

State Legal Politics and Local Democratization Process (Case Study of the Riau Province Gubernatorial Election in the New Order and Reform Eras)

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Abstract

Democracy in Indonesia is constantly faced with dynamics and polemics in its implementation. Democracy in the context of regional head elections is also an interesting issue due to the discourse of direct elections by the legislature, which is still within the framework of democracy. So, this study aims to analyze the process of regional head elections during the New Order and Reformation, especially in the Riau province. This study uses a normative legal analysis approach. Data analysis is carried out qualitatively with a descriptive-analytical approach, where the collected data is identified and analyzed using theories, concepts, and legal rules to provide answers to the identification of problems. The results of this study indicate that there are still challenges in implementing Direct Regional Elections caused by local elements that require time to move in a better direction. Low community participation in providing oversight of government and problems of leadership integrity can be resolved with a participation space approach, welfare equality and programmatic justice. This study also provides practical implications, namely, a resolution approach is needed to catch up to achieve democratization through adaptive values in the election system that have been taking place at the national level.

Keywords: Law, Election, Democracy, Politics

Introduction

Regional head elections in Indonesia are a crucial aspect of the state system (Mallarangeng et al., 2019). Constitutionally, the legal basis for the implementation of regional head elections can be seen in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD 1945), specifically in Article 18 paragraph (4), which reads, "Governors, Regents, and Mayors, respectively as heads of provincial, district, and city governments, are elected democratically" (S. Hadi, 2023). Meanwhile, to implement the 1945 Constitution, legislation must be created to regulate the implementation and organizers of regional head elections (Nargis & Satriawan, 2021). Meanwhile, related implementing regulations and other technical regulations are prepared and determined by the election organizers, namely the General Election Commission (KPU), the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu), and the Election Organizer Honorary Council (DKPP) (Anam, 2024).

Law Number 32 of 2004 was the starting point in implementing a direct regional head election system in Indonesia. This law, known as the Regional Government Law, significantly changed the paradigm of regional head elections from previously indirect to more direct. Article 7 Paragraph (1) of the Regional Government Law states that Governors, Regents, and Mayors are elected directly by the people. This change reflects the evolution of the democratic system in Indonesia, where direct participation of the people in regional head elections is considered an important aspect of realizing democratic principles (Hakim et al., 2024; Basia et al., 2025). Introducing this direct election system is expected to strengthen direct community involvement in the local political process, increase the accountability of elected regional heads, and present a more accurate representation of the people's wishes (Puspahani & Saleh, 2024).

Recently, discourse on regional head election system changes, especially at the provincial level, has resurfaced (Supono, 2023). Attention to this issue arose based on the interpretation of Article 18 Paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution, which states that governors, regents, and mayors, as heads of regional governments, must be elected democratically. Many parties understand that the phrase "democratically elected" can be interpreted as a direct election by the people or through their representatives, namely the DPRD (Ulum, 2019; Riyanti, 2021) (Riqiey, 2023). As a result, there is pressure from various groups to restore the role of the DPRD as a representative of the people in electing regional heads. This condition then led to the birth of Law Number 22 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors and changes in policies that continue to develop in the realm of regional head elections in Indonesia.

The debate surrounding the interpretation of Article 18 Paragraph (4) not only reflects differences in views on democracy but also reflects the complexity and diversity of political systems in various provinces, districts, and cities (S. Hadi, 2023). The shift from indirect to direct regional head elections, or vice versa, is influenced by legal considerations and political, social, and cultural factors (Riyanti, 2021). In addition, changes in the regional head election mechanism also reflect efforts to increase accountability, transparency, and community participation in the democratic process (Winengan, 2018). This shift can trigger further reforms in the local political system, including improving leadership quality, strengthening democratic institutions, and empowering communities in decision-making (Buben & Kouba, 2024). Thus, this change is constitutional and reflects the local community's political dynamics and aspirations. This shows that the evolution in the regional head election mechanism does not only take place at the legal level but also embraces changes in political culture and public participation patterns at various levels of regional government in Indonesia (Januwarso et al., 2021; Fajri 2023; Muzykant & Muqsith, 2021).

Riau Province, one of the provinces in Indonesia that was officially established in 1957, has experienced a series of changes in regional heads with various systems (Saudi, 2020). As part of its political history, the election of the Governor of Riau was first regulated through a Presidential Decree in 1957 (Bunari, 2009). Then, in 1967, the Governor of Riau was elected through the DPRD-GR, which was carried out through the DPRD until 2003 (Choi, 2007). The first direct election of the Governor of Riau was only carried out in 2008 as a follow-up to the birth of the Law.

With its unique demographics, development policies, and local political dynamics, Riau Province provides a unique context in which to conduct this research. This analysis also provides insight into the extent to which the regional head election system, both direct and indirect, can improve accountability, transparency, and community involvement in the democratic process. By considering the specifics of the local context, this research can significantly contribute to the development of democracy at the provincial level to improve representation, community participation, and leadership quality in Riau Province.

For these reasons, the author is committed to conducting an in-depth evaluation of Indonesia's regional head election system, referring to the perspective of the state system regulated by the 1945 Constitution. This study is directed explicitly at the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor of Riau during two specific periods, namely between 1980-1988 and 2008-2013. The emphasis on the regional head election in Riau Province during these specific periods aims to understand the evolution and changes in the political system and regional head elections at the provincial level. By exploring the history of the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor of Riau during the two periods, it is hoped that patterns, trends, and dynamics will be seen that influence changes in the system.

Literature review

Election

The General Election (Pemilu) is a tool for implementing people's sovereignty, which is carried out directly, generally, freely, secretly, honestly, and somewhat in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Maninggesa, 2022; Maninggesa, 2022). Elections, in other words, are a medium that allows people to exercise sovereignty and participate in the democratic system (Hutauruk, 2023). The electoral system functions as a mechanism for selecting decision-makers when society has grown too large for every citizen to be directly involved in every decision-making that affects the community

(Aboal, 2020). In addition, elections are also an important instrument for the state to change leaders reasonably, as well as provide opportunities for the community to participate in politics and choose leaders who are considered better (Solihah et al., 2018; Барінський et al., 2023).

In Indonesia, elections are divided into two categories: legislative and executive. Legislative elections aim to elect members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council at the provincial, district, and city levels (Putra, 2020; Dharmapala et al., 2022). Meanwhile, executive elections include presidents, governors, regents, and mayors. Article 18, paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution emphasizes that the election of regional heads, such as governors, regents, and mayors, must be carried out democratically (Taufani, 2018; Hsb, 2016; Ulum, 2019). This is further emphasized by Article 23 paragraph (5) of Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government, which states that the people in the region directly elect regional heads and deputy regional heads.

Regional head elections are a means for citizens to elect leaders at the regional level to produce democratic and quality leaders (Agustino et al., 2023; Pakina, 2020; Tjahjadi, 2024). Article 18, paragraph (4) shows that Indonesia is a democratic country, and therefore, regional head elections must be based on democratic principles. Law Number 32 of 2004 has regulated the implementation of Regional Head Elections (Pemilukada) democratically, with the hope of producing regional heads who have strong legitimacy from the people (Permana et al., 2020; Anggalana, 2022; Yanto & Bariki, 2024).

Several considerations underlying the implementation of direct regional elections include providing freedom for regions to organize regional autonomy by democratic principles (Haris, 2022; Adi & Irani, 2023; Akili et al., 2024). The development of democratic life, justice, equality, and people's welfare is the focus, as well as the strategic role of regional heads in maintaining harmonious relations between the central government, regions, and between regions to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia (Grzywacz, 2020; Wisnaeni, 2020; Septiana et al., 2023; Bachtiar & Nur, 2023). Regional heads, therefore, have a vital role in this context. Elections are also considered a fundamental human right of citizens because they involve the people as voters who determine their choices (Al Musbeh, 2013). This concept is in line with the principle of popular sovereignty, where elections are an essential prerequisite for a democratic country to implement popular sovereignty (Jayus, 2020; Pettit, 2022).

Conceptually, two mechanisms can create free and fair elections, namely creating a fair method for transferring voters' votes to representative institutions (electoral system) and running elections following democratic rules and principles (electoral process) (AA Miezah & Miezah, 2018; Dauda et al., 2019). The electoral system has a significant impact on the proportionality of election results, the type of cabinet formed, the form of the party system, government accountability, party cohesion, public political participation, and elements of democracy that are more easily manipulated (Donovan & Karp, 2017; Fink-Hafner & Novak, 2022).

Democratisation

Initially, democracy was not a form of government but rather a form of free association, generally carried out by philosophers (Olteanu, 2012). Along with development and progress, these associations shifted from initial freedom to state coercion. At this stage, the concept of democracy began to be discussed in the context of government by philosophers such as Herodotus (500-424 BC), Plato (427-347 BC), Aristotle (384-322 BC), and Polybius (200-120 BC) (Glassman & Glassman, 2021; Caya & Hakim, 2024). That period was marked by the emergence of the Greek state, which adopted a constitutional system based on democracy, since the introduction of democracy has often been seen as a political view that emphasizes resolving national problems somewhat acceptably to all levels of society (FINKO, 2023).

In a democratic system of government, those in power are accountable to the people and rule in their name (Papadopoulos, 2023). Power is obtained through competition or a free and open transition system, ensuring everyone has equal rights and opportunities to gain power democratically (Bitros et al., 2013). The concept of popular sovereignty was first introduced by Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) in response to the absolute power of the king at that time (Edelstein, 2022). Rousseau, considered the main driver of the

French Revolution, was given the title "Father of Popular Sovereignty" or "Father of Democracy". Jean Bodin saw the essence of the state as lying in the people's sovereignty as the highest power in political unity (Edelstein, 2022).

For Bodin, law is seen as the king's command, and the command becomes a general rule that applies to people solving general problems (Ranum & Ranum, 2020). All traditions and customary laws are considered valid only if there is an order from the sovereign (Grunert, 2002). The king's power is considered the highest power over the people, which is not bound by law because if the king is bound by law, it can destroy the basic meaning of sovereignty (Evrigenis, 2019). To achieve state goals, state organizations need power. Jean Jacques Rousseau's social contract theory emphasizes that state power comes from a social agreement, where humans have full sovereignty over themselves and the rights that are born from themselves (Odum, 2023).

Method

This research is a type of normative legal research that includes legal principles, legal systematics, vertical and horizontal synchronization, comparative law, and legal history (Amiludin & Asmawi, 2020; Ramadani et al., 2021; Alulu et al., 2024; Badawi & Siregar, 2024). Legal analysis is based on constitutional law, involving laws that have been in effect, are currently in effect, and should be in effect in the future. The research methodology will involve three approaches. First, normative research to examine the positive legal aspects that regulate the regional head election system during the New Order (before the 1945 Constitution was amended) (Permana et al., 2020; Adhyatma et al., 2021; Susantri, 2022). Second, historical research investigates various legal aspects that have been in effect related to the election of regional heads (governors). Third, comparative legal research compares the legal aspects of the gubernatorial election system in two periods. To obtain research results, researchers will use library research techniques supported by primary legal materials (such as the 1945 Constitution and the 1945 Amendment), secondary legal materials (research results, dissertations, journals, and scientific works of legal and non-legal experts), and tertiary legal materials. Data analysis is carried out qualitatively with a descriptive-analytical approach, where the collected data is identified and analyzed using theories, concepts, and legal principles to provide answers to the identification of problems.

Result and discussion

Comparison of Regional Head Election Systems in Indonesia Between the New Order and Reform Order Eras

In general, Indonesia has implemented two models of regional head election systems in two orders, namely the indirect election system during the New Order and at the beginning of the Reformation Order and the direct election system in the Reformation Order (D. A. Hadi & Hidayat, 2019; Wisnaeni, 2020; Adhyatma et al., 2021; Hady, 2022). Indirect elections are carried out based on Law Number 5 of 1974 concerning the Principles of Regional Government and Law Number 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government (Baharuddin & Hidjaz, 2020) (Santoso, 2021). Meanwhile, the direct election system refers to Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government, which was later revised to Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government junto Law Number 9 of 2015 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government.

The indirect election system is also known as indirect democracy, while direct elections are often called direct democracy. Hans Kelsen distinguishes the two types of terms (direct democracy and indirect democracy) with public participation in both types (Lagerspetz & Lagerspetz, 2016). The direct democracy type is implemented by the people directly with an open principle (Hai & My, 2021). Indirect democracy is carried out through representative democracy, where in this system, democracy is reduced to organs whose members are first elected to fill these organs, and then they give their voting rights.

This study describes the election of the Riau Governor in two different orders, namely the first New Order in the transition period towards the Reform Order under the regime of Law Number 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government, which implemented indirect elections or elections through representatives in the Riau

DPRD. Second, the Reform Order under the regime of Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government, which implemented direct elections in the regional head election system. Referring to Article 18 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution, which states: "governors, regents, and mayors as heads of provincial, district, and city governments are elected democratically", then the phrase "democratically elected" can be interpreted that regional head elections do not have to be carried out by holding general elections. Moreover, the 1945 Constitution states that general elections are held to elect members of the DPR, DPD, President and Vice President and members of the Provincial, District and City DPRD as regulated by Article 22E paragraph (2). In addition, regional head elections are not included in the category of national general elections, such as those held once every five years, but are local elections. Law Number 12 of 2003 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council and Regional People's Representative Council also does not regulate the election of regional heads.

The election of the Riau Governor for the 1980-1988 term was the last local leadership succession during the regime of Law Number 22 of 1999, which was implemented by the Regional People's Representative Council resulting from the 1999 General Election. After the issuance of Law Number 32 of 2004, the election of the Riau Governor was held through direct Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) by the people democratically. Dominggus Marei put forward several important reasons for the direct election of the Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head, namely: 1) returning sovereignty to the people; 2) equal legitimacy between the Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head with the DPRD; 3) equal position between the Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head with the DPRD; and 4) preventing money politics.

The 2008 Pilkada in Riau Province was the election of regional heads and deputy regional heads after the enactment of Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government and Law Number 22 of 2007 concerning General Election Organizers, which changed the nomenclature of Pilkada to Pemilukada (Regional Head General Election). The Pilkada in Riau Province is a transitional regional head election from a non-democratic regime to a democratic regime. According to Sahya Anggara, this transition began with the rise of civil society and the opposition, which succeeded in overthrowing the New Order regime in May 1998.⁸³ The election is also one of the most important aspects of democracy, which is held democratically to elect public officials in the legislative and executive branches both at the central and regional levels.

The development of the Riau gubernatorial election from the New Order to the reform era

After the enactment of Emergency Law Number 19 of 1957, which regulated the Establishment of Level I Autonomous Regions such as West Sumatra, Jambi, and Riau, the central government immediately determined the position of governor. President Soekarno appointed Sutan M. Amin as the first governor of Riau. Before serving as Governor of Riau, Sutan M. Amin also had experience in the position of governor, namely as the Young Governor of North Sumatra appointed by President Soekarno from June 1, 1948 to May 17, 1949. This appointment was made considering the absence of a Regional People's Representative Council structure tasked with conducting direct regional head elections. The appointment of S.M. Amin as Governor of Riau was based on a Presidential Decree dated February 27, 1958, Number 258/M/1958. In the letter, Sultan Mohammad Amin Nasution was appointed as the first Governor of Riau on March 5, 1958, in Tanjung Pinang by the Minister of Home Affairs represented by the Secretary General of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Sumarman (Wati, Nopriyasman and Samry 2020; Bunari, 2009). The appointment of S.M. Amin as the first Governor of Riau resulted from a compromise by the central government, which considered various factors, including his status as a local son. Sultan Mohammad Amin Nasution served until January 6, 1960, without appointing a Deputy Governor.

After Amin's leadership era, Lieutenant Colonel Kaharuddin Nasution, a military officer, became his successor (Wati, Nopriyasman and Samry 2020). Lieutenant Colonel Kaharuddin was inaugurated at the Pei Ing School building in Pekanbaru on January 6, 1960. With the inauguration of Lieutenant Colonel Kaharuddin as Governor of Riau, there was a change in the structure of the Riau Level I Regional Government. By Penper No. 6 of 1959, the regional government apparatus began to be equipped. To implement Penpres No. 6/1959, all Regional Head Regents were replaced—the formation of the new regents

involved Dt. Harunsyah as Regent of Kampar, Zalik Aris as Regent of Bengkalis, M. Masnoer as Regent of Indragiri, and M. Adnan Kasim as Regent of the Riau Islands. Based on the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs dated April 14, 1960, Number PD6/2/12-10, the Daily Government Agency was inaugurated at the Pei Ing Building in Pekanbaru, whose members included Wan Ghalib, Soeman HS, and Muin Sadjoko (Wati, Nopriyasman and Samry 2020). The members of the Daily Government Agency were to support the governor in running the daily government. Several years later, efforts to improve the efficiency of regional government continued. The number of BPH members, initially three people, was increased to five with the addition of A. Karim Said from the PNI and M. Yusuf, BA, from the PKI. This change process reflected the government's efforts to continue improving the structure and performance of regional government, involving local figures in key positions to ensure fair and effective representation in managing the province of Riau. At the end of Governor Kharuddin Nasution's term of office, there was tension between the Governor of Riau and community leaders.

Lieutenant Colonel Kaharuddin Nasution was then replaced by Colonel Arifin Achmad as caretaker Governor of Riau, starting on October 16, 1966, based on the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs No. UP/443-1506. Arifin Achmad was inaugurated by the Minister of Home Affairs, Lieutenant General Basuki Rachmad, in a plenary session of the Riau Province DPR-GR on November 15, 1966. On February 16, 1967, the Riau Province DPRD-GR confirmed Colonel Arifin Achmad as Governor of Riau Province for a 5-year term through decree NO. UP/6/136-260, dated February 24, 1967. This decree was later updated with the decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 146/M/1969, dated November 17, 1969. Arifin Achmad's first term of office lasted from his inauguration as Governor of the Riau Province Level I Region on March 4, 1967, to March 4, 1972. His second term of office was re-established as Governor of the Riau Province Level I Region based on Presidential Decree Number 171/M/1972, dated November 29, 1972. The inauguration ceremony and oath-taking ceremony were held on December 5, 1972, by the Minister of Home Affairs, Lieutenant General Amirmachmud, on behalf of the President of the Republic of Indonesia in a Special Plenary Session of the Riau Provincial DPRD. Arifin Achmad became the first native son to serve as Governor of Riau and led two terms of the New Order government (Wati, Nopriyasman and Samry 2020).

The end of Arifin Achmad's two-term term as Governor of Riau Province opened the door for Brigadier General Retired R. Soebrantas Siswanto to continue the regional government. Soebrantas, who originally came from the region and had served as Regent of Kampar, became the fourth Governor of Riau from 1978 to 1980 (Tempo, 1979). Soebrantas' term of office was relatively short, only ruling from June 9 to October 2, 1980, before dying of illness at the age of 57.

After the death of Col. H.R. Soebrantas, the seat of Governor of Riau was temporarily filled by Prapto Prayitno, who previously served as Director General of General Government and Regional Autonomy (PUOD) and most recently as Indonesian Ambassador to Switzerland (DIPERSIP RIAU 2023), during his tenure as Acting Governor of Riau, several education figures in Riau proposed to the Secretary General of the Ministry of Education and Culture that Prapto Prayitno be confirmed as the definitive Governor of Riau (Wati, Nopriyasman and Samry 2020). However, electing the Regional Head is still very dependent on the decisions and policies of the central government, where the figure to be appointed must get the blessing or be recommended by the centre, whose replacement has been prepared in advance.

Initially, the central government had appointed Major General TNI H. Imam Munandar to serve as Governor of Riau from 1980-1985. However, the election process did not run smoothly; instead, it caused adverse reactions and turmoil of rejection from several community leaders. However, through intense dialogue and communication between various parties, former Halilintar Commander Major General TNI H. Imam Munandar was finally elected and inaugurated as Governor of Riau for that period, following the Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 124/M of 1980, dated September 24, 1980 (April, et al. 2002).

Imam Munandar's victory in the first period cannot be separated from the important role of the Minister of Home Affairs at that time, Amir Machmud, who influenced determining the political stance of the Chairman of the Riau Provincial DPRD and the Chairman of the Riau Golongan Karya DPD. In fact, for President Soeharto, the election of Imam Munandar during that period was a non-negotiable decision (Asril et al.,

2002). However, some of the people did not entirely accept Imam Munandar's leadership and felt that he ignored the interests of the indigenous people. As a result, the idea arose to voice to the central government so that Imam Munandar would not be retained in his position.

The longing of the Riau people to see a local son hold the position of governor grew more muscular, especially after Arifin Achmad left the position without a replacement from the local area. This sentiment influenced the Riau Provincial DPRD Level I, which resulted in two different views: some wanted to retain Imam Munandar as Governor of Riau. In contrast, others argued that a change was necessary considering various factors. This difference in views created tension and triggered the Golongan Karya DPP team to meet with the FKP (Kerja Pembangunan Faction) as the largest and most decisive faction at the local level. The meeting should have been a forum for deliberation at the central level, inviting the heads of the Riau Provincial DPRD Level I. However, the decision from the President or through the Minister of Home Affairs stipulated that Imam Munandar must remain in his position and be re-elected as governor. As a result, there was resistance in the Riau Provincial DPRD Level I, which was regulated by Law Number 1974 by stipulating that there were leading candidates and running mates. The parliament at that time chose three names to compete: Imam Munandar, Ismail Suko, and Abdul Rahman Hamid. This incident reflects the complex political dynamics and clash of interests at the local and national levels in the gubernatorial election process.

On Monday morning, September 2, 1985, the Riau Province DPRD held the election for the Governor of Riau in their session room. The election results were surprising, with Drs. Ismail Suko won more votes (19 votes) than Maj. Gen. TNI Ret. Imam Munandar (17 votes) was previously considered the leading candidate (Asril et al., 2002). Ismail Suko's victory as a running mate attracted public attention and sparked political turmoil, becoming the focus of local, national, and international media. However, the post-election atmosphere became tense and reached the attention of President Soeharto. In an increasingly critical situation, Ismail Suko finally withdrew from the candidacy so that Maj. Gen. TNI Imam Munandar, S.H. was immediately appointed as the Governor of Riau (Tempo, 1985). The inauguration was scheduled for October 3, 1985, by the Minister of Defense and Security, General TNI Ret. Poniman. This incident reflects the complex political dynamics and various changes that occurred in selecting and determining the governor's position. Unfortunately, Imam Munandar died in 1988 and was replaced by Soeripto.

Soeripto was a military man who had been the Commander of the III West Sumatra and Riau Military Command from 1983 to 1985 and the Commander of the Army Strategic Reserves Command before finally becoming the Governor of Riau for two terms from 1988 to 1998. In 1988, Soeripto, who was 53 years old, won 35 out of 44 votes from the DPRD faction and was elected Governor. With an intelligence background, Soeripto could control the situation well and embrace Riau figures and elites involved in the September 2, 1985 Incident. Despite his military background, Soeripto had a close relationship with the press. After Soeripto stepped down, the Governor of Riau was held by Saleh Djasit, a native son of Riau, after serving as the Regent of Kampar for two terms. Saleh Djasit won 25 out of 45 votes from the Riau Provincial DPRD. After being inaugurated on November 21, 1998, or approximately six months after the fall of Soeharto, Saleh Djasit was faced with widespread demonstrations. This was inseparable from the Riau Governor election process for the 1998-2003 period, which was part of the political transition in Indonesia post-reformation. During that period, significant changes in the Indonesian political system caused the election of governors and regional heads to become more open and democratic.

Furthermore, in the 2003 election, Rusli Zainal and Wan Abubakar, supported by the United Development Party and the National Mandate Party, managed to gain the support of 34 out of 54 votes from the members of the Council. This duo defeated their competitors, Tengku Lukman-Fachruddin Bakar and Saleh Djasit-Chaidir, who only received 19 votes. Saleh Djasit's defeat was allegedly caused by the shift in support from the Golkar Party, which had 12 votes. The Riau gubernatorial election at that time was also marked by student demonstrations demanding that the election process not be influenced by the practice of money politics.

Conclusion

During the New Order, the Regional Head Election was Accommodative. This was based on findings in the Pilkada that took place from 1980-1988, and there was a decisive role of the central government at that time, namely President Suharto. The impression of centralism cannot be separated; every person elected must get permission and blessing from the president at that time. This was increasingly evident with the events and intrigues during the Gubernatorial Election by the Riau Provincial DPRD in 1985. At that time, Ismail Suko, a candidate for Governor elected with the most votes by the DPRD, was not recognized and blessed by President Suharto, forced to resign, and was not inaugurated. Then Imam Munandar, a retired high-ranking TNI AD officer who lost, was inaugurated.

Regarding regulations, the Regional Head Election in Riau Province moved forward democratically after the reform era. In 2008, the first Pilkada was held in Riau Province. The election took place with high participation and produced the background of the previously elected Governor. He is Rusli Zainal, a Golkar Party politician who served as the Regent of Indragiri Hilir. Since the reform era, the Pilkada has been carried out with a participatory model supported by the Amendment to the 1945 Constitution, which suggests that regional head elections occur democratically. Democratic procedures do not necessarily produce democratic values in substance. This is due to several problems that occur in Riau Province. This is due to the obstacles of low community participation and challenges to leadership integrity.

The model of the regional head election system in the reform era, especially to uphold democracy, must be adaptive. In terms of regulations at the national level, laws and regulations related to the Election, Pilkada and the governance of the institutional organization of its organizers are moving forward, and there are always improvements. The adaptation that took place did not apply to Riau Province. The obstacles that occurred adapted take place only at the normative level and had not yet reached the results of the ongoing leadership. The study found that the Regional Head Election System applied in the New Order and Reform eras have all moved within the constitutional corridor. This limitation is well maintained because Indonesia is still a country of law with the highest source of law in the form of the 1945 Constitution, which is still well adhered to. During the New Order Era, Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution was generally regulated without mentioning the Election of Governors/Regents/Mayors. Since the Reformation Era, there has been a mandate from the Amendment to the 1945 Constitution which developed Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution, especially paragraph (4), which mandates that the Election of Governors/Regents/Mayors be held democratically. The meaning of democracy, which has developed in line with every moment since the reformation rolled out, has made regulations at the national level move according to an adaptive model. This has resulted in the current state system being much better where there are control mechanisms and the development of a further legal framework through available mechanisms. However, in practice in Riau Province, there are still challenges in implementing Direct Pilkada caused by local elements that require time to move in a better direction. A solution approach is needed to catch up and achieve democratization in accordance with adaptive values in the election system that has been taking place at the national level. Problems such as low community participation in providing oversight of government and issues of leadership integrity can be resolved with a participatory space approach, equal distribution of welfare and programmatic justice.

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