

Sole Candidate for Regional Head Election in Indonesia

Roso Prajoko¹, Ari Pradhanawati², Fitriyah³, Nur Hidayat Sardini⁴

^{1,2,3,4}Diponegoro University, Semarang, Indonesia

Abstract

The number of single candidates for empty boxes in each regional head election continues to increase, as a result of the Constitutional Court decision Number 100/PUU-XIII/2015. After this decision, it was as if the regional elections were held democratically. This process tends to kill the democratic process, because it is not fair and equal. Also political parties are considered to have failed in preparing leaders every five years. Although a single candidate is legally valid, and regulated in Law no. 10 of 2016. However, party politics as the gateway to democracy must maintain equality and a fair democratic process, not political oligarchs who control the party. The method used is qualitative descriptive to describe social events in society. The results of this research show that a political party politician is unable to avoid oligarchic power.

Keywords: *Democracy, Oligarchy; Election, Single Candidate.*

Introduction

The simultaneous regional elections which were held on December 9 2020 took place in 270 regions in Indonesia. In this election, 9 provinces held gubernatorial elections. Then, 37 cities in various regions held elections for mayor and deputy mayor. There are 224 districts holding regent elections. However, in the 2020 regional head election (PILKADA) there was a phenomenon of a single candidate facing quite a lot of empty boxes. The phenomenon of single candidates running against empty boxes has increased in the five years that regional elections have been held (KPU RI, 2020). The number of single candidates facing the empty box has increased. In 2015, there were 3 pairs of single candidates, in 2017 there were 9 pairs of single candidates, in 2018 there were 16 pairs of single candidates, and in 2020 there were 28 pairs of single candidates.

The rise of single candidates in empty boxes began with the Constitutional Court decision Number 100/PUU-XIII/2015 which allowed pairs of single candidates to be allowed to take part in the 2020 regional elections simultaneously. This decision was finally welcomed by political party leaders to mobilize a large coalition, so that there would be a single candidate. Until finally producing a single candidate who experienced improvement in various regions. There are many ways to do this, so that a single candidate can easily win the battle, including buying all political parties into the network. Political party officials also began to carry out inappropriate practices by joining incumbents who already had strong networks during their leadership. Local rulers who had multiple sources of wealth were asked to join the theme of a single candidate. The collaboration of political parties, local strongmen and incumbents makes oligarchic practices even stronger. The oligarchic practices above are the same as those proposed by Winters (2011), namely people who have material wealth which is used to increase their wealth and maintain their social position in society. Local and materially powerful rulers eventually joined forces to buy off all parties to maintain or increase their power and wealth.

Literature Review

Democracy Authoritarian

The new authoritarian regimes emerging around the world differ from previous generations in two important ways. First, many of them emerged not as ideological competitors to liberal democracy, but rather as improvements in how to use the resources of democratic legitimacy for non-democratic ends. Second, and related

to this, they did not come suddenly through a coup or revolution, but through victory in elections. The art of contemporary authoritarianism is to use elections, parliament, and the rule of law to ensure the eternal dominance of one leader or party (D'Anieri, 2023) .

The problem with implementing democracy lies in the ambiguity of democracy, which cannot be operationalized simply; Democracy is constantly moving, changing and adapting to new political and social developments . Democracy is unstable in time and space. The concept is being expanded. Indeed, normative theorists have long argued that democracy's inherent ambiguity is its greatest strength as an empirically successful regime type. This is also the main advantage of a democratic regime as a regime that has moral strength. The point is that the qualities that make democracy so attractive both in theory and in practice also make it difficult to operationalize. His main argument is that efforts to measure the quality of democracy in mainstream political science would be aided by greater engagement with alternative approaches to the study of democracy found in normative theory and interpretive political science (Boswel & Corbett, 2021) .

As citizens, the public has an interest in assessing the ethical integrity of politicians and officials and measuring whether they are responsive or not and how their actions impact society. While these interests are legitimate, they should not be confused with society's interest in political trust and distrust; this is a separate concern about whether political elites are acting on commitments or not. Although the commitment paradigm takes the form of a voluntary promise, viewing trust through a commitment attribution framework highlights the importance of the social practices that underlie the commitment-giving function of the pledge, as well as the commitment inherent in that commitment. of social and political roles, norms and institutions, and political judgments that may underlie and challenge attributions of commitment (Festenstein, 2019) .

Citizens participate in politics in a variety of ways that are well understood in political science. If the opportunities of democracy can be realized in practice, and the risks are not excessive, then democracy offers important lessons about how to engage citizens in collective decision-making and problem-solving processes in an era of crisis of low institutional trust. Most significantly, it suggests that when it comes to informal political participation, there may be more than meets the eye in today's societies: informal civic engagement goes far beyond ground-level protest and top-down participatory governance. There are many innovative ways that communities can use to navigate complex policy issues in their own way. In these experimental, sometimes challenging and disruptive governance efforts, societies are willing to cooperate within state structures or relevant traditional civil society relations (Hendriks & Dzur, 2021) .

In Law Number 2 of 2011 as amended from Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning political parties, a political party is required by law to prepare leadership candidates in every regional head election and carry out party regeneration to fill the position of regional head. . However, the facts on the ground are that the obligations of political parties have failed. One of the districts that has a single candidate against an empty box is Boyolali District in Central Java which has made history. Since direct elections were held in 2005, only in 2020 did Boyolali district only have one pair of candidates for regent and deputy regent, M Said Hidayat-Wahyu Irawan (Said-Iwan). The pair M. Said Hidayat-Wahyu Irawan (Said-Iwan) is supported by all political parties in the Boyolali parliament except PKS. Data on the seats obtained by Boyolali DPRD members in the General Election Commission (KPU) as a result of the 2019 legislative elections, PDIP won a majority of 35 seats in parliament, 4 seats for the Golkar Party, 3 seats for PKS, 2 seats for PKB, and 1 seat for Gerindra. The number of members of parliament in Boyolali is 45 seats

Based on Law NO 10 of 2016, there are full requirements for nominating or nominating regents and deputy regents who only need 9 seats in parliament from political parties, or a combination of political parties. This provision is contained in Article 40 which states that political parties or coalitions of political parties can register pairs of candidates if they have met the requirements for obtaining at least 20% (twenty percent) of the total seats in the Regional People's Representative Council or 25% (twenty five percent).) of accumulated chairs. obtain valid votes in the general election of members of the Regional People's Representative Council in the area concerned. A Political Party Association is a combination of two or more Political Parties participating in the general election who jointly agree on the nomination of 1 (one) candidate for Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head.

From the data above, there should be two pairs of candidates, namely the candidate supported by PDIP with a total of 35 seats and the candidate supported by a coalition of Non-PDIP parties which won 10 seats in parliament including the Golkar Party with 4 seats, PKS with 3 seats, PKB with 2 chair, and Gerindra with 1 chair. 10 seats in total. However, in fact, high-ranking non-PDIP political parties, namely the Golkar Party, PKB and Gerindra, were unable to carry it themselves and instead joined the PDIP which carried the incumbent M Said Hidayat-Wahyu Irawan (Said-Iwan). Meanwhile, PKS, which has 3 seats in the DPRD, chose not to nominate a regent candidate and did not join the grand coalition and left the party masses to choose freely.

Dahl (1971:3) in POLYARCHY; Participation and Opposition states that a region is called a democracy if it fulfills seven elements, namely; 1) Freedom to form and join organizations, 2) Freedom of expression, 3) Right to vote, 4) Eligibility for public office, 5) The right of political leaders to compete for support (the right of political leaders to compete for support), 6) Alternative sources of information, 7) Free and fair general elections.

Organization Party Cartel

The party organization model has emerged as a cartel party model as an empirical phenomenon that is associated with improvements to the normative model of democracy. In the cartel party model, the essence of democracy lies in the ability of voters to choose from a number of political parties. Parties are groups of leaders who compete for the opportunity to occupy government office and take responsibility in the next election for the government's performance. Democracy lies in gaining public support from elites, and not public involvement in policy making. Voters should care more about results than policy, which is a professional domain. The Party is a partnership of professionals, not an association of, or for, citizens. In other words, democracy is no longer seen as a process where restrictions or control are exercised by civil society over the state, but democracy becomes a service provided by the state to civil society. Political leadership needs to be renewed and elections provide a peaceful ritual that can make this happen. Feedback is necessary if rulers are to provide widely acceptable governance, and contested elections, which signal the public's pleasure (or displeasure) with policies and outcomes, provide that feedback. (Katz & Mair, 1995) .

Democratically contested elections, at least as currently understood, require political parties, so the state also provides (or guarantees the provision of) political parties. Ultimately, of course, it is the parties in power who constitute the state and provide these services, and as such they are the ones who guarantee their own existence. Recognition of political parties as a full-time career requires acceptance, and even encouragement, of a number of tendencies deemed undesirable by the concept of democracy. Although the connection between these things and the idea of cartel parties, both as prerequisites and consequences, is clear, they nevertheless imply a fundamental reorientation towards parties and elections. Most importantly, politicians feel a growing need to mitigate the impact of electoral defeat (Brancati, 2014) .

The concept of freedom is also sacred to democracy, but democracy is also in crisis. There are four ways that cause the erosion of people's power. First, in large democracies, corporate and state power have merged to such an extent that society is powerless and has no means to resist them. Second, the election process follows marketing and management strategies. Third, the basic principles of democracy, namely constitutionalism, legal equality, and political and civil freedom, have been replaced by market criteria, namely efficiency and profitability. Fourth, with the expanding power and reach of the judicial system, "government through the courts is a subversion of democracy" (Estrada, 2017) .

The forms of violations that commonly occur in general elections can take various forms; these violations range from procedural violations of election laws (which may aim to distort election results) to the use of violence against voters. Second, although voting fraud is an integral part of electoral competition, it is rarely decisive. However, fraud in elections can undermine political stability because, in tight competition, this can be crucial. Third, political competition shapes the rhythm and nature of election fraud. Attempts to cheat in elections increase along with existing inequality, but competitiveness determines the cheating strategies that will be implemented by parties (Lehoucq, 2003) .

Based on the democratic theory above, the right of political leaders to obtain support in electoral competition does not operate democratically. Even so, people who hope for freedom of expression and choosing alternative options

are also not fulfilled because people do not have other choices of candidates. Democracy which No equal and fair, Candidacy party No running, regional elections expensive, independent candidate difficult This will become principal talk about Asan research this.

Method

The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative to explore and understand the meaning of individual and group social problems that exist in society (Creswell, 2019). The research informants used were 4 political party leaders and political party administrators in Boyolali Regency consisting of the Chair of the Golkar Party DPD, the PKB DPC Chair, the Deputy Secretary of the Gerindra DPC, and the PKS Secretary. Apart from using primary data, it also uses supporting data such as field observations, use of documents and news on the internet. After the data is obtained, data analysis is carried out by data triangulation, namely the data is reduced, presented and concluded (Miles & Huberman, 1992).

Results And Discussion

The political facts are different, the people of Boyolali are presented with a single candidate, namely the Candidate Pair (Paslon) for Regent and Deputy Regent, M Said Hidayat-Wahyu Irawan (Said- Iwan) against an empty box. The phenomenon of regional elections where only a single candidate pair participated in the 2020 regional elections makes the democratic process less than ideal, healthy and democratic in Boyolali district.

Democracy Which _ No Equivalent and Fair

Voters argue that they are most influenced by candidate characteristics that contain the most directly politically relevant information when deciding which candidate to support. A candidate's party affiliation is the most emphasized characteristic, but the candidate's issue positions also play a major role. In contrast, candidates' sociodemographic characteristics, according to voters themselves, have little relevance when they decide whom to support. Political sophistication has a positive influence on all candidate characteristics considered in this research. Politically sophisticated voters are more likely to find both easily ascertainable characteristics and more complex and important characteristics when deciding whom to support compared to those without political sophistication. Therefore, voters appear to consider a wider range of candidate characteristics when deciding whom to support (Coffé, 2020) .

The combination of elements of oligarchy and democracy is inherent in any constitutional democracy. However, the state is always the main coercive guarantor of existing relations of social domination, but it rarely functions solely as an instrument of domination. The state's relationship with society is mediated by collective identities such as nation, citizenship or popularity. Depending on the nature of this mediation, oligarchic and democratic models of governance may be in (weak) equilibrium. However, oligarchic modes of governance intensify when institutional mechanisms of representation and participation cannot effectively balance or restrain elites, thereby weakening citizenship rights. This model of government is usually made possible by bureaucratic patrimonialism, clientelism, corruption and delegative forms of government (Cameron, 2021).

Unequal Democracy, which offers a scathing critique of so-called political economy, shows that contemporary democracies are systematically more responsive to the preferences of wealthier groups. When the preferences of economic elites and interest groups are controlled in an organized manner, society has 'very little impact on public policy'. The oligarchs then have the power to realize their policy preferences through mechanisms that are difficult for the general public to understand, mechanisms that have nothing to do with the electoral process. It's very difficult to get good survey data on the super-rich, which makes these subjects seem inaccessible to society. If electoral democracy is fundamentally about group identity, then care must be taken to ensure that certain groups are not systematically disadvantaged (Arlen & Rossi, 2021) .

Oligarchy in the Indonesian political system has received a lot of attention from academics. Oligarchs can secure Indonesian political power because they have financial resources that give them a path to power. Other factors influence Indonesian politics, such as formal political rights, official positions, coercive power, and mobilization power. These actors influence the political process, depending on the conditions. Material power is a fundamental basis for building an oligarchy because it can be another way and form of systemic power. This phenomenon is

natural because the main political goal of oligarchs is to maintain power and concentrate their wealth. Oligarchy in Indonesia in terms of ownership of economic material, and states that oligarchy in Indonesia is an effort to combine economic power carried out by individuals or a small group of elites involved in the political system. In particular, the oligarchy has dominant influence over the military, bureaucracy, and civil society (Asrinaldi et al., 2021) .

Political parties are a channel for citizens to channel their politics in every election and elections. In this way, political parties have the task of selecting, and offering their candidates to the public. UU no. 2 of 2008 which was updated with Law no. 2 of 2011 political parties have the task of preparing regional and national leaders. The size of the mass base and constituency of the winning party will be a struggle for the candidates who will run for office. In regional head elections, political parties are considered the democratic chain of open government, and without political parties an open government system would not exist .

Political scientist Robert Huckshorn provides a 'pragmatic definition' of parties in his textbook political parties in America: political parties are autonomous groups of citizens whose goal is to run for office and stand for election in the hope of gaining control of government power through capturing public office and government organizations.

Talking about political parties, it cannot be separated from human resources as those who control the organization and prepare leadership cadres. One way to get good human resources is to recruit members and process internal party cadres. Article 6A paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution determines that political parties will play a major role in nominating candidate pairs for President and Vice President to be elected directly by the people. Apart from that, the 1945 Constitution also stipulates the role of political parties as participants in general elections to elect members of the DPR and DPRD members (Article 22E paragraph (3)).

Candidacy Failed Political Party

In every election, political parties are usually contestants or political parties supporting candidate pairs. They usually form coalitions with other political parties to gain public support and gain votes. In post-conflict regional elections, political parties or their combinations have a minimum of 20 percent of regional representative seats to support candidate pairs. Thus, usually there are a minimum of two pairs of candidates or a maximum of 4 pairs of candidates supported by a coalition of political parties. Apart from that, there is an opportunity for candidate pairs to register as independent or non-party candidates. The existence of two or more pairs of candidates makes the election more competitive to find the best candidate. But in many cases, there is only one single candidate pair (Purwaningsih & Widodo, 2021) .

The method of selecting candidates is as important to democracy as the electoral system. Both are links in the chain of electoral relations that is central to modern representative democracy. Therefore, in selecting candidates, voter groups determine the overall composition of parliament, and ultimately determine the number of those eligible to hold government office (Akhtar & Peace, 2018) .

The nomination of a candidate is a key element in a competitive democracy. The selection of candidates is an important element in free elections to realize their ideals with the consent of the people. There are five candidate selection models between two continuums, inclusive and exclusive. The five candidate selection models are selection by voters, selection by party members, selection by party delegates, selection by party elites, and selection by party leaders. There are four recruitment models. First, partisanship, namely political recruitment that takes into account cadre loyalty. This type does not take cadre competency into consideration. Second, meritocratic, the recruitment model is based on competencies such as entrepreneurs, technocrats, graduates and experts. Third, compartmentalization, namely a recruitment model based on pragmatic considerations, which can be based on meritocracy or other appointments to obtain short-term support or increase member loyalty. Fourth, survival, namely political recruitment to provide rewards to postulants; this model tends to use patronage. The four political recruitment models based more on the character of the candidates recruited by the party (Chiru, 2019) .

There are a variety of mechanisms that can be used in primaries to produce high-quality nominations of candidates. One of them is that voters know who the higher quality candidates are and vote for them. If this mechanism were

the only mechanism influencing the selection of high-quality candidates in primaries, then we might expect that districts with competitive general elections would elect higher-quality officials compared with districts where one party favored in the general election. A competitive general election would serve as an additional check on candidate quality, compared to safe districts where primaries would be the primary election to screen candidate quality (Fernandes et al., 2018) .

In practice, political parties use different methods in selecting their candidates. The main difference between the two is the level of democracy or participation of other stakeholders in the selection process. The cases range from relatively democratic procedures such as direct election by party members to less participatory methods such as nomination by incumbent party leaders. Given the heterogeneity of these methods , a relevant question is whether candidate nomination procedures matter in political selection (Aragon, 2009) .

Norris as quoted by Katz (2006: 95), namely the political recruitment process, 1) Candidate nomination procedures in each party (Certification stage), 2) Pool of nominated candidates (nomination stage) 3) Elected members (election stage).

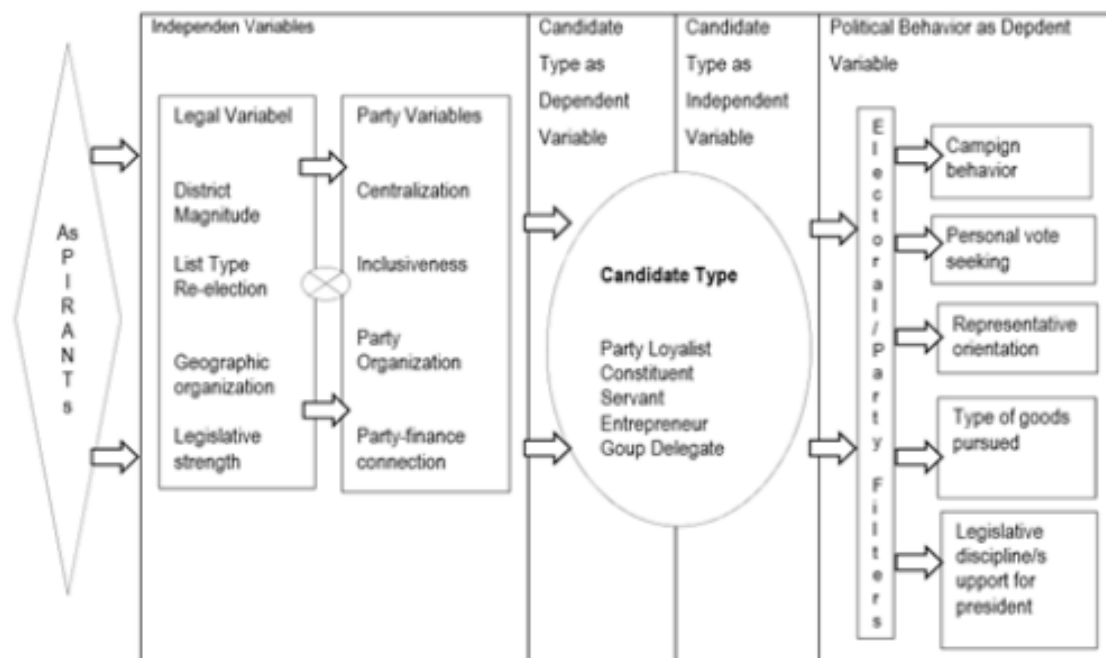


Figure 1. Recruitment Scheme for Pippa Norris Leader Candidates

Based on table 2 above, the aim and function of political parties is to seek and maintain power, each political party is obliged to recruit to fill local and national leadership positions. At the certification stage, political parties are required to carry out selections related to legal norms such as criteria for candidate party rules, party norms. Even the value of a person's assets is also a criterion in this recruitment process. So far, the party has previously prepared the candidate's financial resources. The next step is the nomination stage, at this stage the political parties have narrowed down the list of names of who will be nominated in the political contest after looking at the administrative requirements and financial resources of the candidates . The final step is for the party to select names to be prepared in the political arena for competing for positions at the executive and legislative levels.

Based on informant interviews with political party figures Golkar, PKB, PKS and Gerindra. However, from the Non-PDIP coalition parties there are no candidates ready to run for office. because factor finances which no adequate and figure candidate which worthy for promoted. In terms of recruitment, all parties in Boyolali are open, as stated by party officials, namely Golkar, PKS, PKB and Gerindra. However, it is acknowledged that from the perspective of figures who have a sufficient mass and financial base, a number of parties have experienced problems.

Expensive Regional Elections

In a democratic country, election campaigns should be a peaceful and open discourse of persuasion. Ideally, candidates compete for popular support by providing reasoned arguments about why they are most qualified to be elected to a particular office. They compete with each other over public goods programs, and at the same time they are attracted to voters at the center of the political spectrum. Voters then choose the candidate whose policy positions best reflect their preferences. Instead of providing an opportunity for public deliberation, election campaigns have become a moment for politicians to engage in mass mobilization and manipulation of election regulations. From the campaign strategy, there was material persuasion and political intimidation. In its extreme form, the unusual mode of electoral practice is manifested in explicit acts of vote buying. This condition gives rise to expensive elections (Bratton, 2008).

Voter intimidation and vote buying are common tactics politicians use to subvert elections, but scholars tend to study one of the tactics: little research has explored the impacts associated with using both tactics. Intimidation is likely to be more common in situations where (1) vote buying is costly, (2) significant negative inducements can be applied at low cost to politicians, and (3) the severity of the threat eliminates the need for monitoring measures which costs a lot of money (Frye et al., 2018).

National elections are different from local elections; executive elections are different from legislative elections; elections held immediately after the resumption of electoral politics differ from elections held in subsequent years. Whether due to differences in regime type, institutional constraints, or socio-economic conditions, we also know that there is great variation in election behavior and outcomes. Finally, although elections can sometimes promote democratization, it is not easy to assume that they will weaken authoritarian regimes; in reality, the opposite is true (Gandhi & Lust-Okar, 2009).

In elections in many countries, parties (or political machines) distribute benefits to citizens in direct return for political support. These parties compete not only based on policy platforms but also on the material inducements provided to individuals. These enticements often include food, drugs, and other forms of sustenance. In contexts where citizens are highly dependent on such aid, including countries where the state fails to provide social safety nets, this pattern of machine politics can have similar impacts that are of crucial consequence for democratic accountability and responsiveness. (Gans-Morse et al., 2014).

Political clientelism is a common feature of electoral politics in many contemporary elections. In both new and established democracies, politicians attract voters not only through programmed electoral promises, but also through other strategies that include promises of monetary rewards, offers of administrative assistance, and/or preferential access to the state bureaucracy. Elections are also characterized by political favor transactions in which politicians offer direct material incentives to citizens or groups in exchange for electoral support (Mares et al., 2017).

Candidates or parties attract voters by distinguishing their programmatic promises. In the case of clientelistic competition, candidates offer goods or services to voters in exchange for their political support at the ballot box. Electoral clientelism itself is a highly aggregated category, involving a variety of strategies that vary across multiple dimensions. Behavior in this relationship is contingent or reciprocal—a contractual exchange of electoral support by the agent in exchange for behavior approved by the principal (Hsieh et al., 2011).

For each regional head election, based on interviews with informants, a candidate for regent or deputy regent must provide a down payment of IDR 30 billion. The 30 billion capital is used to procure outreach tools, campaign team costs, witness payments, voter transportation costs of IDR 20 to 50 thousand.

The key to nominating candidates for regent and deputy regent in Boyolali depends on the Golkar party, because 4 non-PDIP political parties won seats, namely Golkar, PKS, PKB and Gerindra. Only the Golkar seat is being contested to support the Non-PDIP coalition. However, from the start the Golkar party had required a fee of 30 billion, until finally the three parties PKS, PKB and Gerindra, which only had 6 seats, could not do much and it depended on the political direction of the Golkar party. The Golkar Party admits that it also does not have strong cadres, and none of its candidates have good financial resources

The results of this interview show that the four political parties, namely the Golkar Party, PKB, PKS and Gerindra, are unable to provide good cadres who have sufficient courage and capital. So when the Golkar party approached PDIP, two other parties, namely PKB, Gerindra, joined the PDI Perjuangan party, namely the pair M Said Hidayat-Wahyu Irawan (Said-Iwan). Meanwhile, PKS chose to be neutral in the 2020 regional elections.

Difficult Independent Candidate

The continuity of a country's political system is difficult to separate from the political activities that exist there. The elements that influence the efficiency with which the political process is carried out are the people and groups who are actively involved in it. Therefore, elections are one of the basic principles of democracy because elections can symbolize people's sovereignty. As a further step to advance local democracy, regional head elections were held. As a result, direct elections are used in Indonesia every five years to rotate regional heads. However, in Indonesia, the election of regional heads and their appointment by political parties often tends to be influenced by initial factors, including religion, blood relations, regional equality, as well as aspects of loyalty and closeness to party leaders. Likewise, the internal dynamics of parties often choose to renominate incumbents whose leadership has been tested five years previously. As a result of the incumbent's winning ability and the formation of uneven party alliances, other political parties may not be able to participate in the regional elections. As a result, there has been an increase in the number of single candidates in regional elections (Nasution et al., 2023).

Pilkada is a form of democracy so that government leaders follow the wishes of the people. Regional elections are held directly and democratically. There are eight characteristics of democratic elections, namely: regular elections, meaningful choices, freedom to nominate candidates, freedom to know and discuss choices, universal adult suffrage, equal weight of votes, free registration to vote and accurate counting of choices and reporting of results. The availability of significant choices shows that there are choices for the public so that voters can determine the best choice. Substantively, there are values and principles in elections, namely the principles of free, open, honest, fair, competitive, direct, general, free and secret. Democracy can function as a system of selecting leaders carried out by the people through competitive general elections. As a selection system, not only one candidate must be selected in a competitive election, so voters have many alternatives to choose from. The selection is carried out by political parties, using either open or closed selection (Purwaningsih & Widodo, 2021). The results of observations in the field show independent candidates are difficult. Nomination of candidates for regent and deputy regent can still be carried out so that there is no single candidate in the empty box, namely through independent or non-party channels. In districts/cities with a population of more than 500,000 (five hundred thousand) to 1,000,000 (one million) people, a candidate must be supported by at least 7.5% (seven and a half percent) of the total number of voters. Permanent Voter List.

Conclusion

The occurrence of a single candidate in the regional head election is due to: a) Boyolali Regency is a strong PDIP mass base so it is very difficult for non-PDIP parties to gather opposing forces, b) The strong figure of Seno Samudro who has ruled for 15 years with national achievements, especially during his 15 years in office. there were no disgraceful acts committed by Seno Samudro, making the level of public trust high, c) There was no rival cadre who was strong in character and finances, d). The existence of adequate financial support from Seno Samudro and Seno Kusumoarjo or Seno Gedhe made other parties choose not to field rival candidates.

References

- [1] Akhtar, P., & Peace, T. (2018). Ethnic minorities in British politics: candidate selection and clan politics in the Labour Party. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1443804>
- [2] Aragon, F. (2009). Candidate nomination procedures and political selection: evidence from Latin American parties. *Economic Organisation and Public Policy Discussion Paper*, 3(1).
- [3] Arlen, G., & Rossi, E. (2021). Must Realists Be Pessimists About Democracy? Responding to Epistemic and Oligarchic Challenges. *Moral Philosophy and Politics*, 8(1), 27–49.
- [4] Aristoteles. 2007. *Tentang Retorika: Teori Wacana Kewarganegaraan*, George Kennedy edisi ke-2. New York: Oxford University Press.

- [5] Asrinaldi, Yusoff, M. A., & Karim, Z. A. (2021). Oligarchy in the Jokowi government and its influence on the implementation of legislative function in Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057891121995564>
- [6] Boswel, J., & Corbett, J. (2021). Democracy, Interpretation, and the “ Problem ” of Conceptual Ambiguity: Reflections on the V-Dem Project ’ s Struggles with Operationalizing Deliberative Democracy. *Polity*, 53(2). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1086/713173>
- [7] Brancati, D. (2014). Democratic Authoritarianism: Origins and Effects. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 313–336.
- [8] Bratton, M. (2008). Vote buying and violence in Nigerian election campaigns. *Electoral Studies*, 27, 621–623.
- [9] Cameron, M. A. (2021). The return of oligarchy? Threats to representative democracy in Latin America. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(4), 775–792. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2020.1865794>
- [10] Chiru, M. (2019). Loyal soldiers or seasoned leaders? The selection of committee chairs in the European Parliament. *Journal of European Public Policy*. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1600573>
- [11] Coffé, H. (2020). How candidate characteristics matter: Candidate profiles, political sophistication, and vote choice. *Politics*, 00(0), 1–19. <https://doi.org/i.org/10.1177/0263395720922077>
- [12] Cressweel, John W. 2009. *Desain Penelitian Pendekatan Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, Dan Mixed Methods*. Terjemahan. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- [13] D’Anieri, P. (2023). Power Politics and the Crisis Of Democracy: Balance, Hegemony, and the Realpolitik of Domestic Politics. *Ideology and Politics Journal*, 1(23).
- [14] Estrada, I. (2017). “Democracy” in Spain: Cinema and New Forms of Social Life in the Twenty-First Century. *MLN*, 132(2), 386–406. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1353/mln.2017.0023>
- [15] Fernandes, J. M., Riera, P., & Cantu, F. (2018). The Politics of Committee Chairs Assignment in Ireland and Spain. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 0, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsy009>
- [16] Festenstein, M. (2019). Political Trust, Commitment and Responsiveness. *Political Studies*, 00(0), 1–17.
- [17] Frye, T. Y., Reuter, O. J., & Szakonyi, D. (2018). Hitting Them With Carrots: Voter Intimidation and Vote Buying in Russia. *B.J.Pol.S.*, 1(25). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123416000752>
- [18] Gandhi, J., & Lust-Okar, E. (2009). Elections Under Authoritarianism. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci*, 12, 403–422. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060106.095434>
- [19] Gans-Morse, J., Mazzuca, S., & Nichter, S. (2014). Varieties of Clientelism: Machine Politics during Elections. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(2), 415–432. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12058>
- [20] Hendriks, C. M., & Dzur, A. W. (2021). Citizens’ Governance Spaces: Democratic Action Through Disruptive Collective Problem-Solving. *Political Studies*, 00(0), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321720980902>
- [21] Hsieh, C.-T., Miguel, E., Ortega, D., & Francisco, R. (2011). The Price of Political Opposition: Evidence from Venezuela’s *Maisanta*. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 3 (3(2), 196–214.
- [22] Katz, Richard S. 2001. Masalah pemilihan kandidat dan model demokrasi partai. *Jurnal Politik Partai* Vol 7 Edisi 3.
- [23] Katz, R. S., & Mair, P. (1995). Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy. *Party Politics*, 1(1), 5–28.
- [24] KPU Kabupaten Boyolali
- [25] Lehoucq, F. (2003). ELECTORAL FRAUD: Causes, Types, and Consequences. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci*, 6, 233–256. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.6.121901.085655>
- [26] Mares, I., Muntean, A., & Petrova, T. (2017). Pressure, Favours, and Vote-buying: Experimental Evidence from Romania and Bulgaria. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 29(6), 940–960. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2017.1364351>
- [27] Miles, A. Michael, Huberman dan Matthew B. 1999. *Analisis Data Kualitatif Sebuah Buku Sumber yang Diperluas Edisi ke-2* oleh Matthew B. Miles, Michael Huberman. AS: Publikasi Sage.
- [28] Nasution, F. A., Thamrin, M. H., Sinaga, R. P. K., Muhammad Imanuddin Kandias Saraan, & Indainanto, Y. I. (2023). *Humbang Hasundutan Regional Head Election In 2020: Empty Box Volunteer Political*

- Communication Movement. Studies in Media and Communication, 11(1).
<https://doi.org/10.11114/smc.v11i1.5807>
- [29] Purwaningsih, T., & Widodo, B. E. C. (2021). Democracy without Contestation: The Victory of the Empty Box in the Local Election of Makassar City, South Sulawesi Indonesia in 2018. *Sociología Y Tecnociencia*, 11(2), 48–71. <https://doi.org/10.24197/st.2.2021.48-71>
- [30] Undang-Undang Nomor 10 tahun 2016 tentang Pemilihan Kepala Daerah.
- [31] Undang-Undang Nomor 2 tahun 2011 tentang partai politik.
- [32] Undang-Undang Nomor 8 Tahun 2015 tentang Pemilihan Kepala Daerah
- [33] Winters, Jeffrey A. 2011. Oligarki. Jakarta. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.