

Single Candidate and Dynastic Politics in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections

Lili Romli, National Research and Innovation Agency, Indonesia*

Efriza Efriza, Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Pemerintahan Abdi Negara, Indonesia

Abstract

This paper describes the development of local level democracy in the implementation of the 2020 Pilkada Simultaneously related to a single candidate and dynastic politics. In this research, it is found that the phenomenon of single candidates and political dynasties which shows the climate of democracy at the local level is increasingly unhealthy. Indonesia is experiencing democratic backsliding. Political dynasties and single candidates have of course hurt democracy. Pilkada is no longer an effective means of participation and competition as a condition for the running of democracy. Pilkada also did not produce elite circulation. On the other hand, however, the oligarchy is centered on a political dynasty and local bossism. The theoretical perspectives used in the research to explain single candidates and political dynasties are democracy, election, oligarchy, and local bossism.

Keywords:

Democracy; Regional Head Election; Single Candidate; Political Dynasty; Political Parties

INTRODUCTION

From 1999 to 2005, regional head and deputy regional head were elected through the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). Nevertheless, since the enactment of Law (UU) Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government, local leaders and local deputy leaders are directly elected by the people. At that time, regional head elections were still implemented individually in each region according to the schedule for the regional head leadership period. Thus, every year, there is always an election. In detail, regional head elections (Pilkada) from 2005 to 2014

have been held for 1,027 times, including the Second-Round regional head elections (Pilkada).

Along with the enactment of Law no. 1 of 2015, the elections are held simultaneously or concurrently in numerous regions in Indonesia. Simultaneous Regional Elections can be seen from the schedule for the post-service head of the adjacent local leaders. The elections have been actualized in four waves of holding simultaneous local elections, particularly three waves before the 2019 Simultaneous National Elections and one final wave after the 2020 Simultaneous National Elections.

The first wave, December 2015, was headed by 269 regions consisting of

*Correspondence: Jl. Jend. Gatot Subroto 10, Jakarta 12710 Indonesia.

Email: liliromli.lipi2021@gmail.com.

9 provinces, 36 cities, and 224 regencies. This figure shows that about 53 per cent of the total 537 provinces and regencies/cities in Indonesia implemented simultaneous regional elections. The second wave of simultaneous regional elections was held in February 2017, involving 101 regions, consisting of 7 provinces, 18 cities, and 76 regencies. The third wave of simultaneous regional elections took place in June 2018, involving 171 regions consisting of 17 provinces, 39 cities and 115 regencies. The fourth wave of Simultaneous Regional Election was held in December 2020, held in 270 regions in Indonesia, covering 9 provinces, 224 regencies, and 37 cities (Toto Sugiarto & Agus Muhammad, 2018: 2-3).

In the implementation of the Simultaneous Regional Elections, there was a fact that there was an election for a single candidate pair against an empty column. The election of a single candidate pair means that there is only one pair of candidates who are fighting against an empty column. Despite the fact that it is a democratic anomaly, the existence of an empty column is considered a way out due to the deadlock in the contestation of the candidate pairs. The philosophical value of the presence of an empty box is that the people who disagree with the candidate pair determined by the KPU, then the people have the ability to vote in the blank column as an alternative hence the element of competition as a feature of democracy is still fulfilled.

Not just a single candidate, democracy at the local level through simultaneous regional elections is having problems with the increasing number of candidates from political dynasties. Political dynasties are increasingly rife in simultaneous regional elections celebrations, where the actors are not only from the local elite but also from the national elite. The competition between the family of President Jokowi, the family of the Vice President, and the families of several ministers in the simultaneous regional elections in 2019. The phenomenon of single candidates and political dynasties clearly shows that the democratic climate at the local level is increasingly unhealthy. These two phenomena have closed opportunities, competition and broad participation for the community, in the end, leadership in the regions is only enjoyed by a few people.

From the above facts, the question arises, specifically: What causes the phenomenon of a single candidate and dynastic politics in the era of the 2021 Simultaneous Regional Elections? What is the impact of the single candidate and dynastic politics? What is the solution that must be done thus Indonesia does not just implement elections procedurally?

In order to attain the answer, the research method in this paper uses a qualitative approach with the library research method. Literature study according to Nazir (2003: 93) is a data collection technique by conducting a review study

of books, literature, notes, and reports that have to do with the problem to be solved. This technique is used to attain the basics and opinions in writing which is done by studying various literature related to the problem under study. In completing the literature study procedure that the information collected from library sources is relevant to this research.

Theoretical framework

Dahl (1992) tried to formulate the criteria for democracy by stating the importance of effective participation, particularly equal opportunities for all citizens in the collective decision-making process. In the event that he refuses to provide sufficient opportunities for any citizen to participate effectively, he is rejecting the principle of consideration of equal interests. In spite of the fact that one of the essences of democracy is the existence of equal opportunities.

What is likewise important in democracy is equality of voice or the right to vote in determining collective decisions. Voting prerequisites have been in the mainstream of democratic political theory and practice from Ancient Greece to the present day. Equality or voting at the decision stage is important to provide sufficient protection for the intrinsic equality of citizens. Without it, citizens would face the prospect of an infinite regress of potential inequalities in their influence on decisions.

Schumpeter and Huntington add to the importance of competition in a democratic system. In this context,

Schumpeter (1947: 269) defines democracy as "a system for making political decisions in which individuals gain the power to decide through a competitive struggle for the people's vote". Whilst Huntington emphasized that the essence of democracy is competitive elections. He said that the main procedure of democracy is the competitive election of leaders by the people they lead (Huntington, 1995: 4).

Along with reference to this explanation, the main prerequisite for a democracy is that there is political equality and effective and competitive participation which is implemented through general elections to elect leaders. The general election itself has several functions, among others, political legitimacy, political representation, political education, and the circulation or change of the ruling elite (Haris, 1997: 6-8).

The problem is whether the main prerequisites and functions of the election are fulfilled when the direct regional head election is filled with many single candidates and dynastic politics. The rise of single candidates and dynastic politics indirect regional elections has caused the main prerequisites of democracy (equality, effective and competitive participation) and election functions to not run optimally and even fail. Participation and competition are not running optimally, to say nothing. Election functions, in particular, elite circulation does not occur due to the reason that the elected are part of a political dynasty. Thus, despite the fact

that the democratization of local elections resulted in the birth of an oligarchy or being controlled by an oligarchy.

Referring to the definition put forward by Aristotle, oligarchy is a rule of the few. Whilst Winters (2011; 39) oligarchy does not refer to a system of power by a particular set of actors but is centred on the politics of defence of concentration of wealth. Oligarchy is defined as concentrated material power based on the enforcement of claims or rights to property and wealth (Winters, 2011: 11). Robinson and Hadiz define oligarchy as a system of power relations that allows the concentration of wealth and authority as well as its collective defence (Mudhafir, 2020: 29).

Democracy itself cannot be separated from oligarchy, as explained by Michels. In spite of the fact that he mainly focuses on the oligarchic character of political parties, and thinks that the legacy of autocracy is the basis of modern democratic oligarchy, he suggests that this character has the ability to exist as an inherent character of modern democracies: "In modern party life, the aristocrats happily present themselves in the guise of democracy, whilst the substance of democracy is infused with aristocratic elements (Michels, 1962: 50).

In the case of Indonesia, local government is controlled by a handful of people (oligarchs) or local strongmen. By utilizing patronage networks, and exercising control and control over resources, the use of politics and violence dominates regional politics. They use

existing democratic mechanisms to hijack democratic institutions and build alliances with public officials. Hadiz (2010) calls it a predatory oligarchy. Whilst, Sidel (1997) says that democracy at the local level is characterized by the development of strong people at the local level (Local Bossism). This tendency is related to political developments when the regional head elections began to be implemented. Local bossism engages in various practices of vote-buying, electoral fraud, or the collection of personal wealth through illegal means which are more coercive than paternalistic or clientelistic reciprocal relationships.

The strategies adopted by local bossism to retain its economic and political dominance are: placing relatives and cronies as mayors, deputy mayors and members of the regional legislature; forming a political machine as a vote broker; regulating the placement of regional officials; managing government projects and aspiration funds; regulate local regulations, etc. (Sidel 1997).

These oligarchs and local bossism then built political dynasties at the local level. Querubin (2010) defines a political dynasty as a small number of families that dominate the distribution of power in a particular geographic area. Asako et al (2012) define a political dynasty as a group of politicians who inherit public office from one of their family members. Based on Jati's research (2013: 226) there are at least five typologies of political dynasties that were formed in Indonesia, they are: populism dynasties, octopussy

dynasties, tribalism dynasties, family-based/gono-gini power, and feudalism dynasties. All of these political dynasties have the same generalization, specifically that they were formed based on figuration and patrimonialism, aji mumpung, and elitism.

Single Candidate Phenomenon

Subsequently, the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) through the Constitutional Court Decision No. 100/PUU-XIII/2015 concerning a single candidate, the legal umbrella regarding the existence of a single candidate is officially regulated in Law no. 10 of 2016. Article 54C states that "...after the postponement until the end of the re-opening of the registration period, no pairs of candidates registered or pairs of candidates who registered based on the results of the research were declared ineligible, resulting in only 1 (one) candidate pairs".

Whilst the mechanism for determining victory for a single candidate is regulated in Law No. 10 of 2016, specifically a single candidate is declared to win in the event that he gets more than 50 per cent of the valid votes. Nonetheless, in the event that less than 50 per cent of the votes are valid, then the empty column wins. Article 54D states, "Provincial General Elections Commission or Regency/Municipal General Elections Commission shall determine the elected pair of candidates in the Election of 1 (one) pair of candidates as referred to in Article 54C if

they get more than 50% (fifty per cent) of the valid votes. In the event that the votes acquired by the candidate pair are less than as intended, the pair of candidates who lost in the election may nominate again in the next election..."

The presence of a single candidate in the direct election began in 2015 when the Constitutional Court decided. In the 2015 Regional Head Election, there were three regions that held elections with a single candidate pair, specifically Blitar Regency (East Java), Tasikmalaya Regency (West Java), and Central Timor Regency (East Nusa Tenggara). In the second wave of 2017 Simultaneous Regional Elections, 9 out of 101 regions held elections for single candidate pairs, including Buton Regency (Southeast Sulawesi), Landak Regency (West Kalimantan), Sorong Regency (West Papua), Jayapura City (Papua), Tebing Tinggi City (North Sumatra), Tulang Bawang Barat Regency (Lampung), and Pati Regency (Central Java). Then, in the third wave of 2018 local elections, there were 16 pairs of candidates against the empty column, including North Padang Lawas Regency, Deli Serdang Regency, Prabumulih Regency, Lebak Regency, Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City, Pasuruan Regency, Tapin Regency, Southeast Minahasa Regency, Engrekang Regency, Bone Regency, Makassar City, Mamasa Regency, Jayawijaya Regency, Puncak Regency, and Central Membrano Regency (Toto Sugiarto & Agus Muhammad, 2018: 3). Despite the fact that in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional

Elections, there are 25 regions with a single candidate pair.

Table 1. Single Candidate Election Results in 2020

No	Regency/City	Province	Single Candidate	Empty Column	Total
1	Humbang Hasundutan Regency Dosmar Banjarnahor-Oloan P. Nababan Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, Hanura, Demokrat	North Sumatera	52,50%	47,50%	100%
2	Gunungsitoli City Lakhomizaro Zebua-Sowaá Laoli PDIP, PD, Hanura, Gerindra, Golkar, Perindo, PKPI, PAN	North Sumatera	79,30%	20,70%	100%
3	Pematangsiantar City Asner Silalahi-Susanti Dewayani Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PAN, Hanura, Demokrat, PKPI	North Sumatera	77,40%	22,60%	100%
4	Pasaman Regency Benny Utama-Sabar AS Golkar, PD, PKS, PAN, PPP, PKB, Nasdem, PDIP	West Sumatera	83,60%	16,40%	100%
5	Ogan Komering Ulu Regency Kuryana Azis-Johan Anuar PKB, Gerindra, Golkar, PDIP, Nasdem, PKS, PPP, Hanura, PD, PBB, PKPI	South Sumatera	64,80%	35,20%	100%
6	South Ogan Komering Ulu Regency Popo Ali Martopo-Sholehien Abuasir PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, Perindo, PPP, PAN, Hanura, PD, PBB	South Sumatera	96,20%	3,80%	100%
7	Bengkulu North Mian-Arie Saptia Hadinata PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, PPP, PAN, Hanura, PKPI	Bengkulu	71,70%	28,30%	100%
8	Boyolali Regency Mohammad Said Hidayat-Wahyu Irawan PDIP, PAN, PD, PKS, PKB, Gerindra	Central Java	95,50%	4,50%	100%
9	Grobogan Regency Sri Sumarni-Bambang Pujiyanto PDIP, PKB, Gerindra, PPP, Hanura, Golkar, PKS, PD, PAN	Central Java	86,20%	13,80%	100%
10	Kebumen Regency Arif Sugiyanto-Ristawati Purwaningsih	Central Java	60,80%	39,20%	100%

No	Regency/City	Province	Single Candidate	Empty Column	Total
11	PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, PPP, PAN, PD Semarang City Hendrar Prihadi-Hevearita Gunaryanti Rahayu	Central Java	91,40%	8,60%	100%
12	PDIP, Gerindra, PD, PKB, PAN, Nasdem, PSI, Golkar, PKS Sragen Regency Kusnidar Untung Yuni Sukowati-Suroto	Central Java	80,20%	19,80%	100%
13	PDIP, PKB, Golkar, PAN, Nasdem Wonosobo Regency Afif Nurhidayat-Muhammad Albar	Central Java	63,70%	36,30%	100%
14	PDIP, PKB, PD, Nasdem, PAN, Hanura Kediri Regency Hanindhito Himawan Pramana-Dewi Mariya Ulfa	East Java	76,50%	23,50%	100%
15	PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, PPP, PAN, PD Ngawi Regency Ony Anwar Harsono-Dwi Rianto Jatmiko	East Java	94,30%	5,70%	100%
16	PDIP, Golkar, PKB, Gerindra, PKS, PAN, Nasdem, PD, Hanura, PPP Badung Regency I Nyoman Giri Prasta-I Ketut Sulasa	Bali	94,60%	5,40%	100%
17	PDIP, Golkar, PD West Sumbawa Regency W. Musyafirin-Fud Syaifuddin	West Nusa Tenggara	74,40%	25,60%	100%
18	PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PPP, PKS, PAN, PKPI Balikpapan City Rahmad Mas'ud-Thohari Azis	East Kalimantan	62,40%	37,60%	100%
19	Golkar, PDIP, PKS, Gerindra, PD, PKB, Perindo, PPP Kutai Kertanegara Regency Edi Damansyah-Rendi Solihin	East Kalimantan	73,80%	26,20%	100%
20	Golkar, PDIP, Gerindra, PAN, PKS, Nasdem, PPP, Perindo, Hanura Gowa Regency Adnand Purichta Ichsan-Abdul Rauf Malaganni	South Sulawesi	91,10%	8,90%	100%
21	PKB, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, Perindo, PPP, PAN, PD Soppeng Regency HA Kaswadi Razak-Lutfi Halide	South Sulawesi	86,30%	13,70%	100%

No	Regency/City	Province	Single Candidate	Empty Column	Total
22	PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PPP, PD Central Mamuju Regency HM Aras T-H Muh Amin Jasa	South Sulawesi	94,60%	5,40%	100%
23	PKB-Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, Perindo, PAN, Hanura, PD South Monokwari Regency Markus Waran-Wempie Welly Rungkung	West Papua	93,10%	6,90%	100%
24	PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, Perindo, Hanura, PKPI Raja Ampat Regency Abdul Faris Umlati-Orideko L. Burdam	West Papua	66,60%	33,40%	100%
25	Gerindra, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, PAN, PD Arfak Regency Yosias Saroy-Marinus Mandacan	West Papua	99,11%	0,89%	100%
	PDIP, PKB, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, Perindo, PPP, PAN, Hanura, PKPI				

Source: processed from various sources, 2021.

The existence of a single candidate is likewise inseparable from the heavy requirements and costs that must be prepared to become a candidate, particularly through political parties and individual (independent) channels. In the end, with reference to those who want to advance to become candidates for regional heads, they have to pay a lot of money, even this cost likewise includes a "dowry" from the bearers. In other words, Regional Head Election is only reserved for those who have big financial support. This, among other things, causes people who have credibility and capacity as candidates for regional heads to not have the opportunity to take part in the

contestation, thus the direct election democratic system actually increases the "need" for strong people and strong figures who can be sold to voters, whilst strong people and strong figures do not go through a natural selection process (bid) from below but are mostly produced by the nature of patronage and of course elitist.

It cannot be denied that the single candidate pair are strong figures in the region (incumbent governors, regents, mayors, DPRD members and bureaucrats) who often intersect with political dynasties in the region (rumahpemilu.com, 2020). A single candidate can indeed be caused by the profile of a popular candidate hence

other candidates feel that their chances of winning the battle are low. These popular candidates are usually incumbents who have successfully built their regions. In the end, no other candidate was ready to run. Nevertheless, there is likewise a tendency that is moreover strengthened by the intentional factor of buying support from political parties thus as to close the opportunity for other candidates to advance from political parties.

On the other hand, to advance from the individual path, the prerequisites are more severe due to the fact that of the increase in prerequisites, for example, Law no. 12 of 2008 concerning Regional Government explains the requirements for support of 3-6 per cent of the total number of voters, whilst Law no. 8 of 2015 concerning the Regional Head Election that the support requirements increase to 6.5-10 per cent of the total number of voters (nu.or.id, 2020).

Another thing that is often overlooked by parties in actualizing a single candidate is the electoral impact of the existence of a single candidate itself. The existence of a single candidate is of course detrimental to voters who have an interest in making elections at the local level a momentum to bring their interests into the candidate's work program. There is no competition that is

feared to make the discourse of regional interests stagnant. The public will only receive information and offers from one candidate pair (rumahpemilu.com, 2020).

In addition, almost certainly, community participation likewise tends to decline. They are inattentive to come to the polling station (TPS) in light of the fact the incumbent will definitely win. The high cost of implementing democracy will likewise be felt to be more expensive and tend to be redundant because of the lack of participation.

A single candidate not only makes democracy savour bland but also runs a deficit. The purpose of elections as a manifestation of democracy is not achieved as a form of political education, recruitment of political leadership, and circulation of elites or leaders. Along with only a single candidate, the circulation of elites or political leaders through the regional head election mechanism will fail (mediaindonesia.com, 2018).

The Rise of Political Dynasties

The prohibition against dynastic politics is explicitly regulated in Law no. 8 of 2015 Article 7 letter r, which states: "r. has no conflict of interest with the incumbent". In the Elucidation of Article 7 letter r of Law no. 8 of 2015 states: "What is meant by "not having a conflict

of interest" are among others: not having blood relations, marriage ties and/or lineage of 1 (one) level straight up, down, sideways with the incumbent, namely father, mother, in-laws, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, in-laws, children, daughters-in-law, unless they have passed a gap of 1 (one) term of office".

But unfortunately, the legal umbrella regarding the prohibition of political dynasties in the election was cancelled by the Constitutional Court. In his decision No. 33/PUU-XIII/2015, the Constitutional Court stated that Article 7 letter r along with the Elucidation of Article 7 letter r of the Regional Head Election Law regarding the requirements for regional head candidates does not have a conflict of interest with the incumbent, contradicts the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and has no binding legal force. The Constitutional Court is of the assumption that the prohibition as regulated in Article 7 letter r of the Regional Election Law is contrary to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia due to the reason that it violates the constitutional rights of citizens to attain equal rights in law and government along with the freedom of everyone from discriminatory actions. The Constitutional Court's decision has declared the practice of political dynasties as a legitimate practice in accordance with the constitution of the

Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

The presence of Article 7 letter r in the Pilkada Law is indeed a response to the rise of political dynasties in the election contestation. They show up by utilizing the network of power relations of their relatives (commonly incumbents where the father/husband is the regional head or deputy regional head). Along with power relations plus economic and bureaucratic networks and resources, the candidate from this political dynasty without any difficult means came out as the winner. The problem is not only that, but the political dynasty also that becomes the ruler often lacks capacity and violates the law with corrupt practices. On that basis then set a ban on political dynasties.

As is known, the number of political dynasties in the period 2005-2014 was only 59 candidates. In the Simultaneous Regional Elections in 2015, 2017 and 2018, there was a drastic increase of 86 candidates affiliated with political dynasties. Whilst, in the Simultaneous Regional Elections in December 2020, the number of candidates for regional leaders exposed to dynasties swelled to 124 candidates. Research conducted by the Nagara Institute, in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections, of 124 candidates affiliated with political dynasties consisted of 57 regent

candidates and 30 deputy regent candidates, 20 mayoral candidates and 8 deputy mayor candidates, 5 governor candidates and 4 deputy governor candidates. Of these, in the event that was classified by gender, there were 67 males and 57 females. Of the 57 women, there are 29 female candidates who are the wives of the incumbent regional head (mediaindonesia.com, 2020). The symptom of the strengthening of political dynasties has trapped

democracy into dynast-ocracy (dynast-ocracy) which will certainly foster abuse of authority by incumbents hence it can have a negative impact on the people, the Indonesian nation, and democracy itself (dpr.go.id, 2015).

The following are the results of a search that the author conducted in 270 electoral districts with the results of 77 electoral districts where kinship politics or political dynasties occurred (see table 2).

Table 2. Background of Some Candidates with Political Dynasties

Province/ Regency/City	Name of Regional Head/Deputy Regional Head	Dynastic Politic
Jambi Province	1. Ratu Munawaroh (Deputy Regional Head)	The wife of the former governor of Jambi, Zulkifli Nurdin.
Bengkulu Province	2. Helmi Hasan (Regional Head)	The younger brother of the chairman of the MPR, Zulkifli Hasan
Riau Island Province	3. Marlin Agustina (Regional Head)	The wife of the Mayor of Batam, Muhammad Rudi.
South Ogan Komerling Ulu Regency	4. Popo Ali Martopo (Regional Head), Single Candidate	The nephew of the former Regent of Ogan Komerling Ulu Selatan, Muhtadin Serai.
Kebumen City	5. Ristawati Purwaningsih (Deputy Regional Head), Single Candidate	The wife of the former chairmant of DPRD, Cipto Waluyo
Semarang City	6. Hevearita Gunaryanti Rahayu (Deputy Regional Head), Single Candidate	The wife of the Chairman of Commission D DPRD Central Java Province, Alwin Basri.
Sragen Regency	7. Kusnidar Untung Yuni (Regional Head), Single Candidate	The son of the former regent of Sragen, Untung Wiyono.
Kediri Regency	8. Hanindhito Himawan Pramana (Regional Head), Single Candidate	Son of the Minister of Cabinet Secretary, Pramono Anung.
Ngawi Regency	9. Ony Anwar Harsono (Regional Head), Single Candidate	Son of the former regent of Ngawi, Harsono
Balikpapan City	10. Rahmad Mas'ud (Regional Head), Single Candidate	Brother of Abdul Gafur Mas,ud, Panajam Regent for period 2018-2023

Kutai Kertanegara Regency	11. Rendi Solihin (Deputy Regional Head), Single Candidate	The younger brother of member DPRD South Kalimantan, H.Rusli
Gowa Regency	12. Adnand Purichta Ichsan (Regional Head), Single Candidate	Son of the former regent of Gowa, Ichsan Yasin Limpo
Soppeng Regency	13. Lutfi Halide (Deputy Regional Head), Single Candidate	Son-in-law of the agriculture minister, Syahrul Yasin Limpo
Central Mamuju Regency	14. HM Aras Taumani (Regional Head)	Father-in-law of the vice regent of Mamuju, Irwan SP Pababari
Cilegon City	15. Ratu Ati Maliati (Regional Head)	Son of the former mayor of Cilegon, Tb Aat Syafaat
South Tangerang City	16. Rahayu Sarawasti (Deputy Regional Head)	The niece of Prabowo Subianto, Ministry of Defense
	17. Siti Nur Azizah (Regional Head)	Son of the vice President, Ma'ruf Amin
	18. Pilar Saga Ichsan (Deputy Regional Head)	Son of the regent of Serang, Ratu Tatu
Soppeng Regency	19. Lutfi Halide (Deputy Regional Head), Single Candidate	Son-in-law of the agriculture minister, Syahrul Yasin Limpo.
Sungai Penuh City	20. Fikar Azami (Regional Head)	Son of the mayor of Sungai Penuh City, Asafri Jaya Bakri
Surakarta City	21. Gibran Rakabuming Raka (Regional Head)	Son of the President, Joko Widodo
Magelang City	22. Aji Setiawan (Regional Head)	Son of the vice mayor of Magelang, Sigit Widyonindito
Pasuruan City	23. Syaifullah Yusuf (Kepala Daerah)	Brother of the regent of Pasuruan, Irsyad Yusuf
Banjar Baru City	24. Aditya Mufti Arifin (Regional Head)	Son of the former Governor South Kalimantan, Rudy Arifin
Bontang City	25. Najirah (Deputy Regional Head)	The Wife of the former mayor of Bontang, Adi Darma
	26. Neni Moerniaeni (Regional Head)	The Wife of the former mayor of Bontang, Andi Sofyan Hasdam
Bandar Lampung City	27. Eva Dwiana (Regional Head)	The wife of the mayor of Bandar Lampung, Herman Hasanusi
Mataram City	28. Badruttamam Ahda (Deputy Regional Head)	Son of the mayor of Mataram, Ahyar Abduh
	29. Mohan Roslikana (Regional Head)	Son of the mayor of Mataram (1999 and 2005 period), H. Moh. Ruslan
Manado City	30. Julyeta Runtuwene (Regional Head)	The wife of the mayor of Manado, GS Vicky Lumentut
Tomohon City	31. Jilly Gabriela Eman (Regional Head)	Son of the mayor of Tomohon, Jimmy Eman
Binjai City	32. Lisa Andriani Lubis (Regional Head)	The wife of the mayor of Binjai, Muhammad Idaham
Medan City	33. Bobby Afif Nasution	Son-in-law of the President, Joko Widodo

	(Regionl Head)	
Makassar City	34. Irman Yasin Limpo (Regional Head)	The younger brother of minister of agriculture, Syahrul Yasin Limpo
Bangli Regency	35. Made Subrata (Regional Head)	The younger brother of regent of Bangli, I Made Gianyar
Jembrana Regency	36. Gede Ngurah Patriana Krisna (Deputy Regional Head)	Son of the former regent of Jembrana, I Gede Wisana
Serang Regency	37. Ratu Tatu Chasanah (Regional Head)	The younger brother of the former governor of Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah
Pandeglang Regency	38. Irna Narulita (Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of Pandeglang, Dimiyati Natakusumah
Makassar City	39. Irman Yasin Limpo (Regional Head)	The younger brother of minister of agriculture, Syahrul Yasin Limpo
Sleman Regency	40. Kustini Sri Purnomo (Regional Head)	The wife of regent of Sleman, Sri Purnomo
West Tanjung Jabung Regency	41. Mulyani Siregar (Regional Heal)	The younger brother of regent of Tanjung Jabung Barat, Safriial
Batang Hari Regency	42. Yunita Asmara (Regional Head)	The wife of the regent Batanghari, Syahirsah
Indramayu Regency	43. 03. Daniel Mutaqin Syafiuddin (Regional Head)	Son of the former regent of Indramayu, Irianto MS Syafiuddin
Bandung Regency	44. Kurnia Agustina (Regional Head)	The wife of the regent of Bandung, Dadang Naser
Purbalingga Regency	45. Dyah Hayuning Pratiwi (Regional Head)	Son of the former regent of Purbalingga, Triyono Budi Sasongko
	46. Zaini Makarim (Deputy Regional Head)	The younger brother of the governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo
		Brother-in-law of the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo
Blora Regency	47. Umi Kulsum (Regional Head)	The wife of regent of Blora, Djoko Nugroho
Sukoharjo Regency	48. Etik Suryani (Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of Sukoharjo, Wardoyo Wijaya
Klaten Regency	49. Sri Mulyani (Kepala Daerah)	The wife of the former regent of Klaten, Sunarna
Pemalang Regency	50. Agung Mukti Wibowo (Regional Head)	The younger brother of regent of Brebes, Idza Priyanti, and also brother of the former mayor Tegal, Ikmal Jaya
Mojokerto Regency	51. Titik Masudah (Deputy Regional Head)	The younger brother of the Minister of Labor Ida Fauziah
Banyuwangi Regency	52. Ipuk Fiestiandani (Regional Head)	The wife of the regent of Banyuwangi, Abdullah Azwar Anas
Pacitan Regency	53. Indrata Nur Bayu Aji (Regional Head)	The nephew of the former President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono
Tuban Regency	54. Aditya Halindra Faridzky (Regional Head)	Son of the former regent Tuban, Haeny Relawati Rini Widyastuti

Berau Regency	55. Seri Marawiah (Regional Head)	The wife of the chairmant of DPRD Province east Kalimantan Makmur HAPK
	56. Sri Juniarningsih (Regional Head)	The wife of regent of Berau, Muharram
Nunukan Regency	57. Asmin Laura (Regional Head)	Son of the former regent of Nunukan, Abdul Hafid Achmad
South Bangka Regency	58. Debby Vita Dewi (Deputy Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of Bangka Selatan, Jamro
East Belitung Regency	59. Yuri Kemal Falullah (Regional Head)	Son of the political Yusril Ihza Mahendra
Central Bangka Regency	60. Herry Erfian (Deputy Regional Head)	The brother of the governor Bangka Belitung Island, Erzaldi
South Lampung Regency	61. Melin Haryani Wijaya (Deputy Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of south Lampung, Eki Setyanto
Way Kanan Regency	62. Rina Marlina (Deputy Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of Way Kanan, Bustami Zainuddin
Central Lampung Regency	63. Nesy Kalviya (Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of Lampung Tengah, Mustafa
South Buru Regency	64. Safitri Malik Soulisa (Regional Head)	The wife of the regent of Buru Selatan, Tagop Sudarsono Soulisa
Sula Island Regency	65. Fifi Adeningsi Mus (Regional Head)	The younger brother of the former regent of Sula, Ahmad Hidayat Mus
Taliabu Regency	66. Aliong Mus (Kepala Daerah)	The younger brother of the former regent Ahmad Hidayat Mus
Central Lampung Regency	67. Nesy Kalviya (Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of Central Lampung, Mustafa
South Halmahera Regency	68. Hasan Ali Bassam Kasuba (Deputy Regional Head)	Son of the former regent of South Halmahera, Muhammad Kasuba
Dompu Regency	69. Eri Aryani Abubakar (Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of Dompu Bambang M. Yasin
Sumbawa Regency	70. Mahmud Abdullah (Regional Head)	The younger of the governor West Nusa Tenggara, Zulkieflimansyah
Sabu Raijua Regency	71. Orient Riwo Kowe (Regional Head)	The younger brother of the mayor of Kupang, Jefri Riwo Kowe
South Sorong Regency	72. Alexander Dedaida (Deputy Regional Head)	Son of the former vice regent of South Sorong, Herman Tom Dedaida
Indragiri Hulu Regency	73. Rezita Melyani (Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of Indragiri Hulu, Yopi Arianto
Majene Regency	74. Fatmawati Fahmi (Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of Majene, Fahmi Massiara
Pangkajene Regency	75. Muhammad Yusron Lagogau (Regional Head)	The nephew of regent of Pangkajene, Syamsudin A. Hamid
	76. Andi Ilham-Rismayani	Ipar and the wife of the Syamsuddin A. Hamid
North Morowali Regency	77. Holiliana (Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of North Morowali, Aptripel Tumimomor
East Bolaang Mongondow Regency	78. Amalia Ramadhan Landjar (Regional Head)	Son of the regent of East Bolaang Mongondow, Sehan Salim Landjar

Dharmasraya Regency	79. Panji Mursyidan (Regional Head)	Son of the Committee Chairman IV DPD-RI, Elvina
Silunjung Regency	80. Benny Dwifa Yuswir (Regional Head)	Son of the former regent of Sijunjung, Yuswir Arifin
Tanah Datar Regency	81. Betti Shadiq Pasadiqoe (Regional Head)	The wife of the former regent of Tanah Datar, Muhammad Shadiq Pasadiqoe
East Ogan Komering Ulu Regency	82. Lanosin Hamzah (Regional Head)	The younger brother of the governor South Sumatera, Herman Deru
	83. Adi Nugraha Purna Yudha (Deputy Regional Head)	Son of the regent of East Ogan Komering Ulu, Kholid Mawardi
Serdang Bedagai Regency	84. Ryan Novandi (Deputy Regional Head)	Son of the former Governor of North Sumatera Teuku Erry Nuradi
Asahan Regency	85. Winda Fitrika (Deputy Regional Head)	The wife of the regent of Asahan, Taufan Gama Simatupang
Simalungun Regency	86. Anton Saragih (Regional Head)	Brother of the regent of Simalungun JR Saragih
South Labuhanbatu Regency	87. Hasnah Harahap (Regional Head)	The wife of the regent south Labuhanbatu, Wildan Aswan Tanjung
Karo Regency	88. Yus Felesky (Regional Head)	Son of the former regent of Karo, Kena Ukur Surbakti

Source: processed from various sources, 2021.

The phenomenon of political dynasties tends to conceive a single candidate in some areas. Of the 25 constituencies with a single candidate as many as 13 electoral districts (52 per cent) there are pairs, one of which is

affiliated with a political dynasty. As shown in the table below, the incumbents who ran as the sole candidate came from political dynasties. See table 3 below.

**Table 3: Background of Single Candidate with Political Dynasty
In the 2020 Reginal Head Election**

No	Regency/City	Regional Head	Incumbent Status	Dynasty Politic
1	Gunungsitoli City	Lakhomizaro Zebua-Sowaá Laoli	Incumbent	As Regional Head
2	Pematangsiantar City	Asner Silalahi-Susanti Dewayani	Newcomer	As Deputy Regional Head
3	South Ogan Komering Ulu Regency	Popo Ali Martopo-Sholehien Abuasir	Incumbent	As Regional Head
4	Kebumen Regency	Arif Sugiyanto-Ristawati Purwaningsih	Incumbent	As Deputy Regional Head
5	Semarang City	Hendrar Prihadi-Hevearita Gunaryanti Rahayu	Incumbent	As Deputy Regional Head

No	Regency/City	Regional Head	Incumbent Status	Dynasty Politic
6	Sragen Regency	Kusnidar Untung Yuni Sukowati-Suroto	Incumbent	As Regional Head
7	Kediri Regency	Hanindhito Himawan Pramana-Dewi Mariya Ulfa	Newcormer	As Regional Head
8	Ngawi Regency	Ony Anwar Harsono- Dwi Rianto Jatmiko	Incumbent	As Regional Head
9	Balikpapan City	Rahmad Mas'ud- Thohari Azis	Incumbent	As Regional Head
10	Kutai Kertanegara Regency	Edi Damansyah-Rendi Solihin	Incumbent	As Deputy Regional Head
11	Gowa Regency	Adnand Purichta Ichsan-Abdul Rauf Malaganni	Incumbent	As Regional Head
12	Soppeng Regency	HA Kaswadi Razak- Lutfi Halide	Incumbent	As Deputy Regional Head
13	Central Mamuju Regency	HM Aras T-H Muh Amin Jasa	Incumbent	As Regional Head

Source: Processed from Yanuar Nugroho, Yoes C. Kenawas, and Sofie S. Syarie, 2021: 4

Political dynasties spread indirect elections due to three factors, specifically the strength of financial capital, network strength, and position in the party. Associated with the position in the party, in the event that traced to the phenomenon of political dynasties due to the fact that the parties are controlled by the family. From there, the party elite determines the candidates who will occupy political positions, from governors, and regents, to mayors. In a situation like this, party cadres who have served for decades and do not have the financial capital even in spite of the fact that they tend to be popular will find it difficult to get recommendations and support (nu.or.id, 2020).

Along with political dynasties, which are supposed to be agents of

democracy, political parties are merely political machines which in turn clog the ideal functions of parties, such as means of political recruitment, as well as the articulation and aggregation of various public interests, what happens is that political parties have no other target except power. In this position, party recruitment is based more on the popularity and wealth of the candidate/candidate pair to win. Hence instant candidates emerged from among those based on blood relations, relatives, clans; which likewise shows that candidates who come from dynastic politics are not based on the regeneration process.

The cadre system of political parties is now only used as a formality prerequisite to get support from political

parties as political vehicles. For example, Gibran Rakabumi, the eldest son of President Joko Widodo, took a short route, from registration of membership cards to the stage of political cadre, all of which was done in a relatively short period of time, when the election registration was opened. Therefore, how difficult it is for them to explain to the public the ideology adopted by their political party, as well as the formulation of a work program that is truly in line with the program of their political party which is related to the ideology of the party (qureta.com, 2020).

Political dynasties likewise make it difficult to realize the ideals of democracy in light of the fact that there is no clean and good governance, this is due to the reason that the scope of government is monopolized by the power of the political dynasty. Finally, the function of power control weakens and does not work effectively, thus there is a high possibility of abuse of power such as corruption, collusion, and nepotism (kepridays.co.id, 2020).

The existence of political dynasties makes it difficult for government control mechanisms. Moreover, in the event that in one large family there is a regent or mayor while a relative becomes a member of the DPRD, it is difficult to expect the DPRD member to be critical of the government-run by his family. Or when the elected regional

leaders have connections with strong people in the centre of power in Jakarta, then the DPRD will be reluctant to exercise proper control due to the fact that after all, party policies at the regional level will follow central orders (nu.or.id, 2020).

Political dynasties likewise influence the process of determining public policy. The biggest tendency of the resulting policies that should refer to the needs of the public, becomes the needs of the family alone. In fact, it is even worse than the ruler trying to put his family, relatives, and relatives in strategic positions with the aim of building a political empire in various lines of government. This effort is performed with the aim that those who are members of political dynasties will "guard" each other so that they remain in power, in addition to being able to control economic resources in accordance with the objectives of the political dynasty they have built (Amalia Syauket, 2021: 26).

Political Party Pragmatism and Democratic Hijacking

Regional Head Election with a single candidate and a political dynasty are like two sides of the same coin, even despite the fact that they have different views. This reality, of course, has led to a setback in the democratic order in Indonesia related to two things at once,

particularly the rotation of power and political recruitment. In the rotation of power, it is clear that democracy provides an opportunity for the rotation of power not only to be implemented in an orderly and peaceful manner but also to open opportunities for everyone who meets the requirements, not only certain people. Whilst, related political recruitment in order for the rotation of power to take place requires an open political recruitment system.

But what happens is that political parties let their political parties be hijacked by oligarchs and/or local bossism. The implication of such a reality is that the direct election proceeds in an elitist manner, of course causing the power built by direct elections to be no greater for the people but only for that elitist power. It is true, that voters have the ability directly elect regional heads, but the process of selecting regional head candidates uses a mechanism in which voters are "forced" to choose existing candidates, without any other choice and without any competitive and fair competition.

The shortcut choice of carrying a single candidate and/or political dynasty is based on the political party's fear of losing in competition and economic resources. As a form of pragmatism, the parties then act on behalf of the coalition by jointly performing a single candidate who "on paper" wins. In spite of the fact

that the regulations provide an opportunity for political parties for a long period of time to select and nominate candidate pairs before the registration deadline expires, political parties seem to tend to ignore them. Political parties choose shortcuts in carrying out single candidate candidates and/or political dynasties.

The phenomenon of single candidates and political dynasties are related to the centralization of decision-making in political parties. Decision-making in determining the candidate pair is carried out with a non-transparent mechanism, even in the event that the tendency is closed, in the event that you do not want to be suspected that the decision is the only and ultimate authority (Nico Harjanto, 2011: 147). The orientation of political parties by prioritizing the interests of victory and power alone forgets about the nature and identity of the party as a locomotive of democracy that ignores the aspirations of the people and their constituents. Along with such conditions, it can be said that direct elections are still trapped in procedural democracy an sich, not yet substantive democracy.

In fact, the existence of a single candidate and political dynasty is not solely the fault of political parties. The rise of single candidates and political dynasties may be contributed by the Constitutional Court's decision which is

actually detrimental to democracy itself. The Constitutional Court did not make maximum efforts in engineering the presence of an election competition with the presence of a single candidate vs an empty column. In the decision and also in the election regulations, only provide the widest opportunity for a single candidate. Whilst the empty column does not have the same access as the "opponent" in the election competition. Along with such conditions, of course, only a single candidate will benefit. Hence do not be surprised in the event that a single candidate later came out as the winner.

For three dollars, the Constitutional Court's decision to annul the rules of kinship politics. In fact, as is well known, the existence of political dynasties has more negative sides than positive sides, such as the tendency to behave in a corrupt manner, hinder the emergence of alternative regional heads, and lack of capacity and leadership. Nonetheless, the Court ignored this in its decision. In the future, to deal with this, it is necessary to reorganize political dynasties in the Regional Head Election Law thus it is not cancelled by the Court.

The pressure of the prerequisites to advance as an individual candidate (independent candidate) as regulated in Law no. 8 of 2015 by increasing the terms of support from the previous 3-6 to 6.5-10 per cent of the number of voters. This

of course causes the candidates who want to come forward to challenge a single candidate and political dynasties to have difficulty. Just about to nominate requires a hard struggle to meet the nomination threshold. Along with such a tedious threshold of prerequisites, it is not surprising that there are not many individual candidates in the regional head election.

The Pilkada Law also shows that the requirements for nominations from political parties are getting tougher, with the condition that previously only 15 per cent of the votes were acquired to 20 per cent of the DPRD seats or 25 per cent of the DPRD election votes. Along with the weight of the threshold set, the behaviour of political parties is becoming more pragmatic. Not only that, the threshold for political parties in nominating candidates would bury small parties in the regional head election competition. They tend to be followers of major political parties.

CONCLUSION

Direct local elections have become an inseparable part of the development of democracy in Indonesia. In a direct Regional Head Election, the people are seen as having political power to determine who is the leader and the future of a region. In fact, the legitimacy of regional leadership is very closely related to people's participation in

conducting elections at polling stations. Unfortunately, in the electoral political arena at the local level, there has been an increase in two bad phenomena in the Pilkada, specifically political dynasties and Regional Head Election with a single candidate.

Political dynasties and single candidates have certainly impaired democracy. The political process is no longer based on efforts to rotate power and open political recruitment. Regional Head Election is no longer a means of regeneration and promotion of cadre recruitment but has been replaced with decisions that tend to be elitist in nature. The presence of dynastic politics and a pair of candidates in the regional head elections should serve as a stern warning that there has been a decline in democracy in the regions. The two phenomena above should be understood not as a political strategy for political parties in winning the contestation in the Regional Head Election, as a political strategy for securing electoral districts, on the contrary, this is an illustration of the party's failure to produce cadres to become candidates for regional leaders. Indeed, the occurrence of political dynasties and single candidates is very detrimental to the community as voters to attain democratic leaders.

In this regard, in the future, efforts should be made to prevent and improve the nomination mechanism in the

Regional Head Election. First, political parties have the ability to implement internal conventions in political parties, not just taking into account electability based solely on surveys that hit the public. The parties must likewise implement a decentralized policy in decision-making at the internal level regarding who the candidates are promoted to and the pairs of candidates promoted, thus they are not based solely on elite votes but on the aspirations of each region and the aspirations of the constituents of political parties (Toto Sugiarto & Agus Muhammad, 2018: 205).

Second, the need for regulatory changes to prevent dynastic politics and the practice of single candidacy in the Regional Head Election, such as rearranging the prerequisites for nominating regional heads. This effort is performed hence there are many alternative candidates in the community and this effort is likewise a tactical step so that there is no expensive political cost to attain political support from political parties, by, for example, lowering the percentage of individual candidates' prerequisites, and lowering or better abolishing the percentage prerequisite for political party support.

Third, tactics are needed to limit political dynasties indirect elections. In that context, it is necessary to think about as in the transitional regulation that candidates who are related by blood

and/or marital relations with the incumbent are prohibited from running on the condition that the incumbent resigns as regional head/deputy regional head. This regulation does not prohibit candidates from political dynasties from contesting regional elections and violating human rights and political rights.

Fourth, it is necessary to regulate “empty column/box political rights” hence they have the ability to compete with a single candidate. Therefore, the existing regulations, both the Pilkada Law and the related General Election Commission Regulations only benefit a single candidate. Such as the installation of props and campaigns only for single candidates. If so, then the essence of the Regional Head Election is that there should be competition between candidates, not a monopoly of a single candidate.

REFERENCES

- Angraini, Titi et.all, (2011) *Menata Kembali Pengaturan Pilkada*, Jakarta: Perludem.
- Asako, Y., Iida, T., Matsubayashi, T., & Ueda, M. (2015). Dynastic politicians: Theory and evidence from Japan. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 16 (1), 5-32
- Astuti, Indriyani, *Dinasti Politik Sodorkan 124 Calon Kepala Daerah ke Pilkada*, Media Indonesia, 12 Oktober 2020, dalam <https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/352126/dinasti-politik-sodorkan-124-calon-kepala-daerah-ke-pilkada>, diakses tanggal 12 Mei 2021, Pukul 21:00 WIB
- B. Tjenreng, M. Zubakhrum, (2020) *Demokrasi di Indonesia Melalui Pilkada Serentak*, Depok: Papas Sinar Sinanti.
- Dachroni, Raja, *Efek Biru Politik Dinasti*, dalam https://kepridays.co.id/2020/03/11/efek-buruk-politik-dinasti/?__cf_chl_jschl_tk__=fe75cfc7e750738665c88fed024a59b840dbb683-1622030566-0-AS8OQAuCawxRCE86c93DFbufwGufbyVMYemRFGV, diakses pada 24 Mei 2020, Pukul 19.30 WIB
- Ellwein, Warsito dan Subagyo, Hari, (2011) *Konstituen Pilar Utama Partai Politik Modul Pendidikan Politik: Manajemen Konstituen*, Jakarta: Friedrich Naumann Stiftung.
- Hadiz, V.R. (2003), “Power and Politics in North Sumatra: The Uncompleted Reformasi”, in Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy (eds.), *Local Power and Politics in*

- Indonesia: Decentralisation and Democratisation, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Hadiz, V.R (2005), *Dinamika Kekuasaan; Ekonomi Politik Indonesia Pasca-Soeharto*, Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Hadiz, V.R. (2010), *Localising Power in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia : A Southeast Asia Perspective*, Stanford : Stanford University Press.
- Haris, S (1997), *Pemilihan Umum di Indonesia: Telaah atas Struktur, Proses dan Fungsi*, Jakarta: PPW-LIPI.
- Huntington, S.P (1995), *Gelombang Demokratisasi Ketiga*, Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti.
- Efriza, Karut-Marut Partai Politik Dalam Pentas Politik Di Tingkat Lokal, dalam *Jurnal Ilmu Budaya*, Vol. 40, No. 52, Juli/2016, Jakarta: Universitas Nasional.
- Habibi, Implikasi Calon Tunggal Pilkada Regency Tasikmalaya Terhadap Kualitas Demokrasi Daerah, *Jurnal Asy-Syari'ah*, Vol. 20, No. 2, Desember 2018, hal. 225, dalam <https://journal.uinsgd.ac.id/index.php/asy-syariah/article/view/3017>, diakses tanggal 16 Mei 2021, Pukul 07:00 WIB
- Harjanto, Nico, *Politik Kekerabatan dan Institusionalisasi Partai Politik di Indonesia*, dalam *Analisis CSIS: Politik Kekerabatan di Indonesia*, Vol. 40, No. 2, Juni 2011, Jakarta: CSIS.
- Info Singkat Hukum, Putusan MK Melegalkan Politik Dinasti Dalam UU Pilkada, Vol. II, No. II, P3DI/Juli/2015, dalam http://berkas.dpr.go.id/puslit/files/info_singkat/Info%20Singkat-VII-14-II-P3DI-Juli-2015-41.pdf, diakses tanggal 12 Mei 2021, Pukul 22:00 WIB
- ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute, *How the 2020 Pilkada Reflected Major Structural Flaws in Indonesian Politics*, ISEAS, ISSUE: 2021, No. 5, Singapore: 25 Januari 2021, dalam <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective/iseas-perspective-2021-5-how-the-2020-pilkada-reflected-major-structural-flaws-in-indonesian-politics-by-yanuar-nugroho-yoes-c-kenawas-and-sofie-s-syarief>, diakses tanggal 14 Mei 2021, Pukul 13:00 WIB
- Michels, Robert, *Partai Politik Kecenderungan Oligarkis dalam Birokrat*, Jakarta: Rajawali, 1984.
- Muddhoffir, A.M (2020), "Negara, Kapital dan Kepentingan Kelas: Menafsir Tesis Oligarki Richard

- Robison dan Vedi R. Hadiz", dalam *Oligarki: Teori dan Kritik*, Tangerang Selatan: Marjin Kiri dan Indo Progres
- Niam, Achmad Mukafi, Maraknya Calon Tunggal dan Turunnya Kualitas Demokrasi Kita, dalam <https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/125255/maraknya-calon-tunggal-dan-turunnya-kualitas-demokrasi-kita>, diakses tanggal 24 Mei 2021 Pukul 16.30 WIB
- Peneliti: 57 Trah Dinasti Politik Menang Pilkada, bantenexpres.com/front/br/peneliti-57-dinasti-politik-menang-pilkada, diakses tanggal 17 Mei 2020, Pukul 10:00 WIB
- Romli, Lili, Calon Tunggal dan Defisit Demokrasi, dalam <https://mediaindonesia.com/opini/141847/calon-tunggal-dan-defisit-demokrasi>, diakses tanggal 17 Mei 2021, Pukul 20:00WIB
- Romli, Lili, Pilkada Langsung, Calon Tunggal, Dan Masa Depan Demokrasi Lokal, *Jurnal Penelitian Politik (LIPI)*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2018, hal. 155-156, sumber <http://ejournal.politik.lipi.go.id/index.php/jpp/article/view/757>, diakses tanggal 17 Mei 2021, Pukul 21:00WIB
- Salabi, Amalia, Orang Kuat Daerah dan Dinasti Politik di Pilkada Paslon Tunggal, dalam <http://rumahpemilu.org/orang-kuat-daerah-dan-dinasti-politik-di-pilkada-paslon-tunggal/>, diakses tanggal 24 Mei 2021
- Sidel, J.T., (1997), *Philippine Politics in Town, District, and Province: Bossism in Cavite and Cebu*, *The Journal of Asian Studies* (56/4/Nov).
- Sidel, J.T., (1999), *Capital, Coercion, and Crime: Bossism in The Philippines*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Sidel, J.T., (2005), "Bosisme dan Demokrasi di Filipina, Thailand, dan Indonesia", dalam John Harriss, Kristian Stokke, dan Olle Tornquist (ed.), *Politisasi Demokrasi: Politik Lokal Baru*, Jakarta: Demos.
- Sianturi, Arnold H., Relawan Pemenangan Kotak Kosong Terbentuk di Regency Humbahas, dalam <https://www.beritasatu.com/amp/nasional/679993/relawan-pemenangan-kotak-kosong-terbentuk-di-Regency-humbahas>, diakses tanggal 19 Mei 2021, Pukul 22:00 WIB.
- Sinulingga, Andi Harianto, *Pecah Belah Partai Golkar: Dinamika Konflik Golkar Pasca Orde Baru*, Jakarta: Penjuru Ilmu Sejati, 2015.

- Sugiarto, Toto, dan Muhammad, Agus (Ed), *Fenomena Calon Tunggal: Studi Kasus pada Pilkada 2018 di 16 Regency/Kota*, Jakarta: Bawaslu, 2018.
- Syauket, Amalia, *Octupussy: Sinergi Penguasa dan Pengusaha Tipologi Gurita Korupsi di Banten*, Jakarta: Krasi Cendekia Pustaka, 2021.
- Taufiqurochim, *Efek Samping Menjamurnya Klan Dinasti Politik*, dalam <http://www.quireta.com/next/post/efek-samping-menjamurnya-klan-dinasti-politik>, diakses 25 Mei 2020, Pukul 14.00 WIB
- Querubin, Pablo. (2010). *Family and politics: Dynastic persistence in the Philippines*. Unpublished manuscript, MIT.
- Wardah, Fathiyah, *Politik Dinasti di Pilkada, Refleksi Praktik Dinasti Partai Politik*, <http://www.voaindonesia.com/a/politik-dinasti-di-pilkada-refleksi-praktik-dinasti-partai-politik/5530642.html>, diakses tanggal 17 Mei 2021, Pukul 10:00 WIB.
- Winters, J.A, (2011), *Oligarchy*, Cambridge University Pres.
- Winters, J.A. (2014), “ *Oligarki dan Demokrasi di Indonesia*”, *Prisma*, Vol. 33. No. 1.