MODEL OF CABINET RELATIONSHIP WITH REGIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE ERA OF REGIONAL AUTONOMY

a Mochamad Iwan Satriawan, b Satya Arinanto, c Laila Nur Latifah

ABSTRACT

Purpose: To propose a new model of relations between the central cabinet and local governments in the context of regional autonomy. Measures such as the formation of a linear presidential coalition party with coalition parties supporting regional heads, simplification of political parties, and improvement of the political system aim to create a more harmonious and effective relationship between the two entities in the implementation of public policies in the era of regional autonomy.

Method: The method used in this research is a normative research method using a statutory approach.

Results and Conclusion: The relationship between the central cabinet and local governments in Indonesia is influenced by the suitability of supporting political parties. Nonconformity can lead to disharmony. Therefore, a new model of relations is needed that involves a coalition of political parties that are more in line between the cabinet and local governments. Measures such as increasing electoral thresholds, simplifying political parties, and institutional strengthening of political parties are proposed. This is expected to create clarity and enhance cooperation between the two entities for more effective implementation of public policies.

Implications of research: The need for the establishment of a new model of relations between the central cabinet and local governments involving a more conformed coalition of political parties, simplification of political parties in every election, institutional strengthening of political parties, and a shift towards an ideology-based coalition. These measures are expected to enhance harmonization in relations between the two entities, strengthen the political system, and bring clarity in policy formation.

Keywords: president, decentralized, regional government.

MODELO DE RELAÇÃO DE GABINETE COM O GOVERNO REGIONAL NA ERA DA AUTONOMIA REGIONAL

a Master of Law, University of Lampung, Indonesia. E-mail: iwansatriawan@gmail.com
b Bachelor of Law, University of Lampung, Indonesia. E-mail: lailanur@gmail.com
c Doctor of Law, University of Indonesia, Indonesia. E-mail: satyaarianto@gmail.com
RESUMO

Objeto: Propor um novo modelo de relações entre o gabinete central e os governos locais no contexto da autonomia regional. Medidas como a formação de um partido de coligação presidencial linear com os partidos da coligação apoiando os chefes regionais, a simplificação dos partidos políticos e a melhoria do sistema político visam criar uma relação mais harmoniosa e eficaz entre as duas entidades na implementação de políticas públicas no era de autonomia regional.

Método: O método utilizado nesta pesquisa é um método de pesquisa normativo usando uma abordagem estatutária

Resultados e Conclusão: A relação entre o gabinete central e os governos locais na Indonésia é influenciada pela adequação do apoio aos partidos políticos. A inconformidade pode levar à desarmonia. Portanto, é necessário um novo modelo de relações que envolva uma coligação de partidos políticos mais alinhados entre o gabinete e os governos locais. São propostas medidas como o aumento dos limiares eleitorais, a simplificação dos partidos políticos e o fortalecimento institucional dos partidos políticos. Espera-se que isto crie clareza e reforce a cooperação entre as duas entidades para uma implementação mais eficaz das políticas públicas.

Implicações da investigação: A necessidade do estabelecimento de um novo modelo de relações entre o gabinete central e os governos locais, envolvendo uma coligação mais conformada de partidos políticos, simplificação dos partidos políticos em todas as eleições, fortalecimento institucional dos partidos políticos e uma mudança no sentido de uma coalizão baseada em ideologia. Espera-se que estas medidas reforcem a harmonização nas relações entre as duas entidades, fortaleçam o sistema político e tragam clareza na formação de políticas.

Palavras-chave: presidente, descentralizado, governo regional.

MODELO DE RELACIÓN DEL GABINETE CON EL GOBIERNO REGIONAL EN LA ERA DE LA AUTONOMÍA REGIONAL

RESUMEN

Objeto: Proponer un nuevo modelo de relaciones entre el gabinete central y los gobiernos locales en el contexto de la autonomía regional. Medidas como la formación de un partido de coalición presidencial lineal con partidos de coalición que apoyen a los jefes regionales, la simplificación de los partidos políticos y la mejora del sistema político apuntan a crear una relación más armoniosa y efectiva entre las dos entidades en la implementación de políticas públicas en el Era de autonomía regional.

Método: El método utilizado en esta investigación es un método de investigación normativo que utiliza un enfoque estatutario.

Resultados y conclusión: La relación entre el gabinete central y los gobiernos locales en Indonesia está influenciada por la idoneidad del apoyo a los partidos políticos. El inconformismo puede conducir a la falta de armonia. Por lo tanto, se necesita un nuevo modelo de relaciones que involucre una coalición de partidos políticos que estén más alineados entre el gabinete y los gobiernos locales. Se proponen medidas como aumentar los umbrales electorales, simplificar los partidos políticos y fortalecer institucionalmente los partidos políticos. Se espera que esto genere claridad y mejore la cooperación entre las dos entidades para una implementación más efectiva de las políticas públicas.

Implicaciones de la investigación: La necesidad de establecer un nuevo modelo de relaciones entre el gabinete central y los gobiernos locales que involucre una coalición de partidos políticos más conformada, la simplificación de los partidos políticos en cada elección, el fortalecimiento institucional de los partidos políticos y un cambio hacia una coalición basada
en ideologías. Se espera que estas medidas mejoren la armonización de las relaciones entre las dos entidades, fortalezcan el sistema político y aporten claridad en la formulación de políticas. **Palabras clave:** presidente, descentralizado, gobierno regional.

1 INTRODUCTION

One of the aims of implementing the doctrine of separation of powers is so that what was once stated by Lord Acton (1834-1902) does not happen. Lord Acton once said that "power tends to corrupt, absolute power corrupts absolutely." So the idea of separation of powers is closely related to the desire to limit state power through managing power within the state both vertically and horizontally. Through the idea of separation, powers are differentiated and separated into several different functions. John Locke and Montesquieu are figures who are often associated with this idea and are considered to be the people who initiated the idea of separation of powers. The separation of powers is synonymous with the presidential system of government. The essence of the presidential government system is the creation of a balanced relationship between the three highest state institutions, lawmakers, law implementers, and supervisors of the implementation of laws.

Ideally, there is no single state institution that is more dominant and prominent but needs each other to carry out government. This is then called *checks and balances*. Strauss said that the checks and balances mechanism is an effort to create constitutional relations to prevent abuse of power between branches of state power, including building a balanced relationship in the practice of state administration. Therefore, the emphasis on the separation of powers lies in clarifying the position of each branch of state power in carrying out its constitutional functions. Meanwhile, the emphasis of the checks and balances mechanism is on efforts to build harmony and balance to create a situation of mutual control between branches of state power. This system prevents overlapping between existing authorities. On the other hand, the 1945 Constitution before the amendment did not adhere to the teachings of trias politica which structured the state into

---

three separate organs to avoid absolute power as taught by John Locke or Montesquieu which influenced the United States Constitution.

According to Yamin, this understanding is not by the 1945 Constitution, because the central government recognizes several offices or bodies with the principle of sharing power with the aim of smooth work and for the protection of citizens of the Republic of Indonesia as a legal state. The division of government power takes place within a unified government unit and solely to strengthen unity by ensuring smooth administration and the freedom of the Indonesian people.\(^7\) Likewise, the state institutional structure according to the 1945 Constitution before the amendment did not recognize checks and balances. Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is exercised entirely by the MPR which is considered the incarnation of all the Indonesian people. This assembly is considered to hold the highest state power. So after the amendment to the 1945 Constitution, supreme sovereignty was no longer given to the MPR, because there was no longer the highest state institution. However, sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is implemented according to the Constitution.\(^8\)

Meanwhile, the highest state institutions in Indonesia are divided into 7 (seven) institutions, namely: BPK, President, MPR, DPR, DPD, MK, and Supreme Court. There are no longer 3 (three) as in the basic idea of John Locke and Montesquieu. Based on the 1945 Constitution, the executive in question is the President, Vice President, and ministers as assistants to the President.\(^9\) The ministers are appointed and dismissed by the President.\(^10\) The existence of these ministers is often proposed by the political party supporting the elected President as compensation for support in the presidential candidacy. After the 1998 reform, the party system in Indonesia experienced quite significant changes. Where it no longer uses a simple party system with only 3 political parties (Golkar, PPP, and PDI) but has changed to an extreme multi-party system. This phenomenon occurs in every election event attended by at least more than 10 political parties, so it also influences the running of the presidential government system. This makes coalitions in multi-party presidential unavoidable.\(^11\)

\(^8\) Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution
\(^9\) Article 4 paragraph (2) and Article 17 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution
\(^10\) Articles 22-24 Law No.39 of 2008 concerning State Ministries
\(^11\) The 1999 election was attended by 48 political parties, the 2004 election was attended by 24 political parties, the 2009 election was attended by 38 political parties and 6 local parties, the 2014 election was attended by 12 political parties and 3 local parties, the 2019 election was attended by 16 political parties and 4 local parties. local.
Even though the executive or president in a presidential system does not depend on the legislature, the president still needs legislative support in running his government. If on the contrary, the president’s agenda could be hampered by the legislative body through the power of the budget and enactment of laws, supervisory powers, and others granted by the constitution. The importance of legislative support is even more pronounced in a multiparty presidential system in which a president usually has minority support in the legislative body. Another dilemma is that often the composition of the coalition of political parties supporting the elected President in the central government is not aligned or linear with the composition of the parties supporting the elected regional head at the provincial, district, and city levels. This resulted in a dead end of central interests in the regions due to differences in the composition of political parties in the central government and regional governments. This phenomenon was seen in the DKI Jakarta Pilkada in 2017. Where the composition of elected regional heads promoted by Gerindra and PKS was in opposition to the Jokowi-JK government regime.

The same thing happened in the West Bandung Regency regional government, where West Bandung Regent Aa Umbara in the post-conflict regional elections was supported by the opposition parties, namely the Democrats, PAN, and PKS so that development by the central government was hampered by the granting of permits by the regional government. Likewise, what happened in Tanggerang City between the mayor, Arief R Wismansyah, whose candidacy was supported by the Democratic Party, fought against the Minister of Law and Human Rights (Menkumham) Yasonna Laoly from PDI-P regarding a land dispute. Another case is if there is a conflict between a minister and a regional head who is in the same political party, even if there is a problem it can be resolved through the internal mechanisms of the political party concerned to which they both belong. Based on the above, a common thread can be drawn as the main problem, namely what is the relationship model between the cabinet and regional government in the era of regional autonomy?

---

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 STATE CABINET

The state cabinet is a government institution that has a crucial role in carrying out the main functions of the state. Formed from a variety of officials and ministers selected by the head of government, the state cabinet is responsible for formulating policies, implementing government programs, and coordinating between departments to achieve national goals. In this essay, we will discuss the role and importance of the state cabinet in the modern government system. One of the main functions of the state cabinet is to formulate policies related to various aspects of people’s lives, including the economy, education, health, and so on. The cabinet is tasked with identifying the problems faced by the country and developing effective solutions to overcome these problems. The process of formulating this policy involves discussion, evaluation and collective decision making from cabinet members who have expertise and experience in certain fields. After policies are prepared, the state cabinet is responsible for implementing the government programs that have been determined. This involves allocating resources, monitoring program implementation, as well as adjusting strategies if necessary. The cabinet must ensure that government programs can be carried out efficiently and effectively in accordance with the established vision and mission.

The state cabinet also acts as a coordination forum between government departments. With various ministries having different duties and responsibilities, good coordination between departments is very important to ensure policy consistency, avoid overlap, and speed up the decision-making process. The cabinet is tasked with facilitating communication and cooperation between departments to achieve harmony in the implementation of government policies and programs. As a government representative, the state cabinet has an important role in interacting with various parties, be it the community, legislative institutions, judicial institutions, and regional governments. Cabinet members often serve as government spokespersons in various official forums and events, and are responsible for explaining and defending government policies in public. Apart from being responsible for formulating policies and implementing government programs, the state cabinet also has a role in supervising and enforcing accountability in government. Cabinet members must ensure that the policies adopted are in accordance
with the principles of democracy, justice and the interests of society. They must also be prepared to be accountable for their performance and decisions to supervisory institutions and the general public. Overall, the state cabinet is an important pillar in the modern government system. By playing diverse roles ranging from policy formulation to supervision and accountability, the state cabinet is the main instrument in carrying out government functions and realizing national goals for the welfare of society as a whole. Therefore, it is important for countries to ensure that their cabinets consist of individuals who are competent, have integrity, and are able to work together effectively for the common good.

2.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Regional government plays an important role in carrying out administrative and development tasks at the local level. In a country that adheres to a decentralized system, regional governments have autonomy in managing local affairs in accordance with the needs and characteristics of the region. In this essay, we will discuss the role and importance of regional government in the modern government system. One of the main advantages of regional government is its ability to provide public services closer to the community. By having deeper knowledge about local conditions, needs and potential, regional governments can design programs and policies that are more relevant and responsive to the needs of local communities. This helps improve the quality of life of society as a whole. Regional governments have the responsibility to manage development at the local level. Through planning and implementing development programs, regional governments play a role in strengthening infrastructure, increasing access to education and health services, and promoting economic growth in the region. In this way, regional government helps create conditions that support sustainable economic growth and community welfare.

Regional governments have a role in managing natural resources and human resources in their regions. By paying attention to sustainability and fairness in the use of these resources, regional governments can wisely manage the potential of their regions to improve community welfare and protect the environment. Regional government is a more direct and participatory form of democracy. Through the process of electing regional heads and regional people's representatives, the community has the opportunity to
participate in decision making that affects their daily lives. Apart from that, regional governments also facilitate community participation in various consultation and decision-making forums, such as village or sub-district deliberations. With its autonomy, regional governments are responsible for carrying out effective and efficient government at the local level. This includes transparent and accountable financial management, increasing the capacity of regional bureaucracy, as well as implementing a modern and integrated management system. In this way, regional governments can provide quality public services that are responsive to community needs. Overall, regional government has a very important role in the modern government system. By bringing public services closer to the community, managing development in a sustainable manner, managing local resources wisely, strengthening local democracy, and implementing effective and efficient government, regional government becomes the main driving force in achieving sustainable development and community welfare at the local level. Therefore, attention and support for regional governments needs to be increased to ensure that they can carry out their roles and functions optimally in the national government system.

2.3 REGIONAL AUTONOMY

Regional autonomy is a concept that gives authority to regional governments to regulate and manage local affairs in accordance with the needs and characteristics of the community at the regional level. In this essay, we will discuss the importance of regional autonomy in the context of local development and strengthening democracy. One of the main benefits of regional autonomy is empowerment and development of local potential. By giving authority to regional governments to regulate certain affairs in accordance with local needs, regional autonomy allows for innovation and development strategies that are more in line with the characteristics and potential of the region. This helps improve community welfare and strengthens local identity and longing for development. Regional autonomy also allows the implementation of public services that are more responsive to the needs of local communities. By having deeper knowledge about the conditions and needs of the people in their regions, local governments can design and implement public service programs that are more relevant and effective. This helps increase community access to health services, education, infrastructure, etc., as well as providing greater satisfaction to the community regarding the quality of services provided.
3 METHODOLOGY

The method used in this research is a normative research method using a statutory approach related to Model Of Cabinet Relationship With Regional Government In The Era Of Regional Autonomy.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 REGIONAL AUTONOMY

One form of vertical separation of powers is through the division of powers between the central and regional governments, both provincial and district/city. This aims to bring services closer and make regional development more effective following the characteristics of each region. This is what is then called regional autonomy. Regional autonomy recognizes the principles of decentralization, deconcentration and assistance tasks. The theory of decentralization pioneered by Van der Pot written in his book *Hanboek van Nederlands Staatsrecht*, Van der Pot differentiates decentralization from territorial decentralization and functional decentralization. Territorial decentralization manifests itself in the form of bodies based on territory (*gebeidcorporatie*), in the form of autonomy and assistance tasks. Functional decentralization manifests itself in the form of bodies based on specific objectives (*doelcorporatie*). Decentralization itself, seen from a political perspective, is an important element in increasing democratic participation by providing the opportunity to elect officials in their regions who are then responsible for their policies to the community.

Theoretically and factually, the formation of autonomous regions through decentralization will not be the cause of national disintegration, but is actually very conducive to achieving national integration. Granting autonomous status to community groups in their respective regions will encourage community members to participate on a regional and national scale. In this way, *unity within diversity* and *diversity in unity* will...
In practice, regional government decentralization must remain within the scope of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). So that the central government continues to provide guidance and supervision to regional governments which is nationally coordinated by the minister. In general, from the perspective of State Administrative Law, supervision is defined as a process of activities that compare what is carried out, carried out, or organized with what is desired, planned, or ordered.

The forms of guidance and supervision carried out by the central government to regional governments are general, including division of government affairs, regional institutions, regional heads and DPRD, personnel in regional apparatus, public services in the regions, regional policies, regional finances, and other forms of guidance. according to statutory regulations. To further implement the authority for guidance and supervision of regional governments as mentioned above, Government Regulation No. 12 of 2017 concerning the Development and Supervision of Regional Government Administration was issued. The implementation of PP No. 12 of 2017 is that the central government prepares indexes and performance rankings for regional government administration for evaluation material every year. Regions that according to the evaluation results of regional government administration have low performance, ministers, technical ministers and non-ministerial heads of government provide guidance on the implementation of certain government affairs which fall under the authority of the region.

For regions that have received guidance but have not shown improvements in performance, special facilitation is carried out if the implementation of certain government affairs that fall under the authority of the region has low performance but has the potential to harm the general public interest at large. Several forms of taking over regional government authority by the central government are as follows: 1) taking over several regional roads to become national roads; 2) taking over the management of problem items in DKI; 3) Taking over the management of the Baranangsiang terminal assets; 4) taking over the management of the Subang terminal; 5) taking over the construction of 6 (six) inner city toll roads from the DKI government to the central government.

---

16 See Articles 373 and 374 of Law No. 23 of 2014 (State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia of 2014 Number 244)
4.2 DYNAMICS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

The government system is essentially a relationship between legislative power and executive power. The pattern of government power relations is known as the parliamentary system of government and the presidential system of government. However, apart from these two government systems, a number of countries implement systems that seem to be a mixture of the two systems. According to Jimly and Sri Soemantri, this system is called the third government system model, namely a mixed system or hybrid system. These countries are the Netherlands and Israel. In this country, the prime minister is elected directly by the people like members of the legislature, but the king or queen is still retained as head of state as is the case in the Netherlands. It is called a parliamentary system according to Mahfud MD if it meets the following criteria: (a) the head of state does not have the position of head of government because it is more of a national symbol; (b) the government is carried out by a cabinet led by a prime minister; (c) the cabinet is responsible to parliament and can be overthrown by parliament through a motion; (d) the position of the cabinet (executive) is lower than parliament, therefore it depends on parliament.

Meanwhile, it is called a presidential system of government because the President is seated not only as head of state but also as head of government. The president in a presidential system of government is elected for a term of office specified in a country's constitution and cannot be forced to resign by the legislative body, except through impeachment because the head of state has committed acts that are contrary to the constitution. The Presidential system is a divided government which causes gridlock. The Presidential system in the United States is successful because it has a mechanism to break the gridlock, namely first, with a veto, second with the two third rule, namely the president's veto can be countered by congress if two-thirds of the members of congress reject it and the third vice resident becomes chairman of the senate. The vice president does not have a vote in the senate, except in cases of gridlock, if the voting results are

---

balanced. This means that if a deadlock occurs, the Deputy President has the deciding vote to break the deadlock.\textsuperscript{23}

Linz even \textsuperscript{24}called it "the perils of presidentialism". Another basic characteristic of a presidential system is the separation between the executive (President) and the legislature (DPR), both executive and legislative members are elected directly by the people. The application of the Presidential system of government in countries around the world can vary, some apply a Presidential system combined with a simple party system (dual party) but there are also those that are combined with an extreme multiparty system such as Indonesia, the Philippines, Myanmar, Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Honduras. The general style of the Presidential government system has been put forward by many experts in both quite detailed and very simple descriptions. Bagir Manan, taking the American model, developed the general pattern of Presidential government, namely:\textsuperscript{25} The President is a responsible administrator of government.

CF Strong\textsuperscript{26} calls the presidential system a non-parliamentary executive or fixed executive, in the sense that executive power cannot be influenced by legislative power. Meanwhile, Arend Lijphart \textsuperscript{27}stated that there are 3 (three) specific characteristics of the presidential system, namely: executive power is not exercised not collectively but by one person, the executive is elected directly by the people and the executive position is carried out for a certain fixed period of time and is not subordinate to the legislature. Indonesia is one of the countries in the world that implements a presidential system where the President has a certain term of office, namely 5 (five) years with an extreme multi-party system. Where the drafters of the amendments to the 1945 Constitution continued to provide quite broad authority to parliament by institutionalizing the council's authority which was much broader than the constitution before the amendment.\textsuperscript{28} This is not only

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{23} RM. AB Kusuma. The “Founder of the Nation” Government System versus the “Reformation Order” Presidential System. (Jakarta: Publishing Body, Faculty of Law, University of Indonesia). (2011). p 149.
\bibitem{28} The shift from executive heavy in the new order to legislative heavy after reform can be seen in: Article 6A, Article 11, Article 13, Article 14, Article 20, Article 20 paragraph (5), Article 21, Article 23 paragraph (3), Article 23 letter f, Article 24 A paragraph (3), Article 24C paragraph (3).
\end{thebibliography}
visible in the tendency of the DPR to give itself authority regarding the composition of several high state institutions and independent institutions but also in the increasing function of the DPR's budget. If in the New Order era almost all of the government's proposals regarding the APBN were approved by the DPR without even making any changes at all, then the DPR in the reform era became the final determiner of the structure of the State budget proposed by the government.

Even council members who actually come from the political party supporting the elected President can intervene regarding the composition of the cabinet. The political parties supporting the elected President certainly hope that their best cadres can sit as ministers for one cabinet period. Apart from being a form of compensation for support, this is also to maintain stability during the administration of the elected President. This phenomenon occurs if the main political party carrying the President in parliament does not control a majority of 50+1, so a coalition of political parties is needed. And if a coalition of political parties supports the elected President, there will be various political accommodations to smooth out the elected President's policies, one of which is regarding the composition of the ministers in his cabinet. Even though by law ministers are assistants to the President and their composition is the absolute authority of the President-elect, but the political reality is that the party supporting the President is not the majority party in parliament, whereas to carry out the President's policies requires parliamentary approval, it is a realistic option for the President-elect to accommodate voices. the supporting party, especially with regard to the composition of the ministers in its cabinet.

4.3 MODEL OF CABINET AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

Our constitutional history records that the debate about the concept of a unitary state for Indonesia was discussed after the formation of the Dokuritsu Zoonbi Tjosakai (Indonesian Independence Efforts Investigating Agency (BPUPKI). The founders of the state, such as Soepomo, proposed a unitary state form. One of the characteristics of a unitary state according to Sri Soemantri can be seen in the issue of authority. In full, he stated that the central government has complete authority within the territory of the

29 Political Parties whose Chairs are generally members of the DPR, such as: Muhaimin Iskandar in PKB, PPP in the Romahurmuziy era, Airlangga Hartarto in Golkar.
country. Even though the territory of the country is divided into parts of the country, these parts of the country do not have original authority. This means that what is contained in the parts of the country above is not something original. The authority that exists in parts of the country called autonomous regions is obtained from the central government.31

Constitutional historical records also note that the BPUPKI session did not want a centralized unitary state, but instead had to be decentralized. This was seen in Moh. Yamin's thoughts at the BPUPKI session on July 11 when drafting the Draft Constitution, he stated:

"The government in this Republic will first be composed of community bodies such as villages, namely the lowest level of government, I call this government the subordinate government."

In its development, this was further elaborated in the 1945 Constitution before being amended in Article 18 with the following words:

"The division of Indonesia's regions into large and small regions, with the form of government structure determined by law, taking into account and remembering the basics of deliberation in the state government system, and the rights of origin in special regions."

Based on Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution, Indonesia is a unitary state that implements a regional autonomy system consisting of 3 (three) principles, namely decentralization, deconcentration and assistance duties. Then, after the 1998 reform, with the enactment of amendments to the 1945 Constitution, especially article 18 paragraph (4), regional heads were elected democratically, which was then translated into Law Number 32 of 2004 as amended for the last time by Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning the election of regional heads, that Regional heads are elected directly by the people (Pemilukada). Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher in their book Local Elections in Britain state as follows "regional elections have both local and national impacts. How good or bad a party is in appearance will have an impact on the political stage both

Based on this opinion, it shows how important regional elections are for the existence of political parties both at the central and regional levels. And this is also related to the implementation of central government policies in the regions.

Meanwhile, on the other hand, the general assumption is that democracy at the local level will gain strength if there is a direct handover of (political) mandates from citizens to regional heads. Therefore, there are several advantages when direct regional elections are held, namely first, the realization of political legitimacy, secondly, direct regional elections are able to optimize the balance of checks and balances between state institutions which can lead to community empowerment and strengthening of the democratic process at the local level. The four direct regional elections will increase public political awareness, especially with regard to the quality of public participation.

Along the way, regional head candidates can be nominated by political parties or a combination of political parties and individuals. Henceforth, political parties supporting regional head candidates must meet the requirements of a minimum of 20% of the number of DPRD seats or 25% of the accumulated valid votes in the general election for DPRD members in the region concerned. Meanwhile, individual candidates are regulated in Article 41 of the same law. However, in reality, political party support for regional head candidate pairs is often found to be non-linear with the composition of coalition and opposition parties in the central government. This can be seen in the table below:

---

34 Article 39 and Article 42 of Law No. 1 of 2015 as last amended by Law No. 10 of 2016 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors (State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia of 2016 Number 130, Supplement to the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5898).
Because they are both directly elected by the people, and the supporting party is an opposition party to the elected President, many of these regional heads are not in line with their work programs with the central government, as in several cases that the author has pointed out in the introductory chapter. This is because political party coalitions at both the central and regional levels are not ideological coalitions but interest coalitions, so political parties in the center are often found to be at odds with political parties in the regions. However, it is not uncommon to find that in several regions parties that are at odds with the center are carrying the same regional head. This condition also has implications for regional head policies that are not linear with the policies between the general chairman of the party or the Central Management Council (DPP) and the Regional Management Council (DPW) except only regarding the election of regional head candidates and the recall of council members. The rest are independent individuals who can determine the policy between the central leadership of political parties and different regions. In fact, in several cases, regional, branch and sub-branch administrators went against the policies of the central leadership. The same thing happened to the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P). Because it is a coalition of interests, generally this

**Table 1**

*List of elected Regional Heads, Supporting Party and Relations with the Central Government*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name of Regional Head Pair</th>
<th>Regional Name</th>
<th>Supporting Party</th>
<th>Relations with Central Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Khofifah and Emil Dardak</td>
<td>East Java</td>
<td>Democrat, Golkar, Nasdem, PAN, PPP, Hanura</td>
<td>Synergy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Faida-Abdul Muqit</td>
<td>Jember Regency</td>
<td>PDI-P, Nasdem, Hanura and PAN</td>
<td>Synergy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Arinal-Nunik</td>
<td>Lampung</td>
<td>Golkar, PAN, PKB</td>
<td>Synergy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sutiaji and Sofyan Edi</td>
<td>Malang city</td>
<td>Democrat, Golkar</td>
<td>Synergy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Eddy Rahmayadi-Musa</td>
<td>North Sumatra</td>
<td>Hanura, PKS, PAN, Golkar, Nasdem, Democrat and PKB</td>
<td>No synergy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Anies-Password</td>
<td>Jakarta</td>
<td>Gerindra and MCC</td>
<td>No synergy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Aa Umbara-Hengki</td>
<td>West Bandung</td>
<td>Democrat, PAN, PKS, Nasdem and PKPI</td>
<td>No synergy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Processed by the author himself
coalition is not permanent and can even change at any time if the interests of the supporting parties are not accommodated by the elected government both at the center and in the regions. This also influences the policy of the elected president's cabinet with the regional government. If it benefits the regional government, even if it comes from the opposition, it will be accommodated, but vice versa, if it is detrimental, even if it is both from the party supporting the government, if it is detrimental to the region, it will be ignored.

There are at least 5 (five) reasons for regional heads opposing the cabinet, namely as follows: 1) many elected regional heads are not cadres of supporting political parties; 2) the emergence of dowry money given by regional head candidates to the supporting political party so that there is no ideological bond between the elected regional head and the supporting party because they think they have bought the party's vote in the regional head nomination; 3) There is no ideological bond between the regional head and the supporting party, resulting in the regional head being able to change parties in the next nomination if he does not get a DPP recommendation from the previous party; 4) there are no cadre parties in Indonesia, all political parties in Indonesia tend to lead to a catch-all parties model or parties oriented towards electoral competition; 5) many elected regional heads still do not understand that structurally regional heads are an extension of the policies of the elected President in the regions or the central government so they still think that regional heads are kings in the regions who are free to issue their policies even though they are not in accordance with central government policies.

Based on the reality above, in the future there must be an overhaul of the party system in Indonesia. Political parties participating in elections must be limited by increasing the electoral threshold to 5%. Second, the nomination of regional heads must be taken from political party cadres, not only from those who are able to provide dowry money to support political parties. Third, strengthening political party institutions by increasing financial assistance to political parties, both from the APBN and APBD, but only to political parties who are able to carry out the duties and functions of political parties as mandated by Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning political parties.
5 CONCLUSION

The relationship between the cabinet and regional governments in Indonesia experiences dynamics according to political conditions. If the political party supporting the central government is linear with the party supporting the elected regional head, this will create harmony in the relationship between the central and regional governments. However, on the other hand, if the party supporting the elected president is not the same as the party supporting the elected regional head or even at the center the party has an opposition position, disharmony will arise between the policies of the central government and regional heads. This is one of the reasons because the president and regional heads are both elected by the people, only the scope of the region is different. So that it raises the ego of each leader. So a new model of relationship between the cabinet and regional government is needed.

And this model can begin with the formation of a linear presidential coalition party with coalition parties supporting regional heads. This is needed to prevent further in-subordination between the cabinet and regional governments due to differences in supporting political parties. Because in reality the ministers in the cabinet are assistants to the president as proposed by the political party coalition supporting the elected President. Next, to achieve the above, it is necessary to simplify political parties in every election. The electoral threshold needs to be increased further, not just 4% as stated in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections, but needs to be increased again to 5%. Apart from that, the requirements for establishing political parties are tightened to a maximum of only 6 (six) political parties participating in the election to a maximum of 9 (nine) political parties in each election. And this must be done in harmony or in line with the coalition of political parties supporting the regional head.

In this way, there is clarity about which are the supporting coalition parties and which are the opposition parties, both at the center and in the regions. Because so far what has occurred is that political party coalitions are not ideological coalitions but coalitions of interests, both at the center for presidential elections and in the regions for regional head elections. Next is strengthening political party institutions, in the sense that not only funding of political parties by the APBN and APBD is increased but also supervision of the implementation of the functions and duties of political parties is tightened. Only to political parties that are able to carry out the mandate of Law Number 2 of 2011
concerning political parties, funding assistance is given routinely according to the number of votes in the previous election.
REFERENCES