in Indonesia.

Thesis written by Irma Fitriana Ulfah "Calon Perseorangan Dalam Pilkada Di Kabupaten Patih Tahun 2011" This thesis discussed the issue of marketing individual candidates in the Patih, but in this thesis it discussed more about how the mechanism of candidates in campaigns was to be accepted in society. The thesis above explained the campaign strategy for individual candidates in the Patih City, how the contents of the thesis describe the campaigns for individual candidates. In contrast to the research that would be written, the author focused on relevance and how these individual candidates could pass the qualifications of potential candidates in the regional election process.

Dalilah's Thesis "Analisa Calon Perseorangan Dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah (Pilkada) Kota Bandar Lampung Tahun 2015" the research that would be written was that the author discussed more about the process of nominating of candidates advancing individually and how it was relevant to democracy in Indonesia.

Thus, there were many problems with individual candidacy in regional elections, many individual candidates were emerging, what underlied these individual candidates to strengthen, how was their relevance to democracy in Indonesia. Therefore the author would like to discuss "The Relevance of Individual Candidates on The Elections (Pilkada) in Indonesian Democracy" Study on: Analysis of the Defeat of the Candidate Obon Tabroni - Bambang Sumaryono).

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **1. Theory of Democracy**

Democracy comes from the Greek word *demos* which means the people and *kratos* means power or rule. In other words, democracy gives freedom to the people to contribute their thoughts or voices without any pressure from any party. Indonesia is a country that implement a democratic system, the democratic process in Indonesia is not spared from its substantive values and runs according to the rules that have been agreed upon. A strong democracy must be in accordance with the will of the people with the aim of achieving the good or the common good. This is the meaning of democracy, therefore democracy must be related to the issue of representation of the people.

Democracy is one of the efforts to build a better government, because in the process it unites the similarities between groups and classes. In concept, democracy must involve the people to take part in governing either directly or indirectly. In other words democracy shows in its practice or system to exercise people's sovereignty. Broadly speaking, democracy is the concept of a state that runs its government.

The General Election in 1955 had the objective of electing a constituent assembly and the People's Representative Council (DPR) to draw up a Basic Law. With this election, the constituents and constitution can be perfected, which are still temporary. In a speech of Sukarno delivered on August 17, 1945, in the contents of his speech, he stated that elections are only a way of democratically improving with the aim of continuing efforts to implement the ideals of a national revolution.

This was emphasized by Almond and Verba in David Held, that the most basic consensus is political values in general which agree that in democracy there must be equality, achievements and procedures which will give legitimacy to the current social and political order this time. In this case, democracy must have clear and proportional procedures and equality between the government and the people, and in general it must be appropriate and legitimized.

### **2. Local Leaders Election (Pilkada)**

Indonesia is a country that is quite young and has recently implemented a democratic system far compared to European countries and the United States. However, Indonesia is able to compete with other countries. However, Indonesia still has much to learn in order to become a more politically mature country and must be able to be more mature in responding to political situations. Since the establishment of this country, Indonesia chose to implement a democratic system. The form of state chosen is a unitary state.

Indonesia uses a modified system where basically each voter has one vote and each parliament member represents the population. However, the remaining ballots were not lost but were combined with the number of votes from the same party. This system is now being implemented in our country, a system like this is the result of several times Indonesia has conducted Pilkada and this system is very fair and proportional to electing a candidate for a leader. One person having one vote.

Based on Law Number 8 in 2015 Article 1 Paragraph 4 concerning Elections for Governors, Regents and Mayors, it is stated that Candidates for Regent and Candidates for

Deputy Regent, Candidates for Mayor and Candidates for Deputy Mayor are election participants proposed by political parties, coalition of political parties, or individuals registered or registering at the General Election Commission (KPU) in the regent and city.

This law of Pilkada means that anyone from any path is allowed to nominate himself to participate in the election in every region. This must be underlined that with the existence of a democratic embodiment that does not discriminate against anyone so that the elected leaders will later lead good and quality government and generates to leaders with integrity. The Pilkada process aims to select regional head candidates. Regarding the Pilkada, it must be prepared as well as possible. The Pilkada must be prepared properly, so that in the future the election process that involves the people will be more efficient and of better quality.

## **DISCUSSION**

### **1. Relevance of Individual Candidates in Pilkada**

Individual candidates are constitutional which already existed in constitutional court decision 2007 which was declared valid to participate in the Pilkada. With a decision from the Constitutional Court, individual candidates can take part in Pilkada. The individual candidates in question are candidates (governors, regents, mayors and their deputies) who in the nomination process did not pass through political parties as stipulated in the law. Regarding individual candidates in the Pilkada, are constitutional candidates, because in this case the individual candidates have already been ruled by the Constitutional Court which was read out in 2007 which allows individual candidates to participate in the Pilkada. According to Titi Anggraini:

The individual candidate is something constitutional in which, based on the decision of the Constitutional Court which was read out in 2007, individual candidates are considered valid to participate in the contestation in the regional elections. The consideration is that the people's political aspirations are not well conveyed by the candidates promoted by political parties. Individual candidates as a means of channeling political aspirations, individual candidates are considered to have legitimacy in the Pilkada. In addition, individual candidate appeared for the first time in Aceh through Law No. 11 in 2006 concerning the government of Aceh, and then the Constitutional Court decided that individual candidates were not unique to Aceh, but could be adopted and considered constitutional and could be applied in Pilkada throughout Indonesia and in 2008 started to apply.

The interview above explains that individual candidates are stated to be legitimate and have legitimacy. This is due to the existence of a decision from the Constitutional Court. In addition, individual candidates are considered to be alternative candidates in the Pilkada. Because individual candidates are not involved with political parties and this is an added value for individual candidates to the society. Beside that, the first individual candidates were in Aceh and this was the forerunner to the existence of individual candidates in the regional elections. With the decision of the Constitutional Court, it is not only in Aceh that individual candidates are enacted, but in regions throughout Indonesia, individual candidates can be enacted to participate in the Pilkada.

The relevance of individual candidates can be said to be very relevant and significant, especially for the democracy in Indonesia. The concept of democracy in Indonesia has the meaning of being elected and choosing, which is stated in Law 7 in 2017 concerning General Elections, Consider; whereas, the embodiment of a democratic and integrity constitutional system in order to guarantee consistency and legal certainty as well as effective and efficient general elections. General elections must ensure the distribution of the people's voice directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly.

According to Titi Angraini, the relationship between individual candidates and democracy in Indonesia is very relevant, as long as the individual candidates are still elected and elected, it indicates that these individual candidates are still relevant for the articulation of the interests of the community and can become a forum for the community. Titi Angraini said:

Yes, as long as he is still elected and being elected indicates that, the individual candidate is relevant for the articulation of the interests of the community and this individual candidate can become one of the vessels that facilitates the political aspirations of citizens for the society. The proof is that he was elected. We can't see the comparative figures, the candidates from political parties are selected from more than 90% while the individual candidates are only 1%, then we consider the individual candidates irrelevant, not like that. With the election of individual candidates, even if they are small or there are still people who vote for individual candidates, it means that there are political channels that are accommodated by their presence.

These individual candidates emerged against the backdrop of the desire of the people to progress without political parties, because each political party has terms and conditions for nominating someone in political contestation. This is one of the factors why people prefer to advance individually. In addition, there are indications of internal conflicts occurring within the party or what can be called dualism, in which many members and cadres advance individually in the Pilkada. This was confirmed by Titi Angraini, according to him:

First, if you want to nominate through a political party, most political parties prioritize the electability and popularity of the candidate as well as the contents of the bag. If we look at the majority of individual candidates, there are a lot of party cadres, because advancing through a political party is very difficult, moreover, what is being contested is the position of a regional head and deputy regional head package, then electability and the ability to recruit voters becomes one of the dominant considerations, then the survey as a reference in nominating candidates. Secondly, we know that the process of nominating candidates in the party is colored by the practice of political dowries where it is very difficult for cadres to enter the nomination through their own party. It was then that because it was difficult to progress through political parties, the individual was an option.

The above interview illustrates that the phenomenon of individual nomination is underlined by the difficulty of advancing through political parties. As Titi Angraini said, political parties are concerned with the electability and popularity of candidates who will run for office as well as how much capital content owned by prospective candidates who want to run through political parties. Apart from that, in the end, many people prefer to advance individually compared to advancing through political parties, because advancing through political parties there is the practice of "Mahar Politics and Partnering" and this becomes difficult for the community when advancing through political parties. In the end, moving forward through the individual path becomes an alternative for the community.

The individual candidates who ran for the Pilkada had a background of internal conflicts and terms and conditions which ultimately made it difficult for members and cadres to advance through political parties. However, these individual candidates did not win much, but there were also a number of losers. There were several individual candidates who won in regional election contests such as the Mayors of Bontang and Kutai Kartanegara who won the

Pilkada 2015. The two candidates had backgrounds from the Golkar party, however these two candidates prefer to run individually because of electability and political dowry factors which make it difficult for these candidates to go down the political party path so that the individual is an alternative.

## **2. Candidate Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono Advance to Become Individual Candidates in the Pilkada 2017 in Bekasi**

As a candidate candidate in the Pilkada, as much as possible has made political investments and garnered strength and support, moreover, individual candidates must at least be able to win the hearts of the public and groups that have a basis so that they can provide their support by providing ID cards in order to meet the requirements to run individually on Pilkada which has been regulated in the law. This aims to support candidates so they can become participants in the local elections in Bekasi. In this regard, the individual candidates in Bekasi, namely Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono, have passed and been designated as individual candidates by the Bekasi Election Commission which was stipulated in a decree with Number 279/KPU-Kab.011.329000/X/2016 which was directly signed by KPU chairman Idham Holik. By going through several stages of terms and conditions, such as a photocopy of the Electronic Identity Card, it can be accompanied by a certificate issued by the population service and a civil registry which certifies that the resident is domiciled in an administrative area that is holding an election for at least one year and is listed in the permanent voters list. Previous general elections in the province or district or city. So in this way the candidate Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono can contest the 2017 local elections in Bekasi.

In essence, individual candidacy in the Pilkada cannot be separated from the support of the society or groups that have a basis, because in this case it is the key or ticket for individual candidates to participate in the Pilkada. And this was emphasized by Ramlan Surbakti that political participation is the involvement or participation of the community in determining whether or not a candidate is elected. Thus, community involvement in political contestation is an important instrument. Therefore, Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono can fulfill the requirements to advance as individual candidates in the regional elections 2017 in Bekasi. This is motivated by the support from the people of Bekasi.

In the process of nominating individual candidates, Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono were able to fulfill the requirements by collecting around 156,000 KTPs. The process of collecting KTPs was the result of the support of the public who believed in Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono. However, in this process convincing the public to want to provide their KTPs needs to go through quite a long process, in other words, it is necessary to come up with good arguments or narratives so that people believe and want to give their KTPs. In this process the head of the winning team for Obon and Bambang, namely Amier Mahfouz, said that:

The process of collecting KTPs was very difficult. We had to collect almost 156,000 KTPs that we had to prepare for Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono in order to qualify as individual candidates and the first step we took was how to make OTC (Obon Tabroni Center). In addition, we formed Team 9, namely assistance with how the team formed coordinators in each village as coordinators for sub-districts, whose function was to go directly to the field to collect KTPs. The first time we collected were workers because udeh workers must know Bang Obon, and we volunteered to collect 1 volunteer with 10 ID cards, whether KTPs of neighbors, family or relatives. There are many obstacles in the field, some say we want to ask for donations, some say we'll give you money or not, well that's how it is. But, thank God, there were

some people who immediately collected KTPs for Mr. Obon, we took photos of those that didn't have any copies, those that did have copies we immediately took.

From the interview above, it can be seen that the process of collecting KTPs required a special team, namely team 9 consisting of several sub-districts and villages and forming an OTC (Obon Tabroni Center) whose function was to go directly to the field to collect KTPs. It was this team that directly asked for community KTPs to provide support to individual candidates, namely Obon and Bambang, which were later used to fulfill the requirements to become individual candidates in the local elections in Bekasi. Apart from that, volunteers are formed on their own with the assumption that they agree with individual candidates because in this case the people of Bekasi want a change that is even better. By seeing the figure of the Obon and Bambang candidates who are advancing individually, many people are interested in becoming volunteers.

In relation to the candidacy for regional elections, support from the community or groups is also possible. Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono in the Pilkada in Bekasi had a support group that joined their team, which group had its function and use. Besides that, it aims to win the candidate Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono in the local elections in Bekasi. According to Obon Tabroni regarding the groups that support him. Obon says:

The group that supports me is no longer a group as big as NU, an organization like a big NGO, because people nowadays are transactional, sorry. If I don't have a story, you support me, just support me, don't ask now, let's fight first. Groups that support me, such as the art children's group making me songs, then groups of community leaders, biktara farmers, groups of young people who are really extraordinary because they think I am a figure of a young person from Bekasi who dares to stand out and different, the motorbike community, the nature lover community in Bekasi, students personally don't wear the organization's flag, religious leaders groups, if from among the bureaucrats zero (none), from the village head also zero, majlis ta'alim ladies because of my wife, Jamkes volunteers, as well as several fractions of political party cadres, these political party cadres can also become labor activists at FSPMI.

This interview proves that there are groups that are ready to support Obon and Bambang, these groups are behind Obon and Bambang advancing individually in the regional elections in Bekasi. These groups can become political machines for the candidate for Obon and Bambang. From the several groups mentioned above, each of these groups had their respective roles in winning the candidate for Obon and Bambang. In addition, there are also several fractions of political parties that support this candidate. This was quite influential for the candidate Obon and Bambang to win the regional election in Bekasi.

### **3. Analysis of Obon Tabroni's and Bambang Sumaryono's defeat in local elections 2017 in Bekasi**

In the Pilkada in Bekasi, namely Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono, they were able to meet the requirements to advance through the individual with a fairly long process. This is the first election in the Regional Head Elections in Bekasi, from 2007, 2012, and in 2017 it was the first time that there was a candidate running individually. However, in the end these candidates lost in the Pilkada in Bekasi but this has shown that candidates have the courage to be able to attract the sympathy of the people. Vote acquisition results in Regional Election 2017 in Bekasi.



**Table 1. Election Votes Results for Elections in Bekasi in 2017**

| No | Names of the Regent and Deputy Regent Candidates | Voting Result | Path                                |
|----|--|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | Neneng Hasanah Yasin – Eka Supria Atmaja         | 41.86%        | Golkar, PAN, PPP, NASDEM dan HANURA |
| 2. | SA'duddin – Ahmad Dhani                          | 24.45%        | PKS, GERINDRA dan P. DEMOKRAT       |
| 3. | Obon Tabroni – Bambang Sumaryono                 | 17.13%        | Independen                          |
| 4. | Melina Kartika Kadir – Abdul Kholil              | 9.04          | PDIP, PBB dan PKB                   |
| 5. | Lin Farihin – Mahmud                             | 7.52          | Independen                          |

Source: Dakta.com Votes

The table above shows that the vote acquisition for the individual candidates is quite high because in the results, this candidate occupies the third position and defeats the candidates Melina and Abdul, in which the is supported by PDIP, PBB and PKB. However, in reality the Obon and Bambang still lost in the 2017 Bekasi District Election. This does not rule out the possibility that in the next Pilkada this individual will win the next Regional Election.

In relation to the factors behind the Obon and Bambang's defeat in the Pilkada in Bekasi, this individual candidate said that there were factors that made them lose, namely the lack of finances and logistics. In addition, Obon said that the large number of losses was caused by the administration of the KPUD which was not good and not optimal, many voters for this pair were unable to vote on election day. Another factor is that there was a waste of votes that caused this individual candidate to lose in the regional elections in Bekasi, the lack of a second line in the winning team. There are five factors that make this individual lose, among which are:

a. A lack of finances and logistics

Finance or logistics is an important component in winning political contests, which is its function to support or move the political machine to run. Obon and Bambang had these obstacles which in the end became one of the factors in losing the regional elections in Bekasi. This was explained by Obon Tabroni as a candidate for individual candidates who are advancing individually.

The first is money or financial, because I don't have much. It is about 350 million for Bambang Sumaryono, it's around 500 million, so for me, the capital for running for the nomination yesterday was used up around 850 million, outside of the collective team. The most important thing is that Bambang and I have finished our candidacy and have no debts.

From the results of the interviews above, the factors that caused these individual candidates to lose include the lack of financial support, because this is one of the most important factors in winning the Pilkada, because in terms of finance and logistics it is useful to support teamwork so that it keeps running.

b. Village head intervention

The intervention of the village head who is in favor of other candidates is also important because the influence of the village head is very strong, especially since the village head is a symbol in society. And this is the factor in the defeat of the individual candidate. According to Tabroni Obon:

The village head network of the Bekasi community knows what the role of the village head is, the role of this village head is to intervene too much in the community to support other candidates, I can't name names. There was only one village head who supported me, the village head of Wonojaya.

The interview above shows that the role of the Village Head was very influential in Bekasi Pilkada 2017 which in practice could move the community to vote for other candidates. According to Milbert and Goel this can be called a gladiator which in the concept of political participation has the role of being at the forefront of the political process, why is it that gladiators are in practice actively involved in the political process.

#### c. Administration in Regional Elections of Bekasi 2017

Poor administration has resulted in many individual candidate voters not having voting rights and causing the individual candidates' votes to decline on election day. apart from that the rules regarding voters must use E-KTP and many Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono voters do not have E-KTP and in the end they are allowed not to use E-KTP but this tends to reduce these individual voter candidates to vote because of the policies that taken long enough. According to Tabroni Obon:

From an administrative point of view, it was a mess, a lot of invitees voted for us not to get it, especially my own village, where I was based, not many got it. the case is that voters have to use their E-KTP to vote for me, on average they don't have an E-KTP, eh right at the end it's allowed. For example, from an administrative point of view, a husband and wife who have different TPS are not the same TPS, this is also the same as eliminating voters. Administration is messy. Apart from that, where do we have a strong political network, he can mobilize the inkamben chief of service, sadudin, a former regent as well, and other couples have support from members of the DPRD, DPR RI. well, that's it.

#### d. Deflection of Voices

In this case, candidates in Pilkada compete to win the votes that are in the community, therefore it is necessary to have a special team that concentrates on finding votes for the victory of the candidates. In the regional elections for Bekasi, the candidate Obon and Bambang experienced this condition, bearing in mind that in politics there is nothing absolute. According to him:

It does exist, but if there isn't one openly, it's called a supporter in bargaining or the lure of something, it's called someone who wants to. So like this yesterday there were a lot of teams because they saw me, if the rest of them have the intention to blow their voices, there are, and I also know who the people are. If I don't have a problem with him turning the sound like that, it means he's really not in the same heart and isn't as visionary and missionary anymore. When asked what percentage the loss of my voice is, it's pretty good that the deflection is almost 2-3% at most. if you are like that, pray that it will be fine.

From the interview above, it is explained that there were other factors that caused these individual candidates to lose, namely the factor of deflating the votes or turning the votes into a large enough factor, because in practice the votes that should have chosen Obon and Bambang had moved or not voted.

e. Lack of Second Layer of Grass Roots (TPS Base)

Apart from that, the biggest factor that causes why many of these individual candidates are not elected is what causes these individual candidates to lose in the contest for democracy. Pangi Syarwi Chaniago said:

first, these individual candidates don't have strong grass roots so their machines don't run optimally, second, the figures themselves don't sell, third, maybe they don't have a good program, fourth, they can't change the most populist things the most important thing is that these individual candidates do not have party machinery.

The factors above confirm that the defeat factor for individual candidates is based on the lack of power of the apparatus below in the sense of grass roots, this is the foundation for candidates in participating in political contestation, especially Pilkada which should at this level be maximized properly. In addition, there are several other factors the micro-organisms that caused this individual candidate to lose, according to Pangi Syarwi Chaniago:

In my opinion, the device used by Obon and Bambang is quite strong. If only these candidates entered through the party, I am sure that this candidate would win. What this pair lacks is the second layer which is the engine. Why did I say grass roots because of the importance of the first and second layers, how can you be a witness at the polling stations if this layer of the team is still lacking. Don't get me wrong, the witness at the TPS is one of the sources of votes, just count from 1 TPS to 2 witnesses. If there are 200 TPS, how many votes does he have, besides that, how far is the logistics for this individual candidate to pay witnesses, the goal is to protect the votes, the cost is not small Lol. it is only natural that these individual candidates lost many votes because who can guarantee that the votes at each TPS can be maintained, many optums cast their votes at TPS, that is why there is a lack of finances or logistics to pay witnesses. Therefore, it is necessary to have a second layer to protect the vote, it's easy for their political party to be strong with that device, the cadres can be placed at the polling stations so the vote will be safer.

According to Pangi Syarwi Chaniago, the defeat of individual candidates Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono is a lack of adequate financial or logistical support to revive the base in each polling station, namely witnesses. However, in this case the defeat factor for Obon and Bambang was the lack of a second layer, namely a second political machine, the lack of a TPS base which includes witnesses, whose function is to keep votes safe and secure or not lost.

It can be concluded that the factors for the defeat of the candidate Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono were firstly the lack of a second layer of apparatus at the grass roots, especially at the TPS base, both financial or logistical, the third was more intervention by the village head, the fourth was bad administration, the fifth was vote-wasting from Obon team and Bambang himself.

Even so, these individual candidates have still not been able to win in the local elections, especially in Bekasi, but these independent candidates are quite strong and deserve appreciation, because in this case Obon and Bambang prefer to run individually without political parties. Obon Tabroni said that there are parties that ask him to run through political parties, but Obon himself prefers to run individually, because the orientation of the Pilkada as a whole is not just winning or losing but reviving the people's mentality, especially Bekasi, which is no less important, and the process itself is made an experience that was quite valuable according to Obon Tabroni "political awareness is expensive".

## Conclusion

Based on the results of the research conducted, the conclusions are as follows:

- a. The relevance of independent candidates to democracy in Indonesia so far is relevant, because in the regional election process these individual or independent candidates are still significant in accordance with the 1945 Constitution and follow the rules of the Election Law and Regional Head Elections. In practice, in the regional head election, individual candidates are in accordance with the concept of democracy in Indonesia, namely with the proportional or district system adopted by the Indonesian state. Every individual has the right to vote, has the right to be nominated and nominated, voted in and elected. It is calculated that with the articulation of the political interests of the community and individual candidates, this can become a forum that facilitates the aspirations of the people. Based on the existence of community support, which is marked by the election and selection of individual candidates, therefore, individual or independent candidates are still considered relevant.
- b. The background factors for Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono to advance individually or independently. First, there was encouragement from those closest to him who asked Obon to run as a candidate in Bekasi, the second was from the workers who asked Obon to run as a candidate for Regent in Bekasi, apart from that groups such as NGOs, NGOs, mass organizations and so on, as well as the communities supporting Obon Tabroni and Bambang Sumaryono. Another factor is Obon's own desire to run as a candidate for Regent without a political party because according to him running through a party will disappoint his closest people who are generally not party members. therefore, Obon and Bambang advanced in the General Election without a political party or being independent.
- c. Even though the results in the General Election for the candidates for Obon and Bambang lost, these independent candidates are strong. The five factors that caused this candidates to lose were the first, the lack of layers, the second, namely the apparatus at the grass roots, especially at the TPS base, the second, financial or logistical, the third, more intervention by the village head, the fourth, bad administration, and the fifth, there was a waste of votes from Obon team and Bambang himself. This factor caused the individual or independent to lose in the regional election in Bekasi. However, in principle Obon and Bambang can be used as role models that individual or independent candidates still have the strength to advance in every political competition.

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