

Political Actors in Oligarchy Power the phenomenon of a Single Candidate in the Implementation of Democracy in Regional Head Elections in Indonesia

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Abstract

The number of single candidates against the empty box in every regional head election continues to increase, as a result of the decision of the Constitutional Court Number 100/PUU-XIII/2015. After this decision, it is as if the regional elections were held democratically. This process tends to be form of killing the democratic process, because it runs unfairly and equally. Likewise, political parties are considered to have failed in preparing a leader every five years. Although a single candidate is legally valid, and is regulated in Law No. 10 of 2016. However, political parties as entry points to democracy must maintain an equal and fair democratic process, not the political oligarchy that controls the party. This study aims to look at the role of a political actor in preparing local leader candidates and the factor of the occurrence of a single candidate against the empty box. The method used is descriptive qualitative to describe social events that exist in society. The results of this research show that the role of a political actor is very important and powerful in Regional Head Elections in Indonesia.

Keywords

democracy; oligarchy; political actor; single candidate



I. Introduction

Simultaneous elections to be held on December 9, 2020, took place in 270 regions in Indonesia. In this election, there were 9 provinces that held gubernatorial elections. Then, 37 cities in various regions held mayoral and deputy mayoral elections. As for the districts that held regent elections as many as 224 regions. However, in the 2020 regional head election (PILKADA) there is a phenomenon of a single candidate against quite a lot of empty boxes. The phenomenon of a single candidate against an empty box has increased in the five years of holding regional head elections. Sources of news research center Metro TV nationally, the number of single candidates against the empty box has increased. Data 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.

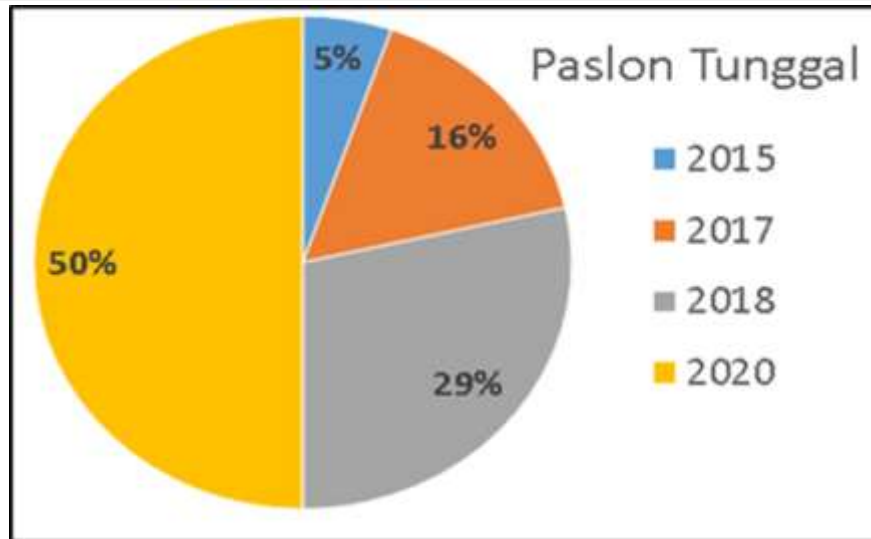


Figure 1. Data for Single Candidate Pairs for Simultaneous Regional Head Elections in 2020

Several studies related to the Single Candidate have been carried out, such as Wuragil, S., & Widayati, W. (2021). Rahmanto, T. Y. (2018). Rukoyah, R., & Wance, M. (2021). Romli, L. (2018). Rahmanto, T. Y. (2018). Tanjung, M. A., & Saraswati, R. (2020). Putranti, C. (2021). Isaac, N. (2020). The rise of single candidates against empty boxes began with the decision of the Constitutional Court Number 100/PUU-XIII/2015 which allowed single candidate pairs to be allowed to participate in the 2020 regional elections simultaneously. This decision was finally welcomed by political party officials to mobilize a large coalition, so that there would be a single candidate. Until in the end, it produced a single candidate who experienced an increase in various regions. There are many ways to do it, so that a single candidate can easily win the battle, among them other than buying all political parties into the network. The political party officials also began to carry out improper practices by joining incumbents who already had a strong network during their leadership. Local rulers who have many sources of wealth were asked to join with the theme of a single candidate. The collaboration of political parties, local strongmen, and incumbents makes the practice of oligarchy even stronger. The practice of oligarchs above is the same as that stated by Winters (2011), namely people who have material wealth that is used to increase their wealth and maintain their social position in society. Local and materially strong rulers finally joined forces to buy up all parties in order to maintain or increase their power and wealth. Political parties that recruit political party cadres are weak, and do not have their party ideals, of course, will join for pragmatic reasons, namely not wanting to fight and afraid to lose (Susanti, 2017).

In Law No. 2 of 2011 as amended from Law No. 2 of 2008 concerning political parties, a political party is required by law to prepare candidate leaders in every regional head election and carry out party regeneration to fill regional head positions. However, the facts on the ground are that the obligations of political parties have failed. One of the districts where there is a single candidate against an empty box is Boyolali Regency in Central Java which has made history. Since the direct elections were held in 2005, it was only in 2020 that Boyolali district was joined by only 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 acquisition of seats for the Boyolali DPRD members at the General Election Commission (KPU) as a result of the 2019 legislative election, 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.



Figure 2. Data on the Acquisition of Political Party Chairs in Boyolali 2019

Based on Law No 10 of 2016 it is full of requirements to nominate or nominate regents and deputy regents only need 9 seats in parliament from political parties, or a combination of political parties. This provision is contained in Article 40 which reads that a political party or coalition of political parties may register a pair 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 the accumulated seats. Obtaining valid votes in the general election for members of the Regional People's Representative Council in the area concerned. Combined Political Parties are combinations of two or more Political Parties participating in the general election which jointly agree to nominate 1 (one) pair of candidates for Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head.

From the data above, there should be two pairs of candidates, namely the candidate carried by the PDIP with a total of 35 seats and the candidate carried by the 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 seats, and Gerindra with 1 seat a total of 10 seats. However, the fact is that high-ranking non-PDIP political parties, namely the Golkar Party, PKB, and Gerindra, are unable to carry it on their own and instead join the PDIP which carries the incumbent M Said Hidayat-Wahyu Irawan (Said-Iwan). Meanwhile, PKS, which has 3 seats in the DPRD, chose not to carry a candidate for regent and did not join the grand coalition and left the party masses to choose freely.

The pragmatism of each political party chairperson cannot be dammed by other political parai administrators so that the provisions to nominate their own candidates cannot be carried out. In addition, party administrators also cannot do much because they collide with the laws and regulations of Law NO. 10 of 2016 article 40 paragraph 5 which reads that the registration of pairs of Candidates for Regent and Candidates for Deputy Regent as well as pairs of Candidates for Mayor and Candidates for Deputy Mayor by political parties is signed by the chairman of the Political Party and the secretary. Regency/Municipal-level Political Parties accompanied by a Decree of the Central-level Political Party Management concerning Approval of candidates proposed by the

Provincial-level Political Party Management. Once the central power of the political party chairmen and secretaries makes the power of political party officials absolute. So that the role of the chairperson and secretary of political parties is very dominant, and it is not uncommon for party elite decisions to differ from those of the management and the lower mass base which results in internal party conflicts (Budiatri et al, 2017; Romli, 2018).

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

Based on the democratic theory above, the right of political leaders to get support in the election competition does not run democratically. Even so, people who expect freedom of expression and choose alternative options are also not fulfilled because people have no other choice of candidates. Democracy should run in a fair and equal manner, not in an oligarchic manner which is the ideal form of power corruption carried out by a group of rich people as power holders (Ahmad, 2013:33). Although the empty box is available as an alternative choice, the community does not want to speculate by choosing an empty box that is not clear who the leader is

The phenomenon of a single candidate against an empty box has been conducted several times with research findings including; the crisis of party cadres, local strongmen with financial resources and power, and political dynasties (Prakosa, 2018; Sardini and Fitriyah, 2018; Chika S.; 2020). This research will focus on studying the role of a political communicator in this case the chairmen and administrators of non-PDIP political parties who do not carry their own candidates and choose to be pragmatic in joining the PDIP party's grand coalition rather than nominating themselves and what factors which caused these local political actors to choose a single candidate in the local elections in Boyolali.

II. Research Methods

The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative to explore and understand the meaning of individuals and groups of social problems that exist in society (Creswell, 2019). Data that emerges from qualitative research is descriptive in that it is reported in words (mainly participants' words) or pictures, not in numbers (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1990; Locke et al., 1987; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Merriam, 1990). 1988 in Creswell; 2019).

The research informants used were the chairmen of political parties and political party administrators in Boyolali Regency as many as 4 people consisting of the Chair of the Golkar Party DPD, the Chair of the PKB DPC, the Deputy Secretary of the Gerindra DPC, and the PKS Secretary. In addition to using primary data, it also uses supporting data such as field observations, the use of documents and news on the internet. After the data is obtained, then data analysis is carried out by data triangulation, namely the data is reduced, presented and concluded (Miles and Huberman, 1992).

III. Results and Discussion

Boyolali Regency is located in a geographical position between 110022'-110050' East Longitude and between 707' - 7036' South Latitude. The geographical position of the Boyolali Regency area is a strength that can be used as regional development capital because it is located in the triangle of the Yogyakarta-Solo-Semarang (Joglosemar) region, which are the three main cities in the Central Java region, the Special Region of Yogyakarta. With the administrative boundaries of the region, as follows: North side, namely Grobogan Regency and Semarang Regency; To the east are Karanganyar, Sragen, and Sukoharjo Regencies; To the south are Klaten Regency and D.I. Yogyakarta; To the west are Magelang Regency and Semarang Regency. Boyolali Regency is administratively divided into 19 (nineteen) sub-districts consisting of 261 (two hundred and sixty-one) villages and 6 (six) sub-districts.

Boyolali Regency with its milk production centers and natural tourist sites such as views of Mount Merapi, Selo Hills and natural water baths has the potential to become a fairly developed district in the hands of a qualified Regent. Strategic areas and very good natural potential are in need of qualified regional heads and have full support from the community. However, the political facts are different, the Boyolali community is presented with a single candidate, namely the Candidate Pair (Paslon) for Regent and Deputy Regent, M Said Hidayat-Wahyu Irawan (Said-Iwan) against the empty box. The phenomenon of the regional head election, which is only followed by a single candidate pair in the 2020 regional head election, makes the democratic process not ideal and healthy and democratic in Boyolali district.

3.1 Political Communicator Communication Process

The role of chairmen and secretaries of political parties is very dominant in carrying out candidates for regent and deputy regent in regional head elections (PILKADA). As a political communicator (Nimmo, 1999: 30-37) the figure of a leader of a political party is very important in convincing the public, especially in building coalitions between political parties in regional head elections. So that the message and ideas can be accepted by the audience (Laswell, 1948: 216). In the Laswell Paradigm views the role of communicators is very reliable in expressing ideas, ideas, messages conveyed get responses that produce according to the wishes of political communicators. In order for the message conveyed to be accepted by the interlocutor, art is needed to persuade him. Aristotle (2007) views that a political official needs to have the art of rhetoric, namely the art of persuading or "producing" or persuasion in speech or speech. Wahid (2017) political communicators are data sources who make honest efforts to influence the public in conveying issues, approaches and projects at individual, group, authoritative and local levels. Political communicators must have a high intellectual capacity. The capacity to speak then gives birth to the ability to convey in political interactions. Ingantiano's (2018) view of current governance issues, political communicators play a significant social role, especially among political parties. Political communicators as entertainers or known as pioneers who have better potential and skills than expected compared to citizens as a whole. The two opinions above both agree on the importance of the role of a communicator in bringing the direction of a political party.

Law No. 10 of 2016 Article 40 paragraph 5 which reads that the registration of pairs of Candidates for Regent and Candidates for Deputy Regent as well as pairs of Candidates for Mayor and Candidates for Deputy Mayor by political parties is signed by the chairman of the Political Party and the secretary of the Regency/City Political Party. From the

explanation of the law, it is clearer that only two politicians, namely the chairman and secretary, can determine where a party will be taken. So that political communicators have a high obligation in moving thoughts of very large interests. In addition to displaying political messages that are generally needed and can be embedded in the personalities of many people, the political communicator factor is the spearhead and fundamental instrument of ideological groups or newcomers in conveying political messages to decide which ideological group or possibility to be elected later.(Siagian, 2012; Romli, 2018; Budiarti, 2017).

A survey conducted by Muhtadi (2019) published in his book *Populism; Identity Politics and Electoral Dynamics* there are two groups of party divisions based on ideology or party views that have the same vision. PKS, PKB, PAN, PPP, PDIP parties have the same view or ideology. Meanwhile, in opposition to Golkar, Nasdem, Gerindra, and Hanura parties who do not agree if political parties have the same ideology.

Table 1. Survey Data of Ideological Views

Nasdem	Sangat Setuju	Setuju	Tidak Setuju	Sangat-Tidak Setuju
PKB	21,9	40,6	18,8	16,6
PKS	14,3	25,7	42,9	11,4
PDIP	9,5	31,0	50,0	1,1
Golkar	9,4	26,0	56,3	5,2
Gerindra	19,0	56,0	20,2	0,0
Demokrat	13,1	50,8	35,0	1,3
PAN	10,3	38,5	46,2	8,2
PPP	9,1	15,2	51,5	15,2
Hanura	19,2	46,2	26,9	0,0

‘How much do you agree with the opinion that all political parties in Indonesia are the same in terms of ideology?’

Although the non-PDIP party groups, namely PKB, Gerindra, Golkar, are divided and have different ideologies, this is where the challenge of a communicator is to convince the coalition parties in carrying out candidates for regent and deputy regent of Non-PDIP. There are three elements needed by a communicator in the Aristotelian model for the art of persuasion to succeed; 1) source credibility (ethos), 2) emotional touch (pathos), 3) logic (logos) (Aristotle, 2007:9). Based on this theory, a political communicator must have the art of persuading, convincing his political opponents. The role of communicators will be seen if these ideological differences can be united in carrying out candidates for regent and deputy regent. Moreover, the positions of the political elite are chosen people and have gone through a selection process. Thus, not all individuals in social groups have the opportunity and grow as political elites or political communicators (Ahmad, 2012: 46).

3.2 Political Parties

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

Political scientist Robert Huckshorn provides a 'pragmatic definition' of parties in his textbook political parties in America: a party political party is an autonomous group of citizens whose goal is to run for and contest elections in the hope of gaining control of government power through the arrest of public offices and government organizations. Surbakti (1992) defines a political party as a group of members who are neatly organized and stable who are united and motivated by a particular ideology and who seek and maintain power in the government through general elections in order to implement alternative policies that they develop. From the two opinions above, it can be concluded that a political party is an organized group of people who aim to participate in general elections in order to seek or maintain power. In its function, political parties are seeking and maintaining power in order to realize programs that are based on certain ideologies (Surbakti, 1992:116).

Talking about political parties, it cannot be separated from human resources as the holder of organizational control and preparation of leader cadres. One way to get good human resources is to recruit members and the party's internal cadre process. Article 6A paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution determines that political parties will play the main role in nominating pairs of candidates for President and Vice President to be directly elected by the people. In addition, the 1945 Constitution also determines the role of political parties as participants in the general election to elect members of the DPR and DPRD members (Article 22E paragraph (3)).

Recruitment can be interpreted specifically—in a political context—political recruitment often refers to candidate selection (candidation), legislative and executive recruitment (Pamungkas, 2017). While Surbakti (1992: 118) political recruitment. is the selection and election or selection and appointment of a person or group of people to carry out a number of roles: in the political system in general and in government in particular. It can be concluded, political recruitment is the process of selecting individuals or groups who will occupy executive or legislative positions. As a function of political party institutions, political parties should prepare leaders drawn from outside political parties and internal political parties through a recruitment system to occupy positions in the legislative and executive. There are three levels, in the process of preparing leaders as stated by Norris as quoted by Katz (2006: 95) namely the political recruitment process, 1) Candidate nomination procedures within each party (Certification stage), 2) Pool of nominated Candidates (nomination stage) 3) Elected members (election stage).

Table 2. Recruitment Scheme of Pippa Norris' Candidate Leaders

Tahap Sertifikasi	Tahap Nominasi	Tahap Pemilu
<p>Persyaratan umum yang seringkali diatur di dalam UU Pemilu ataupun peraturan internal partai adalah tentang usia, kewarganegaraan, residensi (domisili), dana deposit, dan pelarangan pencalonan dengan kondisi tertentu (dibahas kemudian)</p> <p>Persyaratan khusus yang muncul dalam beberapa aturan UU dan partai diantaranya:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tempat kelahiran kandidat 2. Status kewarganegaraan akibat naturalisasi 3. Minimal periode waktu menjadi anggota partai untuk memastikan loyalitas dan kemampuan mengerti visi-misi-kebijakan partai. 4. Kuota bagi kelompok tertentu. <p>Terdapat persyaratan yang mengatur pelarangan pencalonan dengan kondisi tertentu, termasuk:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. PNS, hakim yudisial, dan pejabat dalam lembaga publik 2. Orang yang terlibat dalam pelanggaran hukum dan tindakan kriminal serius 3. Orang yang mengalami kebangkrutan finansial <p>Terdapat kriteria khusus yang seringkali muncul menjadi norma informal yang tak tertulis di dalam masyarakat namun berpengaruh:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kandidat memiliki pengalaman mengikuti training tentang fungsi-kerja parlemen, training tentang legal drafting, dan training terkait lainnya. 	<p>Partai politik dalam proses nominasi ini memiliki beberapa peran:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mencalonkan kandidat di dalam proses pemilu 2. Memberikan jaringan sosial (konstituen dan elemen pendukung lainnya) 3. Training dan pelatihan peningkatan kapasitas 4. Pengalaman organisasi berpartai yang meningkatkan kapasitas dalam pembuatan kebijakan dan lainnya <p>Tiga hal penting dalam proses nominasi adalah:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Derajat sentralisasi partai, yakni apakah pencalonan kandidat ditentukan secara bertahap mulai dari elit partai di tingkat pusat (<i>top-down</i>) ke tingkat di bawahnya atau dari elit di level daerah ke level di atasnya (<i>bottom-up</i>). 2. Kedalaman partisipasi, yakni apakah proses penetapan calon dilakukan oleh sedikit elit atau banyak elit partai. 3. Jumlah orang yang akan dicalonkan, yakni apakah hanya ada satu calon tunggal, beberapa atau banyak calon untuk dipilih sebagai kandidat pemilu. 	<p>Sistem pemilu sebagai aturan permainan dalam tahap akhir rekrutmen pejabat publik dan anggota parlemen:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Majoritarian 2. Proporsional 3. Campuran <p>Kebijakan lain dalam pemilu yang terkait dengan rekrutmen:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kebijakan 'reserved seat' 2. Kebijakan kuota

Based on table 2 above, the purpose 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. In the certification stage, political parties are required to make a selection regarding legal norms such as the criteria for candidate party rules, party norms. Even the value of wealth owned by a person is also a criterion in this recruitment process. So far in advance the party has prepared the candidate's financial sources. The next step is the nomination stage, in this stage the political parties have narrowed the list of names of who will be nominated in the political contestants after seeing the administrative requirements and financial sources of the candidates internally. The regeneration process can be sourced from within the party through basic political instructions and opportunities, such as handicraft exhibitions and training courses. Second, from wing associations that are deliberately formed to be competitors for units and mass associations as onderbow parties, especially from young people who may be. Third, from student associations or once again local regional associations who share the philosophy of the meeting (Hamid, 2008:14) the final step is that the party has made a name selection prepared in the political arena for the struggle for positions at the executive and legislative levels.

Based on informant interviews with political party figures Golkar, PKB, PKS and Gerindra. The communication process between fellow party elites has been carried out several times, both face-to-face and using telephone lines. However, from the Non-PDIP coalition party, there is no candidate who is ready to nominate himself.

“Communications have been carried out, both within the respective parties and among the party elites in Boyolali. But could not find a candidate who has strong finance. To be promoted, a candidate must have a capital of 30 billion” (Interview with Informant Fuadi, Chairman of the DPD Golkar Party Boyolali, 8/3/2021).

In terms of recruitment, all parties in Boyolali are open, as stated by party officials, namely Golkar, PKS, PKB, and Gerindra. However, it is recognized that from the point of view of figures who have sufficient mass and financial bases, a number of parties have experienced problems.

“The Golkar party is open to anyone who wants to join. However, in the stage of finalizing the members to run as candidates for regent, they are experiencing difficulties”. (Interview with Informant Fuadi Chairman of the DPD Golkar Party Boyolali, 8/3/2021). The economic condition of the population is a condition that describes human life that has economic score (Shah *et al*, 2020). Economic growth is still an important goal in a country's economy, especially for developing countries like Indonesia (Magdalena and Suhatman, 2020).

For each regional head election, based on interviews with informants, a candidate for regent or deputy regent must provide upfront cash of Rp. 30 billion. The capital of 30 billion is used to procure socialization tools, campaign team costs, witness payments, voter transportation fees of Rp. 20 to 50 thousand. As an illustration, the Boyolali Pilbup in 2020 reached 796,844 voters. The number consisted of 395,178 male voters and 401,666 female voters. According to the Boyolali KPU website, Mohammad Said Hidayat and Wahyu Irawan received 666,956 votes or 95.60 percent. While the votes for the empty boxes were 30,719 votes or 4.40 percent. If the winning number is 666,956 multiplied by 20 thousand, the number will be 13.3 billion. This fund does not include the payment of 100,000 witnesses multiplied by the number of polling stations, and the installation of teaching aids in 22 sub-districts, 261 villages, and 6 sub-districts, as well as costs during the pilkada starting from nomination, campaign period to voting for 6 months. Fuadi's reasoning, the chairman of Golkar's DPD, was also followed by informants Eko Mujiono of PKB,

Stefanus Thukul Gerindra, and Hasyim of the Secretary of the PKS DPD who could not nominate because Golkar already required the cost of the election.

The key to nominating candidates for regent and deputy regent in Boyolali depends on the Golkar party, because of the 4 non-PDIP political parties that won seats, namely Golkar, PKS, PKB and Gerindra. Only Golkar seats are up for grabs in order to carry the Non-PDIP coalition. However, since the beginning the Golkar party has required the 30 billion fee, until finally the three PKS, PKB and Gerindra parties which only have 6 seats could not do much and it depends on the political direction of the Golkar party. The Golkar Party admits that it also does not have a strong cadre, and neither candidate has good financial resources

"The Golkar Party has been doing the screening for 3 months prior to its nomination to the KPU, but at the time of the nomination of the Golkar Party, no one dared to come forward from the internal cadres because they had to compete with the PDIP, which was supported by Mr. Seno Samudro, who is a strong person in Boyolali". (INFORMATION INTERVIEW Fuadi Chairman of Golkar DPD, 8/3/2021)

The results of this interview show that four political parties, namely the Golkar Party, PKB, PKS and Gerindra, are not able to provide good cadres and have the courage and sufficient capital. So when the Golkar party moved closer to PDIP, two other parties, namely PKB, Gerindra, joined the PDI Perjuangan party, namely the M Said Hidayat-Wahyu Irawan (Said-Iwan) pair. Meanwhile, PKS chose to be neutral in the 2020 Pilkada.

"This requirement is too heavy, because we have to collect electronic ID cards and letters of support from residents. Meanwhile, in borrowing ID cards, residents also asked for Rp. 50 thousand." (Interview Informant Stefanus Thukul Deputy Secretary of Gerindra, 8/3/2021).

Actually, the nomination of candidates for regent and deputy regent can still be done so that a single candidate against an empty box does not occur, namely through independent or non-party channels. With 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 Voters List.

IV. Conclusion

Political parties cannot carry out the people's mandate by creating clear alternative figures through the party's internal recruitment and regeneration system. The expertise of a political communicator cannot be demonstrated in a coalition of political parties. There are many reasons put forward in this research which tend to be materialistic and pragmatic so that parties prefer to be safe and not work rather than have to fight against the candidates promoted by the PDIP. This study found the factors found in the single candidate against the empty box in the Boyolali Pilkada were; 1) Pilkada is expensive, 2) strong candidate figures both in terms of character and finances, 3) Local strong people who have economic capital and power in the area that control political parties, 4) The requirements for independent pathways are very heavy.

The high cost of this election has made the elected candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent try to return capital by means of corruption. The candidate figure is the party's prerogative. However, in the recruitment process, political parties do not look at the political economy side which is one of the determining factors for victory. So that when there is an election for regional heads, many political parties are unable to compete and instead join strong political parties. This local strongman also controls political parties, so

that political parties do not dare to fight even though victory is determined by many factors. It is necessary to simplify the non-party path so that the people can provide alternative choices to choose from. So that there is a need for low-cost elections by means of reducing the campaign period or shortening the campaign schedule, Political education for the public that money politics is not allowed, facilitating non-party channels so that the public can take advantage of the opportunity if they will advance through independent channels.

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