

An Anomaly in Political Recruitment: The Logic of Cross Candidacy in 2020 Jambi Provincial-Local Election

Anomali dalam Rekrutmen Politik: Logika di Balik Pencalonan Silang pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah di Provinsi Jambi Tahun 2020

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ABSTRAK

Ketika parpol lebih terbuka dalam rekrutmen politik, anomali terkadang terjadi, seperti yang terjadi pada Pilkada Jambi 2020. Partai politik mencalonkan kader partai lain sebagai kandidat dan melahirkan fenomena pencalonan silang. Dengan melakukan studi dokumen dalam penelitian kualitatif, artikel ini menemukan bahwa pencalonan silang terjadi karena sistem pencalonan tidak sejalan dengan sistem multi partai dan sistem pemilihan proporsional. Sebagai tanggapan, aturan partai politik menjadi lebih elastis. Fenomena ini juga dipengaruhi oleh dinamika antar aktor internal partai di tingkat daerah meskipun pengambilan keputusan pada akhirnya terpusat. Pencalonan silang juga didukung oleh persepsi bahwa Pilkada berlangsung sebagai kontestasi figur calon daripada representasi ideologi dan platform partai politik.

Keywords: Pencalonan Silang, Pemilihan Kepala Daerah, Rekrutmen Politik

ABSTRACT

When political parties are more open in political recruitment, anomalies sometimes occur, as happened in the 2020 Jambi local election (Pilkada). Political parties nominated other party cadres as candidates and produce the phenomenon of cross candidacy. By conducting a document study in qualitative research, this article finds that cross candidacy occurs because the nomination system is not in line with the multi-party system and the proportional electoral system. In response, the rules of political parties have become more elastic. This phenomenon is also influenced by the dynamics between internal party actors at the regional level even though decision-making is ultimately centralized. Cross candidacy is also supported by the perception that the Pilkada is a contestation of candidate figures rather than representing the ideology and platform of political parties.

Keywords: Cross Candidacy, Local Election, Political Recruitment

INTRODUCTION

Nomination is an important part of the head of the local government election process. Initially, the nomination of the head of local government is the exclusive right of political parties (Local Government Act, 2004) until the regulation is revised and allows independent candidates to run for local election (The Second Amendment Of the Local Government Act, 2008). With the new regulation, political recruitment becomes more open and is no longer a monopoly right owned by political parties. However, what happens next, the independent candidates as the alternative way of nomination is less attractive because the requirements are quite heavy (Fitriyah, 2020). An independent candidate must obtain the support of citizens in a certain minimum number whose percentage varies, depending on the density of population/voters of a region. From initially 3-6% of the total population, it changed to 6.5-10% of the population, and then 6.5 -10% of the voter turnout (Dinarto & Ng, 2021).

With the obstacles that exist in the requirements for individual candidates, political parties remain the preferred path of political recruitment over the independent course. The nomination through political parties also has advantages over the independent. The advantage is the organization and its human resources are owned. Political parties are groups of people who are organized, and the orientation is indeed to gain or maintain power by legitimate means through elections (Fautanu, 2020). Thus, political parties are political machines ready to be mobilized to gather political support. Having the support of political parties from the beginning of the nomination also provides its advantages, when the candidate is then successfully elected, they already have the support of political parties that have seats in the local parliament (DPRD). Meanwhile, independent candidates must build a campaign organization and recruit members of the campaign staff. Another problem of independent candidates is also the consistency of the idea of its existence. During their nomination period, they may not need political parties' support, but when they get elected, they still need the support of political parties in the

DPRD. Some elected independent candidates finally joined as political party members.

It can be said that the independent candidate is an alternative. However, the role of political parties as the main actors in the nomination of the head of local government cannot be replaced. However, many studies have found many problems in candidate selection by political parties. The process of candidates selection in local elections was less democratic and more centralized (Budi, 2020). An elitist recruitment mechanism, money politics, and political kinship occur in the recruitment of candidates by political parties (Hanafi, 2016). There was a strengthening of political kinships or dynasties (Arianto, 2021; Fitriyah, 2020). The nomination of non-party cadres is a form of weak institutionalization of political parties (Noor, 2018). Ideology and pragmatism played a role in forming coalitions between political parties in the elections (Makhasin, 2016). Research by Hendrawan et al. gave another explanation. On the analysis of 5048 coalitions formed in the local elections, it is said that the coalition formation agreement prioritizes the candidate's ability to provide cash funds at the beginning of the nomination rather than the long-term benefits that can be obtained (Hendrawan et al., 2021)

Not much different from the articles above, this article also discusses an issue that occurs in the candidate selection by political parties in a local election. This time the issue that arises is the phenomenon of cross candidacy. This phenomenon has not been found in previous research. What I mean by cross candidacy in this paper is that political parties nominate other party cadres instead of their party cadres as candidates. Meanwhile, the party cadres who did not get support were then nominated by other parties. This phenomenon occurs in several political parties simultaneously, it is resulting in the phenomenon of cross candidacy. I find this situation happened in the 2020 Jambi Provincial Governor Election. In the election, almost all potential candidates were cadres of political parties, but nearly all political parties did not nominate their cadres but cadres from other parties.

If political parties have potential cadres that can be nominated, why do they nominate cadres from other parties? Party cadres are a product of the recruitment of political party members. This recruitment aims to provide prospective leaders who can replace the old leaders in the future. Simple logic would say that every political party should propose their cadres to be nominated and compete with other parties' candidates in an election. Likewise, when viewed from the side of party cadres, a cadre should be getting support from the party rather than getting support from other parties. Referring to this logic, cross candidacy is a form of anomaly phenomenon in political recruitment. The question then arose, why could this phenomenon happen? There must be some explanations that can make us understand this phenomenon logically.

Previous studies already gave some explanations for the candidate's selection within political parties in the local elections in Indonesia, such as elitism, centralism, money politics, and the weak institutionalization of political parties. A question then arises, can a party-centered perspective sufficiently explain the cross candidacy phenomenon? Is there another explanation that is more comprehensive in looking at this problem? This article offers a broader perspective to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of these issues. This article expands the viewpoint instead of focusing only on the internal dynamics of political parties. The argument is that candidates selection by political parties is a part of political recruitment. It has a complex dimension, that is not only influenced by the internal aspects but also by external aspects surrounding it.

This paper is organized as follows, I will explain political candidacy and political recruitment in advance. Nomination or candidacy is a form of political recruitment. The concept of political recruitment itself is not just a matter of candidacy but it has a broader meaning. It includes recruitment as members of political parties, administrators, and staff of political parties, and recruitment of candidates for public officials (Bahkti & Nurhasim, 2016)). Recruitment as

members of political parties is very wide open. Political parties can accept everyone who wants to register as party members. The wider the better for party, they will become party supporters, especially during elections. The recruitment of party administrators is more limited. To become party chairpersons usually have to go through an election process within the party, and the recruits are people who have good organizational skills and political networks. They also recruit staff to give support on technical and administrative work. The recruitment of candidates for public officials is carried out by political parties to fill political positions, such as being members of parliament or leaders of executive institutions, at central or regional levels.

A broad perspective in understanding political recruitment can be seen in the political recruitment model from Pippa Norris (2006). In his model, the political recruitment process consists of three stages and several aspects influence each stage. The three stages are certification, nomination, and election. See figure 1.

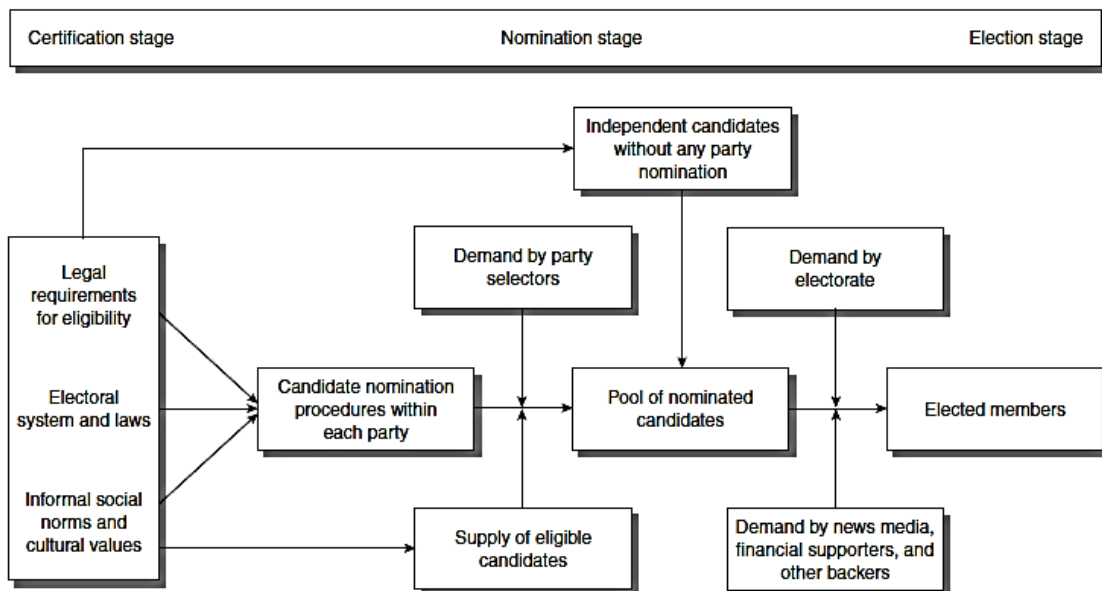


Figure 1. Candidate Selection Process Model (Norris, 2006)

The first stage is certification, this stage relates to who has the right to be nominated (*eligible*). This stage is influenced by legislation, electoral systems, and electoral laws, as well as social and cultural norms that apply.

Generally, applicable laws and regulations regarding elections can limit the eligibility of candidates, for example, age, nationality, place of residence, and education. Internal party regulations also affect the eligibility of candidates in the selection process. Internal rules generally apply party membership, length of membership, loyalty, and understanding of party policy lines.

Political parties make rigorous criteria as a condition for candidacy and some do not. The Belgian Socialist Party, for example, requires a minimum of 5 years of membership, a subscription to a newspaper published by the party, being a subscriber to a socialist company, their children are sent to government schools, and their families are registered as members of women's organizations or youth organizations (Norris, 2006). Independent candidates who run without the support of political parties are sometimes because they do not want to deal with the conditions that apply to political parties. In addition to laws and regulations, and internal party regulations, social and cultural norms prevailing in society can also influence who can be nominated. This is related to the general assessment of the candidate's profile preferred by the community, it can be about their professional background and track record.

The second stage is the nomination stage, this stage is related to who does the nomination. This stage is very crucial in the nomination process. There is an interesting phrase from Schattschneider "Who makes the nomination is the owner of the party" (Norris, 2006). At this stage, a nomination procedure applies internally within the party. Who decides? This is the critical question. There are three dimensions to seeing it. The first dimension is the level of centralization, namely the extent of influence of organizational leaders at the central, regional, and lower levels of organization in decision making. In a centralized party organization, the party leadership at the main level has a massive role in determining decisions. In decentralized party organizations, decisions are local and involve the grassroots. In most European political parties the party leader has veto power, but local party

administrators have a key role in decision-making.

The second dimension is how the actors are involved in decision-making, whether they are limited to the selection committee or involve more people. Norris said that after World War II there was a trend of political parties in Europe providing wider opportunities, not only limited to the committee that made the selection. This broad participation is mainly carried out by small parties to attract more new members to their parties.

The third dimension is the scope of the election, related to the number of candidates whether only one person, a few, or many. If it is faced by quite a lot of candidates, the process can be carried out gradually from many to a few, and in the end, one person is nominated. On the other hand, there may be no candidate selection process because only one candidate is proposed. Usually, this happens to the incumbent candidate.

One other thing Norris is concerned about is the *de jure* and *de facto*. The official body in charge of conducting the selection is not necessarily the main determinant in decision making. Decision-making can be done outside of written procedures and rules. If this is the case, it can be said that the party has weak party institutionalization. The formal process it goes through only becomes a “rubber stamp” on the choices that have been determined previously.

The third stage in the recruitment process is the selection stage. This stage relates to whom is nominated. This stage is also influenced by the interaction of political parties with the electoral system and also the development of political issues in which public accountability must be considered. Among them are the demands that come from voters, the mass media, and support from donors. Claims regarding the nomination of women or minority groups are an example.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article used qualitative methods and relied on various documents

related to the subject. The documents used were mass media reports, academic works such as books, journal articles, thesis, and dissertations. Official documents from the government and electoral management bodies are also employed for this study. This study pays attention to the document quality criteria which consist of (1) authenticity, the evidence provided by the source is undoubted (2) credibility, avoiding errors and distortions, (3) representativeness, the evidence provided can describe the actual reality, (4) meaning, clear and comprehensive evidence (Bryman, 2012).

Various information and data regarding the cases discussed in this article are widely available in the documents. Document studies are used to see the political recruitment process for the 2020 Jambi Governor Election. The description of the candidate selection process mostly came from mass media reports. Academic documents, such as journal articles, thesis, and books were used to get a complete explanation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This paper discusses the recruitment of candidates by political parties in the 2020 Jambi Governor Election as a case study. In that case, the political parties' pragmatism is clearly evident and produces an anomaly, namely the occurrence of cross candidacy. The National Mandate Party (PAN) did not support Ratu Munawaroh as its cadre and supported the Al Haris-Abdullah Sani pair who are Golkar and PDIP cadres. PDIP itself does not support Abdullah Sani or Safrial, its cadres but supports the Cek Endra-Ratu Munawaroh pair, Golkar, and PAN cadres. The Nasdem Party also did not support Fachrori Umar's candidacy, even though he was a party cadre and the incumbent governor. Fachrori Umar, who is paired with Syafril Nursal, is supported by Democrats, Hanura, and Gerindra. Only the Golkar Party supports its cadre as a candidate, Cek Endra.

Apart from finding a new phenomenon in the recruitment of the head

of local government candidates, this paper also looks at the problem of candidate recruitment by political parties from a broader perspective. As the candidate selection model presented by Norris (2006) in the previous discussion, the candidate selection process proposed by Norris is related to various quite complex matters, not only internal party organizational problems, such as elitism and weak institutionalization within political parties.

The Party System, Electoral System, Nomination Requirements, and Loosening of Internal Party Regulations

Implementation of the Jambi Province Governor Election is part of the Simultaneous Local Election scheduled for 9 December 2020. The schedule for candidate registration was 4-6 September 2020, followed by verification and medical examination. The candidate's decision itself was scheduled for September 23, 2020 (Bermultimedia.com, 2020b). Same as the implementation of local elections in various regions, the candidate nomination was discussed months before the election process started. The names that appear in the public discussion for candidates usually come from political party leaders, heads of local government who serve either as governors, deputy governors, regents/mayors, deputy regents/mayors, and other political figures. In the 2020 Jambi Local Election, at least 18 names of prospective candidates showed up in some local media, either candidates for governor or deputy governor (Table 1).

Following the certification stage, as said by Norris, there are several formal rules, electoral systems, and electoral laws that certainly affect the nomination process. Crucial in this discussion is the party system and elections in Indonesia. From the aspect of the number of political parties, the party system consists of the one-party system, the two-party system, and the multi-party system (Duverger, 1976). Indonesia currently adheres to a multi-party system that is influenced by history and political trends that developed after independence (Ufen, 2007)).

Table 1. The Prospective Candidates for Governor/Deputy Governor of Jambi Local Election 2020

No.	Name	Party	Background
1.	Fachrori Umar	Nasdem	Governor of Jambi Province (incumbent)
2.	Hasan Basri Agus	Demokrat	Member of DPR (Demokrat), Jambi Governor (2010-2015).
3.	Ratu Munawaroh	PAN	Member of DPR from PAN (Election 2009), Zulkifli Nurdin's wife (Governor of Jambi 2000-2005 and 2005-2010)
4.	Muchlis	-	Chief of Jambi Regional Police
5.	Safrial	PDIP	Regent of Tanjung Jabung Barat
6.	Syahirsah	Golkar	Regent of Batanghari
7.	Checks Endra	Golkar	Regent of Sarolangun, Chairman of the DPD Golkar of Jambi Province
8.	Sukandar	Golkar	Regent of Tebo
9.	Asyafri Jaya Bakti	Demokrat	Regent of Sungai Penuh
10.	Al Haris	Golkar	Regent of Merangin
11.	Syarif Fasha	Golkar	Mayor of Jambi 2013-2018, 2018- 2023
12.	Edi Purwanto	PDIP	Chairman of the Jambi Provincial DPRD (2019 Election), Jambi Deputy Governor Candidate (2010 Pilkada)
13.	H. Bakri	PAN	Member of the DPR from PAN (2009, 2014, and 2019 General Election)
14.	Burhanudin Mahir	Demokrat	Member of the Provincial DPRD (2019 General Election), Regent of Muaro Jambi (2006-2011 and 2011-2016)
15.	Abdullah Sani	PDIP	Deputy Mayor of Jambi 2013-2018, Candidate for Mayor of Jambi Pilkada 2018
16.	Ramli Taha	Gerindra	Advisor to the Gerindra Party
17.	Jefri Amas	PAN	-
18.	Tigor Sinaga	PSI	Entrepreneur

Source: Various media sources (2022).

In the 1999 election, the number of political parties participating in the general election reached 48 parties, a stark contrast to the New Order (Orde Baru) era when the number of political parties was suppressed. The New Order allowed only PPP, PDI, and Golkar to participate in the general election.

Multi-party systems tend to be maintained with various variables as the reasons rather than switching to a more straightforward party system. Syamsudin Haris mentions many considerations in deciding which system to adopt: historical, cultural, political cleavage, demographic disparities, the sensitivity of majority-minority issues, socio-economics, the absence of a consensus tradition, and the absence of a liberal culture (Haris, 2014). On the other hand, the proportional system is taken as the option over the district system. Even if there is a simplification with the 3.5% parliamentary threshold (PT), it still accommodates many political parties to enter the parliament. At the regional level, this threshold does not even apply, so the political power in the regions is more varied than at the national level. In the Jambi context, as discussed in this article, the Jambi provincial DPRD is comprised of 11 political parties. A large number of parties in parliament is the result of the institutional design of a multi-party system and a proportional electoral system with the abstention of a parliamentary threshold.

On the contrary, the system used in the head of local election has a reverse design with the party system and electoral system. Participation to take part in local elections is more simplified. It is designed to limit the number of competing candidates. This is done by making the nomination requirements quite strict, either through political parties or independent candidates. In the local election law, the minimum number of seats in the DPRD that must be fulfilled to register a candidate is 20% or with a vote of 25% (*The Election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor Act*, 2015). Assuming that the seats are evenly distributed, nominations through political parties must be a maximum of 4 or 5 pairs of candidates. While the independent candidate is also quite difficult to meet the specified requirements, many of them failed to run in the election.

Getting 20% of the DPRD seats or 25% of the vote is not an easy matter for political parties. As previously stated, this is related to the multi-party system and the proportional electoral system. It is rare to find political parties that can achieve such votes and seats, except in certain regions known as

political party loyalist bases. With strict conditions, political parties are forced to cooperate in coalitions. Occasionally, some large coalition formed, it produces fewer competing candidates. Moreover, extreme conditions sometimes happened, there was only one paired candidate. There was no competitor at all except the empty ballot boxes.

Table 2. Seats of The Jambi Provincial Parliament (2019 General Election)

Party	Seat	%
PDIP	9	16.4
GOLKAR	7	12.7
PAN	7	12.7
GERINDRA	7	12.7
Demokrat	7	12.7
PKS	5	9.1
PKB	5	9.1
PPP	3	5.5
NASDEM	2	3.6
HANURA	2	3.6
BERKARYA	1	1.8
Total	55	100.0

Source: KPU Jambi Province, 2019

In the 2020 Jambi Local Elections, no political party has achieved enough seats and votes. They could not nominate candidates without forming a coalition with other parties. The number of seats in the Jambi Provincial Parliament (DPRD) was 55, due to the regulation, the number of seats needed to nominate a candidate is 11 seats. No political party had 11 or more seats in the local DPRD (Table 2.). PDIP as the winner of the election only got 9 seats (16.4%). This biggest political party and the other political parties in Jambi cannot nominate their candidate by themselves. In this kind of situation, a coalition of at least two parties was required.

The next issue is how the coalition of political parties was formed. In

the Jambi Local Election, 3 groups of political party coalitions were built. The first was Golkar and PDIP (29.1% of the seats), the second coalition was Gerindra, Demokrat, Hanura, and PPP (34.5% of the seats), and the third coalition was PAN, PKS, PKB (30.9%) of the seats. It can be seen that there were no obstacles for political parties to form coalitions with any party. This condition is in line with Makhasin's (2016) findings in the Pilkada in Central Java that ideological alliances occur in sociologically homogeneous areas where there are dominant political parties. The tendency for pragmatic considerations in coalition formation occurs in areas where there is intra-party elite fragmentation or between party elites and do not have a dominant political party. Unfortunately, this paper has no data to test a strong full statement that party coalitions in the Pilkada were formed by the influence of money politics (Hendrawan et al., 2021)

In such a balance of political power in a political party coalition, the decision of who candidates they would support is based more on a compromise, seeking mutually acceptable figures in the coalition, not putting their cadres forward for each other. Parties become very open, one has the potential can be nominated even though it comes from outside the party. It happened in the PDIP and Golkar coalition. Although PDIP has the most significant seats in DPRD, the governor candidates nominated from this coalition came from Golkar, and PDIP itself accepted the nomination as a deputy governor candidate, Ratu Munawaroh, who was not a PDIP cadre. Likewise, the Gerindra, Demokrat, and PPP coalitions, did not support their cadre as a candidate. Fachrori Umar as a candidate proposed by this coalition was a Nasdem cadre and his partner Syafril Nursal did not have any background as a member of one of the political parties. He was a retired police officer. The PAN, PKS, and PKB coalitions were the same, the candidates for governor and deputy governor who were initially proposed were Golkar (Al Haris) and PDIP cadres (Abdullah Sani). Both of them were not cadres from 3 parties in the coalition.

The open recruitment mechanism is a common pattern in political parties in Indonesia (Fitriyah, 2020). Political parties open registration widely and provide forms to anyone interested in being nominated, not limited to party cadres exclusively. Thus, those who register for candidate registration can be members of their party, people who are not members of a political party, or people who are members of other political parties. If someone wants to register several parties at once, that can also be done. Recruitment by political parties that are very open makes the competition between candidates for party support very tight. No candidate has confidence that the political party they follow will provide support. But on the other hand, it can also be an opportunity, if the party does not nominate them, there is still a chance to be nominated by another party.

Membership, which is considered necessary in political recruitment, is no longer relevant. The length of time being a party member can at least reflect one's loyalty to the party. It also indicates a reasonably good understanding of the party's policy and platform. This orientation has been changing. The length of membership is no longer considered an essential requirement. Open registration by political parties demonstrates the flexibility of membership as a requirement. It is not surprising that those who registered with political parties were cadres of other political parties. In PDIP, those who made a registration were Jefri Amas Hutagalung, Al Haris, Ramli Thaha, Safrial Siregar, Zaidan Ismail, Syarif Fasha, Cek Endra, Fachrori Umar, Tigor Sinaga, and Abdullah Sani (*Jambipos*, 2019). In the Golkar parties, who made a registration were Fachrori Umar, Cek Endra, Sukandar, Usman Ermulan, Ramli Taha, Safrial, Syarif Fasha, and Al Haris (Nusantara, 2020). In the PAN, who made a registration were Fachrori Umar, Syarif Fasha, Ratu Munawaroh, and Cek Endra (Kumparan, 2020). In the Gerindra Party, who registered were H. Bakri, Cek Endra (Indonews, 2019; Metrojambi.com, 2019). The wide-open candidate recruitment could signify an excellent democratic atmosphere in political parties. This can prevent political parties becomes exclusive.

Nevertheless, at the same time, it can happen the other way. Although they have dominant power in the nomination, their role as the institution that prepares future political leaders becomes weakened. They fail to nominate their worthy party cadres and have the popularity to be nominated. Political parties prefer local elites with significant resources (Choi, 2007).

It doesn't mean membership as a necessary condition for candidacy is gone at all. As an example, PDIP has it. Moreover, the mass media report told that to be a PDIP candidate for the local election requires having been a party member for at least 3 years (Media, 2019). This report was not too accurate. If we look at the complete text of Party Regulation Number 24 of 2017 by PDIP, it does not mention the minimum length of membership to be nominated. The party's concern for membership for the candidate nomination can be seen in article 9 paragraph (1). It is stated that PDIP will appoint its party members or cadres if the party in the general election reaches at least 25% votes or 20% of seats in the DPRD (PDIP, 2017). In Article 9 paragraph (2) PDIP also still encourages its members or cadres as candidates if the party's votes in the election are 15-24% or 10-19% of seats in DPRD. PDIP would nominate them along with other parties (PDIP, 2017). From the regulation, PDIP has extensive attention to put membership as one of the requirements in the nomination is true.

PDIP was the winner of the 2019 election and has 15.6% of the Jambi DPRD seats. According to the election result and the regulation, most likely they would nominate their cadres or members as a candidate. However, They didn't do it. They choose Ratu Munawaroh (a PAN cadre) instead of PDIP cadres. It doesn't mean that PDIP violated the regulation. The following-up sentence from point e in article 9 paragraph (2) justifies them "...unless based on Party's strategic interests it is decided otherwise by the General Chairperson of the Party or the Party Central Board". With this elastic regulation, they have flexibility in recruiting potential candidates not only from its cadres. Cadres may excel in loyalty and understanding of party policy

but may have no reasonable chance to win the election.

The general chairman of PDIP, Megawati Soekarno Putri is the central figure in PDIP. She has the exclusive right to determine decisions and strategic positions within the party, and each decision is final and binding (Mietzner, 2012). The General Chair or the Party Central Board of this large party has its justification. Even though nominated candidates are not party members or cadres, PDIP requires every prospective candidate to attend Party Schools. The party school is held for socializing values and understanding of the party's policy line which is carried out intensively (antaranews.com, 2020). The Party School lasts for one week and prospective candidates must attend it. Ratu Munawaroh was one of those who have participated at the PDIP party school.

Degree of Centralization and The Dynamics of Intra Political Party

According to the regulation, political parties at each level register their candidate with the Local Electoral Commission (KPUD). However, the decisions on who is nominated are generally determined by the central board of the political party. On a more neutral view, this mechanism is the party's way of managing conflict, maintaining party solidity, and avoiding the bias of personal interests of administrators and cadres in the regions. In this view, centralization is not a deviant behavior of political parties or a democracy problem within a political party, but it is a formal requirement based on laws and regulations. Centralization is formally accommodated by Law no. 8 of 2015. Approval of the central leadership of political parties is included as a formal requirement that must be included in registration (*The Election of Governor, Regent, and Mayor Act*, 2015). This practice seems like a paradox of how this could happen. The local election is the idea of decentralization and local autonomy, but the process for selecting candidates is centralized (Budi, 2020). Centralization was understood as an indication of an oligarchy within the party body that demanded the obedience of regional administrators and cadres in accepting anyone nominated by the central leadership.

Although the approval formally comes from the central party leader, there are dynamics within party management in the process. The centralization does not mean there is no role for the regional party administrators. What happened to PAN at the regional management level was quite interesting. One of the names included in the PAN prospective candidate in the 2020 Pilkada is Ratu Munawaroh. She is well known as the spouse of Zulkifli Nurdin, the founder of PAN in Jambi. Zulkifli Nurdin was a political figure who has been discussed in several academic works as the most dominant political figure in Jambi. She also has personal experience with PAN. In the 2009 general election, she got elected as a member of the DPR with the highest votes. With this political record, it is reasonable that Ratu Munawaroh is one of the prospected candidates for PAN. However, Ratu Munawaroh's desire to be nominated by PAN encountered problems. Party officials at the regional level showed their reluctance to support Ratu Munawaroh. There was an internal dynamic at the regional management level that was party officials' showed their resistance to Ratu Munawaroh. The reason they were used, PAN is still on the agreement or recommendation of the PAN Central Board which supports H. Bakri as a candidate for PAN (One, 2020). Ratu has made efforts to gain support from the PAN leaders at the central level (One, 2020), but it was still difficult for Ratu Munawaroh to get support from the PAN. At the end of the nomination process PAN did not nominate H. Bakri but Al Haris, a Golkar cadre.

Ratu Munawaroh's failure in getting PAN support can be understood as preventing the Zulkifli Nurdins family from returning their influence in this Party. By looking at the history of PAN in Jambi, it was a reasonable action. Zulkifli Nurdin was the central figure in PAN. He and his family played a dominant role in this party. Since 1999, PAN has been the most successful political party in the Jambi. PAN won three of four gubernatorial elections. All of the elected governors came from the Nurdin family. Zulkifli Nurdin himself won in 1999 and 2005, and his son Zumi Zola won in 2015. Zulkifli Nurdin was

called a local strongman figure for his political domination and the political dynasty he built (Ahmad, 2018; Hutabarat, 2012). Besides Zola, the other family members also became part of the political dynasty. Hazrin Nurdin, brother of Zulkifli Nurdin was the Chair of the PAN in Jambi Province. His son, Zumi Zola Zulkifli was the Regent of Tanjung Jabung Timur (2011-2015), the Governor of Jambi (2015-2018), and the Chair of the PAN in Jambi Province (2015-2018). His nephew, Sum Indra, was the Deputy Mayor of Jambi (jambikota.go.id, 2016), Zumi Laza, Zumi Zola's younger brother, was the Chair of the PAN in Jambi City. Ratu Munawaroh was a member of the DPR from PAN. PAN became a party identically associated with the Zulkifli Nurdin family.

The domination of The Zulkifli Nurdin family got shaky in 1998. Zumi Zola was hitten by a corruption case in the 2018 budget ratification (APBD). He got put on trial and sentenced by the court. The corruption case got them to lose their political position. The Chair of the PAN in Jambi Province shifted from Zumi Zola to H. Bakri. His brother Zumi Laza, the Chair of the PAN in Jambi city got resigned from politics, even though he has prepared to become a candidate for mayor in the 2018 Jambi City election. After that, the domination of the Nurdins family getting declined.

What happened to PDIP was almost the same as what happened to PAN. PDIP has two potential cadres, Abdullah Sani and Safrial. Abdullah Sani already decided to become a candidate for deputy governor who was paired with Al Haris. Thus, Safrial has an opportunity to gain PDIP support. Safrial is the Regent of Tanjung Barat and he has been a PDIP cadre since 2001. Safrial also has a good performance with PDIP. During his two terms as Regent of Tanjung Jabung Barat, PDIP has always won the general election. However, PDIP did not nominate him, but Ratu Munawaroh, who was a PAN cadre.

The issue of cadres with their political parties also occurred in the nomination of the incumbent governor Fachri Umar. Fachrori Umar was the counselor of the Jambi Province Nasdem Party, but he did not get support from the party. Fachrori Umar's position as the incumbent governor did not seem to

be the main consideration. Nasdem even stated earlier to the public, that they will support Syarif Fasha (mayor of Jambi City). Nasdem was more interested in nominating Syarif Fasha than Fachrori Umar even though Fasha is a Golkar cadre.,

The only party cadre who has officially got support from his political party was Cek Endra. Besides Cek Endra, Golkar has two potential cadres, Al Haris and Syarif Fasha. Cek Endra has the advantage as the Chair of Golkar in Jambi Province. Check Endra's control over the party organization made him different from other cadres. It can be said that the nomination of Cek Endra as a candidate for governor had no significant internal party dynamics.

Figures and Resources as Main Issues in the Nomination Process

In the nomination process, In the nomination process, the figures being nominated are more attractive than the political party itself. Local elections in general are very different from legislative elections. In a local election, candidate figures are more influential than the political parties that support them. Golkar was the first party to realize the importance of polls to find a popular figure worth supporting. They used the poll's results as the primary basis in the candidate selection process. What Golkar did had a domino effect, other parties such as PAN, the Demokrat Party, and PDIP followed what was done by Golkar (Trihartono, 2014). Polls then become a new tool political parties use in the candidate selection process. Political actors also use polls to gain support from political parties. They also used it as a political vehicle and a political map that will be used as a guide in mobilizing support. The role of polling has shifted, not only to become a tool to track voter preferences but also to become a political (Trihartono, 2014).

The political party or coalition of political parties with the largest number of seats in the DPRD may not necessarily win the election. It can be seen in the Gerindra, Democrat, Hanura, and PPP coalition, which supported Fachrori Umar-Syafril Nursal. The combination of these four parties controlled

34.5% of the DPRD seats and 30.9% of the votes from the 2019 General Election, but in the 2020 Local Election, the pair candidates they nominated got only 24.9% of the votes. The long experience of political parties in participating in local elections has made political parties increasingly aware that, a popular figure and favored by voters are vital considerations in the candidate selection process.

Cross candidacy happened in Jambi is evidence of the importance of popular figures by political parties side. In a deeper sight, the popular figures also have resources, politically or materially. It can be seen that the famous figures were in public office positions. They were head/deputy of local government at the province or district/city level mostly became the main figures who were potentially getting the nomination. This can be seen in the figures of Fachrori Umar, the incumbent governor, Cek Endra, the Regent of Sarolangun, Al Haris, the Regent of Merangin, Syarif Fasha, the Mayor of Jambi City, and Safrial, the Regent of Tanjung Jabung Timur. Then there was Abdullah Sani, the Deputy Mayor of Jambi City (2013- 2018), who ran for mayor of Jambi City in the 2018 local election. These names have appeared for a long time in the candidacy market. Only Syafril Nursal was the name that appeared at the last minutes of the nomination. As a retired general, he made him also a worthy figure to be nominated.

The figure of Ratu Munawaroh became the epicenter of attention in the nomination process. Ratu Munawaroh has not held public office or been an active politician at that time. Nevertheless, Ratu Munawaroh successfully got the PDIP support. PDIP, as mentioned before, was the largest party in Jambi. They were the winner of the 2019 General Election and have the most seats in the DPRD, but they decided on a person with no formal position in politics. It was shown that the reputation of Zulkifli Nurdin's political family was still strong. Ratu Munawaroh was a symbol of the existence of Zulkifli Nurdin's political family. Another thing that was interesting to look at further is that their reputation is not only based on their political domination in previous

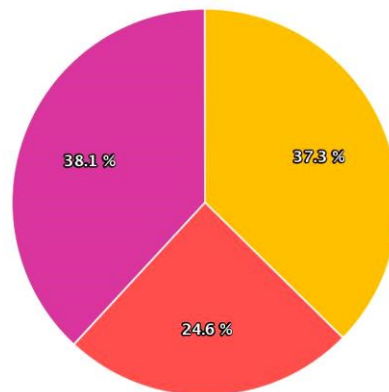
times, but also on the material resources that they have had for a long time (Ahmad, 2018; Hutabarat, 2012).

The Impact of Cross Candidacy And The Election Result

Cross candidacy has an impact on adjustments political party membership of the candidates. Al Haris relinquished his membership in Golkar and later became a member of PAN before the candidate registration to the Local Electoral Commission (Almunanda, 2020). Ratu Munawaroh abandoned her membership in PAN to become a member of PDIP (Metrojambi.com, 2020a). Likewise, Fachrori Umar from the Nasdem Party became a member of Gerindra (Bermultimedia.com, 2020a). Abdullah Sani became a PKB member after the Pilkada, previously he was a PDIP cadre (Bermultimedia.com, 2021).

This was not the first time politicians shifted their party membership, many politicians in Indonesia have done the same thing at the central and regional levels. From a neutral point of view, this phenomenon will be considered a normal thing because politics has its dynamic, nothing is rigid, compromise in politics is a good thing. There is nothing to argue about. Meanwhile, in a critical view, this phenomenon illustrates the weakness of ideological ties to the political party. It also can be a criticism of the strengthening of pragmatism on temporary political interests. Political parties seem to nullify themselves as institutions that have a responsibility and role as the central agency of political regeneration.

Competition between candidates was tight, especially between Cek Endra-Ratu Munawaroh and Al Haris-Abdullah Sani. Fachrori Umar-Syafril Nursal, incumbent and supported by more political parties than the two candidate pairs, ended up in the last position. The votes counted by the local electoral commission showed the margin between the two candidates was less than one percent with the advantage of the Al Haris-Abdullah Sani. Meanwhile, the Fachrori Umar-Syafril Nursal votes were far from the other two pairs. In figure 2.



● (01) Drs. H. CEK ENDRA – Hj. RATU MUNAWAROH
 ● (02) Dr. Drs. H. FACHRORI UMAR, M. Hum – Drs. H. SYAFRIL NURSAL, S.H., M.H.
 ● (03) Dr. H. AL HARIS, S.Sos., M.H. – Drs. H. ABDULLAH SANI, M.Pd.I

Figure 2. Election Result, (KPU Provinsi Jambi, 2020).

With the thin margin of votes, the Cek Endra-Ratu Munawaroh filed a dispute over the election results to the Constitutional Court (MK). They argued that there was fraud in the election. The Constitutional Court decided on the disputed case with a re-balloting decision (PSU). The re-balloting must be held at 88 votes stations in 15 sub-districts in 5 districts/cities. The re-balloting was held on 27 May 2021. The results did not change the situation, the 2020 Jambi Governor Election was finally won by the Al Haris-Abdullah Sani (Table 3.).

Table 3. The Results of Re-balloting (27 May 2021)

Candidates	Votes
(1) Check Endra-Ratu Munawaroh	8,890
(2) Fachrori Umar-Syafril Nursal	300
(3) Al-Haris-Abdullah Sani	11,422

Source: (antaranews.com, 2021)

The impact of cross candidacy and the local election result on the new political balance in Jambi is not yet to be seen. However, this could be an early indication for future Jambi politics. On the one side, PAN become stronger because the candidate they were supporting won the election, but on the other hand, PAN lost the support of the political family of Zulkifli Nurdin, whose influence is still being considered. It was not Ratu Munawaroh only who joined PDIP. The rest of Nurdin's family followed Ratu's decision to become PDIP

members. Sum Indra and his younger brother Ferry Ardiansyah joined PDIP right after (Metrojambi.com, 2020b).

CONCLUSION

Among similar studies that have been carried out, this paper finds an anomaly in political recruitment practice, called cross candidacy. Cross candidacy is an addition to the complexity of issues in political recruitment in Indonesia. Previous studies looked at the problems that arose in the candidate recruitment of local elections as internal party problems, pragmatism, and the weak institutionalization of political parties. In this paper, the political recruitment issues in the candidate selection process are understood more broadly. Looking at some external aspects outside the political parties is also necessary because they influenced the internal processes of political parties.

Norris's three-stage model of political recruitment helped us analyze the issues. There is a lack of harmony between the nomination system in the local elections with the design of a multi-party party system and a proportional electoral system at the certification stage. The party system and electoral system in Indonesia are quite loose, but the nomination system in the local elections is enforced very strictly. Many political parties are encouraged to form a coalition in such a situation. The coalitions they were formed were very loose and so elastic. At the nomination stage, political party decisions were generally centralized. However, elite behavior and internal dynamics of political parties at the regional level also need to be seen as essential factors. Some specific things such as alliances and competition between political party actors at the regional level can influence the selection and decision process at the central level. In the last stage, the election stage, the strength of the candidate's figure, and their resources were critical considerations for political parties in deciding whom they chose.

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