

ANALYSIS OF THE FAILURE OF NEW LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES IN LEGISLATIVE ELECTION 2024 USING GROUNDED THEORY

Oleh:

Annisa Liestiani¹

Ayu Wulandari²

Edoward N. Budiyanto³

Jerry Heikal⁴

Universitas Bakrie

Alamat: JL. H. R. Rasuna Said No.2 kav c-22, RT.2/RW.5, Karet, Kec. Setiabudi,
Kuningan, DKI Jakarta (12940)

Korespondensi Penulis: annisa.liestiani@gmail.com

Abstract. On 14 February 2024, Indonesia held the democracy party simultaneously in all regions, which included the general election for president, DPR RI, and DPRD for each regency or city. General elections are an important point in the democratic process where legislative candidates, both incumbent and new candidates, compete to get votes because the number of available legislative seats is limited compared to the legislative candidates who register. In fact, many new candidates fail to get the seats. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to pinpoint the predominant factors that contribute to the defeat of new candidates. This research uses a qualitative method with a grounded theory approach to understand phenomena through the process of data collection and analysis. Data analysis involved open coding, category development and themes emerging from the data. Through in-depth analysis, it was found that the coding scheme consisted of 39 codes that formed 8 categories and gave rise to 4 themes with a total frequency of 39. Based on the analysis, it can conclude that the pre-dominant factors that caused 5 (five) new legislative candidates to lose in the 2024 legislative election (although they have self-

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figure in society and expertise) were less effective in political campaign (22 of 39 codes or 56.4%) and lack of supporting systems (11 of 39 codes or 28.2%). While money politics and election system were not the main factors that caused the failure. The results of this study can be used as consideration for new legislative candidates in the future, who should plan their political campaigns and seek a lot of supporting systems to avoid defeat. **Keywords:** Defeated Candidate, Legislative Candidate, Legislative Election, Grounded Theory.

INTRODUCTION

On 14 February 2024, Indonesia held the democracy party once in five years simultaneously in all regions, which included the general election for President and Vice President, DPR RI, and DPRD of Province and DPRD of regency or city. On that date, every Indonesian citizen registered on the Permanent Voter List, namely 204,8card (voters, went to polling stations spread across 823,220 points in the country (namely in 38 provinces and 514 regencies/cities) and abroad, to cast their vote for one pair of Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates and one Legislative Candidate at the level of DPR RI and/or, DPD RI and/or Provincial DPRD and/or Regency/City DPRD according to their identity card (KTP) and area of residence.

Based on data from the KPU 2024, the number of seats available was far less than the number of legislative candidates. For example, for the DPR RI, there were only 580 seats available compared to the legislative candidates who registered, namely 9,917 candidates; in other words, the availability of seats was only 6%. Due to the limited availability of seats, both incumbent and new candidates compete to get votes. To win the competition, each legislative candidate has a strategy for convincing voters to vote for the legislative candidate through the election campaign.

According to General Election Commission Regulation 15 of 2023, election campaigns are the activities of election participants or other parties appointed by election participants to convince voters by offering a vision, mission, program, and/or self-image of election participants. It is stated in the regulation (Chapter IV: Campaign Methods, Article 26) that Election Campaigns can be carried out through 9 (nine) methods, including (1) limited meetings; (2) face-to-face meetings; (3) distribution of Election Campaign materials to the public; (4) installation of Election Campaign props in public

places; (5) social media; (6) Advertisements in print mass media, electronic mass media, and online media; (7) general meeting; (8) Candidate Pair debates regarding Candidate Pair Election Campaign materials; and (9) other activities that do not violate Election Campaign prohibitions and regulatory provisions. This campaign was carried out for 25 days after determining the list of legislative candidates (article 27).

During the election campaign period, some phenomena emerged at every election event; the first phenomenon was buying and selling votes to win over voters, which was prohibited by the KPU (Article 75) but was still carried out by individual legislative candidates. According to M. Abdul Kholiq (Gustia, 2015), this practice is a form of money politics, namely the action of giving money or material, whether ownership of assets of a legislative candidate (legislative candidate) or party assets, to win votes in the election being held. Money politics, which often takes place during elections, is a mandatory requirement for every legislative candidate whether at the central or regional level in order to obtain the most support and votes from the public. If this practice continues, in that case, the reality of money politics will likely become a culture or tradition in the election itself, so it can tarnish the meaning and significance of genuine democracy (Fitriani et al., 2019). The shift in money politics has indirectly created protection through the cultural norms of society, which consider it normal for this action to occur (Rimbing, 2015). In addition, there is a perception in society that rejecting “good fortune” (or *rejeki*) is not a good thing, so money politics is still accepted (Sumarno, 2021). The method that occurred in the field, according to the Field Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu, 2019), apart from buying voters' votes or what is known as the 'dawn attack' (or *serangan fajar*) was also in the form of using the remaining unused ballot papers at the TPS to vote and give them to the camp that had ordered them. to members of the Voting Organizing Group (KPPS).

Since direct legislative elections were held in 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019 and 2024 the election campaign atmosphere has always been decorated with competition between incumbent legislative candidates and new legislative candidates. This is the second phenomenon, namely the fact that incumbent candidates have more opportunities to win the general election than newcomers. According to Fadli Ramadhanil (2015), the incumbent's extensive access to budget, bureaucracy, and regional facilities makes the incumbent one step ahead of newcomer candidates.

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According to Article 240 paragraph (1) letter n of Law 7/2017, prospective members of the DPR, provincial DPRD, and district/city DPRD must be members of political parties participating in the election. In fact, of the 24 political parties registered for the 2024 election, based on Wikipedia data, eight large parties filled more than 1000 seats in the Regency/City DPRD for the 2019-2024 period, namely PDIP, Golkar, Gerindra, Nasdem, Demokrat, PKB, PAN, and PKS and are parties that have a lot of experience since the existence of these parties, namely from dozens of years to decades. Apart from being carried out by the legislative candidate concerned, the campaign strategy is also carried out by the political party that supports it. Therefore, the third phenomenon is that the size of a party supports legislative candidates, and the length of experience a party has in participating in elections can certainly influence support in the form of a more comprehensive political campaign strategy for a legislative candidate.

The fourth interesting phenomenon is that to win a legislative seat, it turns out that legislative candidate do not need a high educational background such as a bachelor's degree or even a professor, the legislative candidate just need to meet the minimum educational background required by the KPU based on Article 7 of KPU Regulation Number 20 of 2018 concerning Nominations for Members of the Indonesian DPR, Provincial DPRD and DPRD City/Regency, namely the lowest level of education, has completed high school, *madrasah aliyah*, vocational high school, vocational *madrasah aliyah*, or other equivalent schools. Based on news reported by Solopos 2019, in the 2019 DPRD the most selected candidates had senior high school graduate educational backgrounds. In other words, many new candidates with higher education and/or social figures and expertise background failed.

In an effort to provide insight into new candidates with higher education and/or social figures and expertise background win seats in the next legislative election period, this research aims to pinpoint the predominant factors that lead to the defeat of new candidates with higher education and/or social figures and expertise background in general elections through a Grounded Theory approach.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this research is the Qualitative method with the Grounded theory approach. As defined by Scott (2020) and Noble (2016), grounded theory is a

research method that aims to generate theory based on data collected and analyzed systematically. The research evidently developed grounded theory through coding, categories, and themes. This theory development procedure consisted of collecting interview data, identifying coding, developing, and linking categories, and developing analytical themes.

In implementing grounded theory, data was collected commonly using the interview, which involves interaction between researchers and respondents, as defined by Charmaz & Belgrave (2012). As the interviewer, the researcher has a question framework with open-ended question characteristics. The researcher obtained permission from the respondent to record this interview process. From the recording, the researcher made a transcript and processed it according to the guidance of grounded theory.

In selecting respondents, researchers used a purposive sampling method, where sample selection was based on characteristics relevant to the research objectives, namely new legislative candidates with higher educational background and/or social figures and expertise who failed in the legislative general election. The importance of selecting a sample representing respondents' views was focused on the coding and data analysis stage to minimize potential distortions. This research collected data from interviews with new legislative candidates representing the electoral districts of East Kutai, Depok, and South Jakarta. The location chosen was based on the researcher's domicile because there were time limitations and differences in the area of the research team in this study. Researchers conducted in-depth interviews within a period of 30 minutes to 60 minutes with each candidate from 3 East Kutai electoral districts and 2 Jadebotabek electoral districts and five different parties representing two big parties (Golkar, Gerindra) and three small parties (PSI, Perindo, and the Labor Party). Apart from that, these five respondents were legislative candidates with S1-S2 higher education and varied social figures.

Detailed profiles of the 5 (five) respondents in this study can be seen in the table below:

Table 1. Profile of New Legislative Candidate

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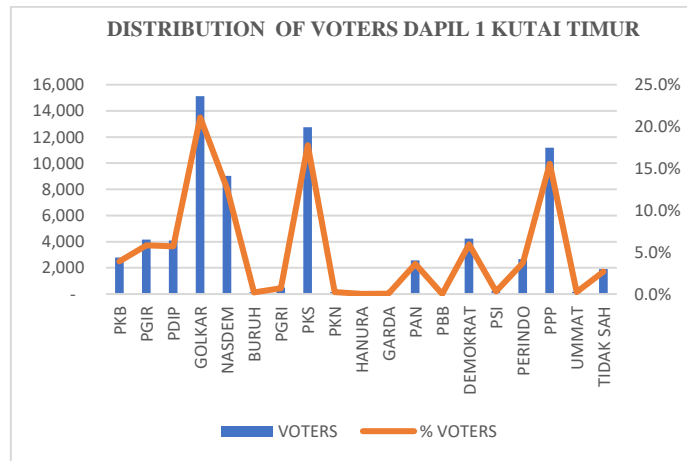
No	Description	Candidate 1	Candidate 2	Candidate 3	Candidate 4	Candidate 5
1	Occupation	Employee in Mining Company	Employee in Mining Company	Employee in Mining Company	Oil Mining -Expert	Businessman
2	Educational Background	S1	S1	S1	S1	S2
3	Position number in the Party	2	2	4	6	2
4	Frequency as a Legislative Candidates	1	1	1	1	2 (the first try was also defeated)
5	Area Selection	Dapil 1 Kutai Timur	Dapil 1 Kutai Timur	Dapil 1 Kutai Timur	Dapil Kota Depok	Dapil Jaksel 7
6	Party	PSI	Perindo	Partai Buruh	Gerindra	Golongan Karya
7	Position in the Party	Ketua Direktorat Kaderisasi dan Pembinaan	Wakil ketua LITBANG	Member	Member	Ketua Pembinaan Pemuda Bidang Agama dan Budaya
8	Join time with the Party	2016 (8 years)	2023 (1 year)	2023 (1 year)	2019 (5 years)	2014 (10 years)
9	Social Figure	Committee of Church, Member of Toraja Community	Chairman of Islamic Community	Chairman of Labor Union in Mining Company	n/a	n/a
10	Votes Result for Every Candidate (number)	22	774	10	2500	3599

No	Description	Candidate 1	Candidate 2	Candidate 3	Candidate 4	Candidate 5
11	Total Votes Result of the Party	210	2,664	147	KPU has not published the data yet	78,780
12	% Achievement Votes belong to Candidate compared to the Total Votes of the Party	10%	29%	7%	same as above	5%
13	Total All Valid Vote Result at <i>Dapil</i> (Selection Area)	69,797	69,797	69,797	same as above	619,334
14	% Achievement of the Party's Candidate compared to All Valid Vote Result	0.30%	3.82%	0.21%	same as above	12.72%

The number of voters per party in the electoral districts of the 3 of 5 respondents for the East Kutai Regency area can be seen in the graph below:

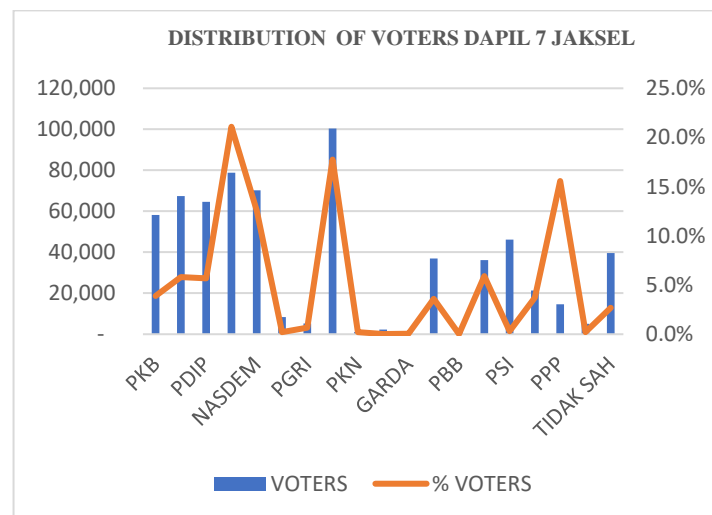
Figure 1. Distribution of Voters Dapil (Selection Area) 1 Kabupaten Kutai Timur

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The number of voters per party in the electoral districts of the 1 of 5 respondents for the South Jakarta area can be seen in the graph below:

Figure 2. Distribution of Voters Dapil (Selection Area) 7 Jakarta Selatan



Using the Grounded Theory method, this research is expected to produce an understanding that will answer the research question in the form of a theory related to the dominant factors that cause the defeat of New Legislative Candidates despite having higher educational background and/or good social figures and expertise background.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Data was obtained from the interviews of 5 (five) respondents with structured interviews so that researchers get information that was in accordance with the research topic, then continued with the open coding process. Open coding is essential to qualitative

research, especially in grounded theory development (Glaser, 2016). It involves categorization and exploration of the initial data, which can generate multiple descriptions for possible concepts (Glaser, 2016). However, it is important to focus on emerging concepts and avoid getting lost in irrelevant descriptions (Glaser, 2016). From Table 2, the number of coding was 39 codes which can be divided into 8 (eight) group of categories, i.e. Supporting, Party Influences, Campaign Cost, Political Campaign, Self-Figure in Society, Money Politic for Voters, Money Politic for Election Committee and Election System.

Table 2. Coding Results

Number of New Candidate	No	Coding	Category							
			Supporting	Party Influence	Campaign Cost	Political Campaign	Self Figure in Society	Money Politic for Voters	Money Politic for Election Committee	Election System
New Candidate 1	1	The size of Party was small.		1						
	2	Money Politic from other Candidates.						1		
	3	Weak Figure.					1			
	4	No success teams.	1							
	5	No socialization activities.				1				
	6	Not optimal in campaigns on Online social media (only via				1				

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Number of New Candidate	No	Coding	Category							
			Supporting	Party Influence	Campaign Cost	Political Campaign	Self Figure in Society	Money Political for Voters	Money Political for Election Committee	Election System
		IG, not using Facebook).								
	7	Not optimal in physical Media campaigns (only distribute 4 posters 1.5 x 1 m).				1				
	8	Not preparing political costs (only spending Rp 300,000).			1					
	9	Legislative candidates approached KPPS to use empty votes and Bawaslu's control over violations was weak.							1	
	10	The presidential candidate proposed by the party does not match the		1						

Number of New Candidate	No	Coding	Category							
			Supporting	Party Influence	Campaign Cost	Political Campaign	Self Figure in Society	Money Political for Voters	Money Political for Election Committee	Election System
		presidential candidate's choice of potential legislative candidate voters.								
New Candidate 2	1	Refuse to buy the offering votes (50 votes). Other candidates may take the offer.						1		
	2	Have a successful team but only a small one (only 12 people).	1							
	3	Spending IDR 75 million, relatively small compared to successful legislative candidates up to Rp 4 billion.			1					

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Number of New Candidate	No	Coding	Category							
			Supporting	Party Influence	Campaign Cost	Political Campaign	Self Figure in Society	Money Political for Voters	Money Political for Election Committee	Election System
	4	The online campaign media used was only on Instagram.				1				
	5	Lack of socialization to RTs, only up to 12 RTs.				1				
	6	No mapping analysis of potential voters at each polling station (<i>Tempat Pemilihan Suara</i>) compared to the incumbent.				1				
	7	Incumbent legislative candidates usually have more capital by managing their aspiration funds.			1					
	8	Betrayal of friends who	1							

Number of New Candidate	No	Coding	Category							
			Supporting	Party Influence	Campaign Cost	Political Campaign	Self Figure in Society	Money Political for Voters	Money Political for Election Committee	Election System
		advised not to vote (black campaign).								
New Candidate 3	1	Lack of advertising such as posters/banners/billboards.				1				
	2	Not optimal on using social media platform: advertising posting at Instagram only once, Facebook on Whatsapp Status only the last day of campaign period.				1				
	3	The size of Party was small and relatively new.		1						
	4	Lack of socialization,				1				

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Number of New Candidate	No	Coding	Category							
			Supporting	Party Influence	Campaign Cost	Political Campaign	Self Figure in Society	Money Political for Voters	Money Political for Election Committee	Election System
		only visiting friends' houses.								
	5	Not supported by children and wife.	1							
	6	Not preparing political cost, for example to buy displays, banners, socialization.			1					
	7	Had no a success team.	1							
New Candidate 4	1	Money politic from other candidates.						1		
	2	Weak figure in society.					1			
	3	No success team.	1							
	4	The capital was relatively smaller compare with other			1					

Number of New Candidate	No	Coding	Category							
			Supporting	Party Influence	Campaign Cost	Political Campaign	Self Figure in Society	Money Political for Voters	Money Political for Election Committee	Election System
		candidates i.e. 400 million.								
	5	Not fully supported by his wife and children.	1							
	6	Incumbent legislative candidates usually have more capital by managing their aspiration funds.			1					
New Candidate 5	1	Not optimal in physical Media campaigns (poster/pamphlet).				1				
	2	Money Political from other Candidates.						1		
	3	Figure in society still weak since the candidate moved out from					1			

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Number of New Candidate	No	Coding	Category							
			Supporting	Party Influence	Campaign Cost	Political Campaign	Self Figure in Society	Money Political for Voters	Money Political for Election Committee	Election System
		Banten to South Jakarta.								
	4	Not optimal in campaigns on Online social media.				1				
	5	No success teams.	1							
	6	Spends less political money than other candidates.			1					
	7	Incumbent legislative candidates usually have more capital by managing their aspiration funds.			1					
	8	The method for calculating votes to obtain seats was different from the previous period. Although, the								1

Number of New Candidate	No	Coding	Category							
			Supporting	Party Influence	Campaign Cost	Political Campaign	Self Figure in Society	Money Politic for Voters	Money Politic for Election Committee	Election System
		vote result was higher, with the new method was counted loss.								
		Total	8	3	8	11	3	4	1	1

In the next step process, determine the theme of each category to find out the relationship between the categories that have been compiled. Based on the research results, four main themes were found from the interviews conducted with 5 legislative candidates. Supporting System, Political Campaign, Money Politic and Election System are the main themes (Table 3).

Table 3. Themes Results

Category	Frequency	Themes			
		Supporting System	Political Campaign	Money Politic	Election System
Supporting	8	8			
Party Influence	3	3			
Campaign Cost	8		8		
Political Campaign	11		11		
Self-Figure in Society	3		3		
Money Politic for Voters	4			4	

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Category	Frequency	Themes			
		Supporting System	Political Campaign	Money Politic	Election System
Money Politic for Election Committee	1			1	
Election System	1				1
Total	39	11	22	5	1

According to research conducted on 5 (five) legislative candidates, the Political Campaign theme was the dominant factor causing defeat in new candidates with higher educational background and/or self-figure and expertise whose highest frequency value of 22 of 39 points (56.4%). While Supporting System had the second highest frequency value of 11 of 39 points (28.2%), then Money Politics was in the third position with a much lower frequency value, namely 5 of 39 (12.8%). At the bottom, the Election System was the last factor with the least significant value, only 1 of 39 (2.5%).

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of this study, the pre-dominant factors that caused 5 (five) new legislative candidates to lose in the 2024 legislative election (although they have self-figure in society and expertise) were less effective in political campaign (56.4%) and lack of supporting system (28.2%). While money politics and election system were not the main factors that caused the failure. The results of this study can be used as consideration for new legislative candidates in the future, who should plan their political campaigns and seek a lot of supporting systems to avoid defeat.

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