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Analysis Of Local Political Dynamics After The Moc's Decision No. 60/PUU/XXII/2024 With Perspective Constitutional Legitimacy

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Abstract

This study examines local political dynamics following the Constitutional Court Decision Number 60/PUU-XXII/2024 regarding changes in candidacy thresholds in the 2024 regional elections. Using a qualitative approach, data were collected from documents, academic literature, and online media, and analyzed through content analysis supported by NVivo 12 Plus with thematic coding.

The findings show that the decision has significantly affected candidate nomination patterns, coalition configurations, and party strategies. Lower thresholds have increased formal political inclusivity, allowing smaller parties to participate; however, elite dominance and uneven competition persist, as reflected in the presence of single-candidate elections.

From threshold theory, the results indicate a trade-off between inclusivity and political stability, while political dynamics theory explains the emergence of pragmatic and fluid coalitions. NVivo analysis reveals that discourse is dominated by practical political impacts rather than legal considerations.

From a constitutional legitimacy perspective, there is a gap between formal legality and substantive implementation. The study concludes that the effectiveness of the decision depends on institutional capacity, actor compliance, and the broader internalization of democratic principles.

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Keyword: Local Political Dynamics, Constitutional Legitimacy

INTRODUCTION

Dynamics political local in Indonesia in a number of year final show increasing shift complex , especially as consequence from intervention institution justice constitution to design system election . Changes the No only impact on aspects normative law , but also construct repeat pattern competition politics , configuration power , as well as relation between actor in system democracy decentralized . One of the point crucial in transformation This is Constitutional Court Decision No. 60/PUU-XXII/2024 which changes threshold limit nomination head area from 20–25% to 6.5–10% (Hartono, 2024). This reform fundamentally shifting structure access politics , at the same time open room more contestation wide for non- dominant actors .

In framework theory , change the No can released from debate about legitimacy constitutional . Jürgen Habermas confirm that *"legitimacy arises when legal norms are accepted through democratic procedures"* (Habermas, 2007), while Richard H. Fallon Jr. state that legitimacy constitutional covers legal, moral, and sociological dimensions (Fallon, 2005). With thus , the changes threshold limit nomination through decision Court Constitution No only is a legal reform , but also has the potential create tension between legality and legitimacy in practice democracy.

In a way empirical , regional elections simultaneously 2024 shows dynamics that are not fully in harmony with principle democracy procedural . At the stage beginning nomination , appears perception public that contestation political tend dominated by interests oligarchy , where the candidate with level electability tall No get support adequate political (Kompas, 2024; Tempo, 2024). The phenomenon This show existence gap between formal mechanisms of democracy and practices political actual . However , after its validity decision Court Constitution , configuration the experience significant changes with increasing opportunity for party small and actor alternative For participate in contestation politics .

Change threshold limit this also has an impact straight to the dynamics coalitions and political strategies at the level local . Phenomenon like shift support party , emergence candidate alternative , until increasing potential " box" empty " shows that change rule institutional own implications real to behavior actor politics . Study show that " *decline threshold limit increase inclusivity politics , but also has the potential enlarge fragmentation "* (Baehaki , 2024; Pratama et al., 2025), which reflects existence dilemma between expansion participation and stability politics .

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On the other hand , the effectiveness decision Court The Constitution also faces problem implementation . In normatively , the Constitutional Court's decision is final and binding , however in in practice No all state institutions show level consistent compliance (Syawaludin & Wibowo, 2022) . Conditions This show that legitimacy constitutional No only determined by formal legal aspects , but also by level trust public and compliance institutional research show that *"Public trust in constitutional courts is closely linked to perceived neutrality and compliance"* (Ginsburg & Gibson, 2019).

More continue , dynamics political local No can released from interaction between institution like Court Constitution , Supreme Court , and Commission Election General , which is often colored by interests politics and inconsistency regulation . This is show that dynamics political is results interaction complex between law and power .

Based on study literature , research previously tend focus on aspects juridical and implications policy post decision Court Constitution . However , it is still there is limitations in studies that are special study sentiment public and dynamics political local based analysis empirical . Therefore that , research This aim For analyze dynamics political local post Constitutional Court Decision No. 60/PUU-XXII/2024 with use perspective legitimacy constitutional and approach qualitative based data analysis using NVivo 12 .

LITERATURE REVIEW

Threshold

Theory threshold The electoral threshold refers to the minimum level of support that must be filled by parties political or candidate For can participate in competition elections . In system democracy , threshold limit functioning as instrument institutional For arrange competition politics , guarding balance representation , as well as create stability government . In general theoretical threshold high limit tend limit amount participant elections so that push consolidation politics , meanwhile threshold low limit increase participation political However potential cause fragmentation system party (Boix , 2018).

In context Constitutional Court Decision No. 60/PUU-XXII/2024 , amendment threshold limit nomination from 20–25% to 6.5–10% is transformation significant in system election head regions in Indonesia (Hartono, 2024). Policy This open more opportunities wide for various actor politics , including party small and non- parliamentary parties , to participate in contestation Regional elections . A number of study show that decline threshold limit can increase inclusivity and participation political in system democracy (Baehaki , 2024).

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However Thus , the theory threshold limits also emphasize there is a trade-off between inclusivity and stability . Threshold low limit , though expand access politics , potential cause fragmentation strength politics , instability coalition , as well as increasing competition between actor political (Pratama et al., 2025). Conditions This can influence effectiveness government areas , especially in system political nature decentralized .

From the perspective constitutional , changes threshold limit cause question about justice , equality , and legitimacy democracy . Threshold limit often justified as mechanism For prevent fragmentation excessive , but threshold too much limit tall precisely can limit right politics and representation democratic . Therefore that , balance between openness and stability become issue main in evaluation of system reform elections .

More further implementation policy threshold limit No can separated from dynamics politics involving various state institutions , parties politics and regulations elections . Interaction between Court Constitution , Supreme Court , and institutions organizer elections reflect complexity system law and politics that can produce diverse consequences (Gunawan & Mujahidah , 2024) . With Thus , the effectiveness policy threshold limit No only determined by aspects formal law , but also by how policy the interpreted and implemented in practice politics .

In relation with legitimacy constitutional , acceptance to change threshold limit No only depends on strength law , but also on perception society and level compliance institutional . As put forward by Richard H. Fallon Jr. , legitimacy law must supported by legitimacy sociologically in order to be able to survive . Therefore that , the success of the threshold reform limits are largely determined by the extent to which the policy the viewed fair , inclusive , and appropriate with principle democracy .

With Thus , the theory threshold limit give framework important analysis For understand How change condition nomination influence competition politics , representation , and stability government . In Indonesian context , the reforms carried out through decision Court Constitution No only is change law , but also transformation structural impact wide to dynamics political local and legitimacy democracy .

Constitutional Legitimacy

Legitimacy constitutional refers to the level acceptance and justification to authority constitution by society and actors politics . Concept This No only related with validity formal law , but also includes to what extent a decision viewed fair , just and proper For obeyed in system

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democracy . With thus , legitimacy constitutional is combination between validity law and acceptance social .

According to Jürgen Habermas , " legitimacy appear when norm law accepted through procedure democratic and reasoning public " (Habermas, 2007). The view This emphasize that law No only get strength from formal aspects , but also of reception society . In line with that , Richard H. Fallon Jr. state that " system constitution No only need legality , but also legitimacy sociological For maintain his authority " (Fallon, 2005). Fallon also divides legitimacy become three dimensions , namely legitimacy legal , moral, and sociological .

In context of judicial review, the Court Constitution own role important in form legitimacy . Although the verdict is final and binding , its effectiveness is highly dependent on the level of compliance and trust public . Research show that " trust public to court constitution depends on compliance and perception neutrality " (Ginsburg & Gibson, 2019).

This matter become very relevant in case Constitutional Court Decision No. 60/PUU-XXII/2024 which changes threshold limit nomination in Regional elections . In general law , decision This is final and binding , as stated that " decision Court Constitution No own effort law continued and binding all over parties " (Syawaludin & Wibowo, 2022). However , from side social and political , acceptance to decision the Still show variations .

More further , legitimacy constitutional related close with principle democracy like justice and participation . Research show that " decline threshold limit give opportunity more wide for party political For participate " (Baehaki , 2024), but also has the potential cause fragmentation politics (Pratama et al., 2025).

Besides that , legitimacy No is static, but rather develop through interaction between state institutions , actors politics and society . Dynamics between Court Constitution , Supreme Court , and institutions elections show that legitimacy formed through ongoing social and political processes (Gunawan & Mujahidah , 2024) .

With Thus , the theory legitimacy constitutional give framework comprehensive analysis For evaluate decision Court Constitution , no only from aspect law , but also from level reception social and its impacts to quality democracy .

Dynamics Political

Dynamics political refers to the process of interaction , competition , and change that occurs between actor politics , institutions , and public in something system politics . Dynamics This formed from relation power , rule institutional , as well as response to change policies and

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laws . In system democracy , dynamics political become indicator important in see How power distributed and fought over by various actor .

According to Robert A. Dahl , system democracy marked by pluralism politics , where various group own chance For compete and influence policy public . Dahl stated that "democratic systems are characterized by competition among multiple actors within institutional constraints" (Dahl, 1989). View This show that dynamics political No can released from structure regulatory institutions interaction between actor .

Besides that , Giovanni Sartori emphasize that system party and dynamics politics is heavily influenced by design system election . He state that "electoral systems shape party competition and political behavior " (Sartori, 1976). This means that changes in rule elections — such as threshold limit nomination — will in a way direct influence configuration strength politics .

In context Constitutional Court Decision No. 60/PUU-XXII/2024 , amendment threshold limit nomination has change in a way significant dynamics political local . Decline threshold limit open room more competition wide for party small and non- dominant actors . This is in line with findings study that " decline threshold limit increase opportunity participation political for the previous actor hampered " (Baehaki , 2024).

However Thus , the dynamics political No only related with improvement participation , but also with potential fragmentation . Other studies show that " fragmentation political can increase along with decline threshold boundaries , which have implications for stability government " (Pratama et al., 2025).

More continue , dynamics politics is also influenced by behavior strategic elite politics . Actor political will adjust their strategy to change applicable rules , incl in formation coalition , campaign strategy , and distribution power . This is in line with approach rationale that states that "political actors behave strategically to maximize their interests within institutional constraints" (Shepsle , 2010).

Interaction between institutions law and actors politics also becomes factor important in dynamics politics . Decision Court Constitution No only impact on aspects law , but also triggers change configuration power politics . As found in study you , " the decision Court Constitution implications for restructuring strength politics at the level local " (Gunawan & Mujahidah , 2024).

From the perspective society , dynamics politics is greatly influenced by perception public and current information . Response public to change political shaped by media, discourse public , as well as interaction social . This is in line with approach constructivism and social learning which

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emphasize that "political attitudes are shaped through social interaction and interpretation" (Bandura, 1977).

With Thus , the dynamics political No is static, but rather Keep going develop along with change rules , behavior actors , as well as response society . In system decentralization like Indonesia, the dynamics political local become the more complex Because influenced by factors different social , cultural and institutional conditions in each area .

In study this , theory dynamics political used For analyze How changes resulting from Constitutional Court Decision No. 60/PUU-XXII/2024 influence pattern competition politics , elite strategy , and perception public . Analysis This strengthened with data- based usage NVivo 12 , which allows identification pattern discourse , sentiment , and relationships between actor in dynamics political local .

METHODS

Study This use approach qualitative with objective For understand in a way deep dynamics political local post Decision Court Constitution No. 60/PUU-XXII/2024. Approach This chosen Because capable catch phenomenon socio-political in a way contextual , in particular related perception , interpretation , and response actor to change policy law .

Data sources in study This consists of from secondary data obtained through search documents , including article scientific , documents official , and relevant online media coverage with issue change threshold limit nomination head area . Collected data focused on narrative , opinion , and discourse growing public post decision Court Constitution .

Data collection techniques were carried out through studies documentation with identify , classify , and organize relevant sources with focus research . The data that has been collected Then analyzed use technique analysis content analysis, namely methods used For interpret meaning from text in a way systematic and contextual .

In the analysis process , research This refers to the stages qualitative data analysis which includes data reduction , data presentation , and withdrawal conclusion or verification (Yusuf & Ridwan, 2018). Data reduction was carried out with filter relevant information with focus research , whereas data presentation is done in form categorization themes and patterns connection between variable .

For increase accuracy and systematicity analysis , research This use help device NVivo 12 Plus software . NVivo is used For carry out the coding process , data grouping (node classification), and analysis connection between emerging themes in data. Data sources in NVivo are classified

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to in a number of category , namely internal sources (documents main research), source external (media and articles) supporters), as well as researcher memos as notes analytical during the research process .

Through use of NVivo, researchers can identify pattern discourse , tendency sentiment , as well as connection between actor in dynamics political local in a way more systematic and structured . With Thus , the method This allows more analysis deep to interaction between change law , perception public , and behavior political in context decentralization in Indonesia.

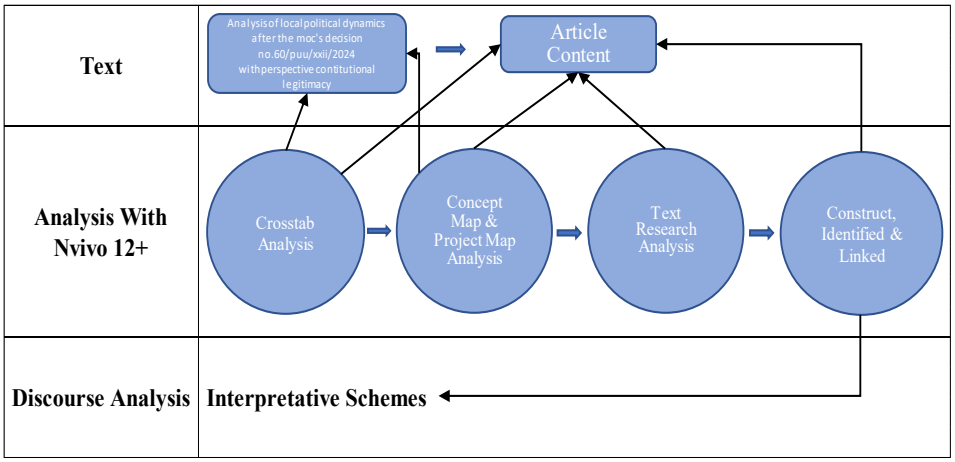


Figure 1. Analytical Framework Diagram

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Decision Court Constitution give impact significant to dynamics political local , especially in pattern nomination , configuration coalition , and party strategy politics in regional elections Simultaneously 2024. Findings This show that change formal rules do not only impact on aspects procedural , but also triggers adjustment strategic among actor politics at the level local .

In a way quantitative , amount partner candidates who register in a way national classified as high . However , the increase the No ongoing evenly distributed across all area . In a number of areas there are still found phenomenon candidate single , which indicates limited alternative political for voters as well as strong consolidation local elite (Kompas, 2024; Wawan Mas'udi , 2024). In perspective threshold theory , conditions This indicates that decline threshold limit nomination Not yet fully capable remove domination strength political certain . Although obstacle institutional has reduced , structure power local still influenced by non- institutional factors like elite network , sources Power politics and control party .

Change threshold limit more candidacy flexible post decision Court Constitution open

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opportunity more big for party small or non- parliamentary parties For carry candidate head area . In in practice , starting seen trend a number of party small submit candidate Alone or form minimal coalition . However Thus , dominance party big Still still strong , especially Because factor electability candidates and capacity source Power politics (Antara News, 2024; Azis Kurmala & Fath Putra Mulya , 2024). Findings This show there is a trade-off in theory threshold limit , where the increase inclusivity No always compared straight with change structure competition more politics equivalent .

On the other hand , the path nomination independent and emergence figure local non-elite Still relatively limited . Requirements administrative in the form of support factual public become constraint main for candidate individual . A number of study show that amount candidate independent in the 2024 regional elections tend to stagnan or even decrease compared to period previously (ISEAS Perspective, 2024; Muhtadi , 2024). This indicates that party political still play a role as actor dominant in the recruitment process political local , so that room for non- party actors Still relatively narrow . From the perspective constitutional legitimacy , conditions this also reflects existence gap between objective normative decision (pushing inclusiveness) with reality its implementation in the field .

Change pattern nomination the side by side with shift configuration coalition regional politics . Coalition the previous big one relatively stable start show trend divided , especially in the regions with level high elite competition . Some party choose go out from coalition dominant and form axis new assessed more profitable in a way electoral (Kompas, 2024; Vitorio Mantalean , 2024). Phenomenon This show that coalition political local the more nature liquid and temporary , as well as more driven by consideration pragmatic term short compared to similarities ideological . This is in line with theory political dynamics , which emphasizes that actor political will adjust their strategy in a way rational in respond change rule institutional .

Change in pattern nomination and coalition strategy the impact direct to dynamics competition and stability political local . In one side , fragmentation coalition open room more competition wide . But on the other hand , the competition political become more strict and personalistic , which has the potential increase rivalry among local elites . In a number of cases , increasing rivalry This participate push polarization social at the level local , although No always lead to conflict open . This is show that improvement competition No always identical with improvement quality democracy in a way substantive .

In context implementation , although decision Court Constitution is final and binding , its implementation in the region Still face a number of challenges . Differences in interpretation of

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provision nomination had time cause confusion administrative at the level Commission Election General area . Condition This show that legitimacy law not formally yet fully followed by legitimacy sociological and operational . In framework constitutional legitimacy , situation This confirm that effectiveness something decision No only determined by strength law , but also by level understanding , acceptance , and readiness institutions in implement it .

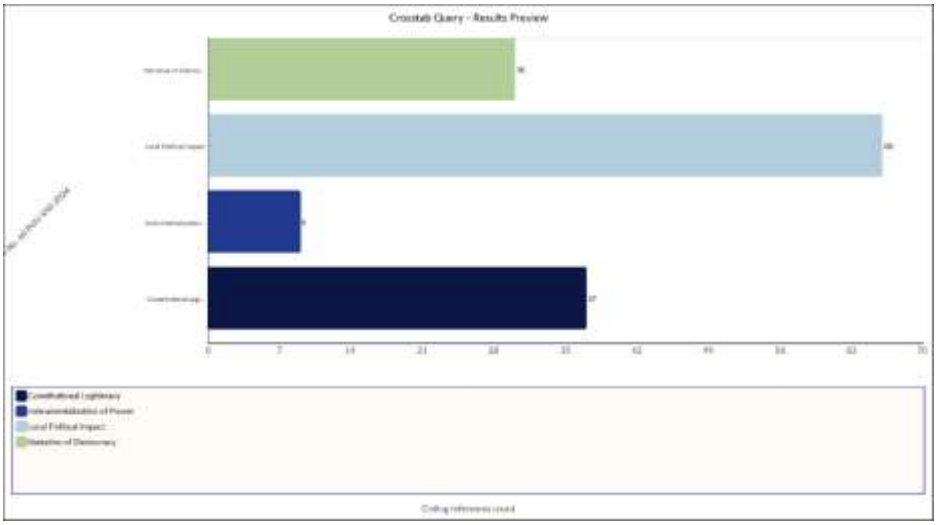


Figure 2. Crosstab query results

Qualitative data analysis in study This done use help device NVivo 12 Plus software with thematic coding technique . The data analyzed covering document official statement actor politics , as well as related media coverage with Decision Court Constitution Number 60/PUU-XXII/2024. The coding process is carried out in a way gradually through open coding, axial coding, and selective coding to produce four theme main , namely *Local Political Impact* , *Constitutional Legitimacy* , *Narrative of Democracy* , and *Instrumentalization of Power* .

Based on Figure 1. crosstab query results , themes *Local Political Impact* is the most dominant theme with a total of 66 coding references. Dominance This show that decision Court Constitution more Lots perceived in context impact practically to dynamics political local compared to as issue normative solely . Theme This covers subcategory like change configuration coalition , candidacy strategy , and intensity competition politics . This is strengthen findings previously that actor political tend interpret decision as variables strategic in struggle power , in line with approach political dynamics .

Theme *Constitutional Legitimacy* occupy position second with 37 coding references. Theme This reflect discourse that emphasizes aspect legality and power tie decision Court

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Constitution . Although Enough significant , amount the reference more low compared to theme impact political local , which shows that debate law No become focus main in discourse public . This is indicates that formal legitimacy yet fully become the main base in form response politics at the level local .

Next , the theme *Narrative of Democracy* get 30 coding references. Theme This reflect effort frame decision as part from strengthening democracy , such as improvement participation and inclusivity politics . However , the narrative This tend nature normative and not always followed by changes practice real politics . This is show existence gap between discourse democracy and reality politics on the ground .

Temporary that , theme *Instrumentalization of Power* is theme with The lowest number of coding references , namely 9 references . Theme This reflect existence suspicion to possibility use decision Court Constitution as instrument interests of certain elites . The low frequency theme This show that discourse about politicization decision No dominant , although still present as perspective critical in part small data.

In a way overall , results NVivo analysis shows that response to decision Court Constitution at the level local more impact - oriented practical and strategic compared to the debate normative or criticism to power . Findings This confirm that in context political local , rationality actor more driven by interests electoral than consideration ideological or juridical .



Figure 3. Results of word frequency analysis

The results of the word frequency analysis show domination the emergence of words such as " election ", " party" politics ", " vote ", " candidate ", " regional election ", and " court constitution ". This pattern indicates that discourse post decision focus on change mechanism nomination and relations between voice voters with role party political in the electoral process .

Emergence term like " threshold" limits " and " decision " with frequency tall show that

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issue law and politics each other intertwined in form discourse public . In context this , threshold limit No only understood as instrument technical , but also as an arena for debate about justice and equality politics .

More further , the height frequency of the word " party" politics ” and “ candidate ” reflect increasing internal party dynamics at the level local , including trend For carry candidate in a way independent . This is show existence change orientation strategic party in respond opportunities opened up by the decision Court Constitution .

In perspective constitutional legitimacy , pattern This show that reception to decision Court Constitution No only determined by strength law formally , but also by the extent to which the decision the understood , accepted , and implemented by actors political as well as society . Domination discourse that focuses on aspects practical like nomination and political strategy indicates that legitimacy decision more Lots formed through implications its operations compared to through understanding normative to principles constitutional .

Findings This in line with results NVivo analysis showing domination theme Local Political Impact , which reflects that actor politics and society more emphasize impact practical compared to legal-formal dimensions . Conditions This show existence trend that legitimacy constitutional nature contextual , where power normative something decisions are greatly influenced by how decision the functioning in practice political daily .

With Thus , the perception to decision Court Constitution No only formed by the authorities the law , but also by the effectiveness implementation and relevance to interest politics at the level local . This is show that legitimacy constitutional is results interaction between aspect normative and reality empirical , which is direct influence level acceptance and applicability decision in system democracy .

In a way overall , results study show that Decision Court Constitution Number 60/PUU-XXII/2024 has push change significant in dynamics political local , especially in pattern nomination , configuration coalition and party strategy politics . However thus , the changes the Not yet fully produce competition inclusive and substantive politics .

Domination of political elites , pragmatism party , as well as limitations capacity institutional level area Still become factor main limiting factor effectiveness of reform. In perspective constitutional legitimacy , conditions This confirm that although in a way normative decision Court Constitution aim strengthen democracy , level success depends heavily on ability system political in internalize and implement substance decision in a way consistent . Without matter In this regard , formal legitimacy has the potential to No fully converted become legitimacy

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substantive in practice democracy local .

CONCLUSION

Study This conclude that Decision Court Constitution Number 60/PUU-XXII/2024 has produce change significant in dynamics political local in Indonesia, especially in pattern nomination , configuration coalition and party strategy politics in regional elections Simultaneously 2024. Decrease threshold limit nomination proven expand access political formally with open opportunity for party small and non- dominant actors For participate in contestation electoral .

However Thus , the findings study show that improvement inclusivity the No in a way automatic produce competition more politics equal and substantive . Domination of political elites , power network local , as well as capacity source Power party big Still become factor the main thing that maintains inequality in structure competition . Besides that , phenomenon candidate single and limited track independent indicates that institutional reform Not yet fully capable overcome obstacle structural in system political local .

From the perspective threshold theory , results This confirm there is a trade-off between inclusivity and stability politics , where the decline threshold limit increase participation , but also has the potential push fragmentation and complexity coalition . Meanwhile that , in framework political dynamics , change regulations proven push actor political For adjust strategy accordingly rational , including in formation a stronger coalition fluid , pragmatic , and oriented term short .

More further analysis NVivo- based shows that response to decision Court Constitution at the level local more dominated by orientation practical and strategic compared by consideration normative or juridical . Domination theme Local Political Impact as well as results word frequency that emphasizes aspect nomination and role party political indicates that actor politics and society more interpret decision as instrument in contestation power than as norm constitutionally binding in a way substantive .

In perspective constitutional legitimacy , findings This show existence gap between formal legitimacy and legitimacy substantive . Although decision Court Constitution own strength final and binding law , its effectiveness in strengthen democracy is highly dependent on the level of acceptance , understanding , and implementation by actors politics and institutions at the level local . Low domination discourse legitimacy in discourse public show that legal-formal aspects not yet fully become base main in form behavior politics .

With Thus , research This confirm that success of legal reform through decision Court

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Constitution No only determined by design normatively , but also by context socio-political and structural the power that surrounds it . For realize more democracy inclusive and substantive , is required strengthening of aspects implementation , consistency institutional , as well as improvement understanding actor political to values constitutional .

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