



TECHNIUM
SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL

Vol. 13, 2020

**A new decade
for social changes**

www.techniumscience.com

ISSN 2668-7798



9 772668 779000

Single candidates in direct election in Tangerang City, Tangerang Regency, Lebak Regency, Makassar City

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Abstract. This study analyzes the "single candidate" in the simultaneous local elections in Indonesia 2018, the case of Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City, Lebak Regency (Banten Province) and Makassar City (South Sulawesi Province). The method used is qualitative with descriptive explanatory research type. Data collection techniques with in-depth interviews and library research (library research). Research findings, the problem of "single candidate" occurs from the nominating stage (nomination threshold and conditions of support for individual candidates), which causes political parties to be pragmatic because they do not have the ability to compete openly, so they choose to build coalitions to meet the conditions or vote in the nominating process. Empirically found factors that encourage the occurrence of "single candidate" in Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City, Lebak Regency are incumbent candidates who have high electability so that political parties count to be pragmatic by conducting coalitions. In the case of Makassar City a "single candidate" occurred because the competitor was disqualified. The problem of "single candidate" is an empirical phenomenon of the weakness of political regeneration by political parties from the center and the regions, as well as the high dowry requirements of the bearers of the candidates. The vote recapitulation results in three regions (Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City, Lebak Regency) were won by the dominant "single candidate", while in Makassar City the "single candidate" was defeated by an empty box.

Keywords. coalition of political parties, empty box, incumbent, local elections, single candidate

Introduction

The political dynamics of Indonesia after the New Order era entered a new era, namely the decentralization of political and administrative authority from the center to the regions. In some regions the effect is quite significant, namely political actors such as local government, local politics, local elites often become immune to intervention from the Center. The phenomenon that occurs at the national level is called democratization, because power is no longer centralized in the hands of the president, while phenomena that occur at the sub-national level are often referred to as decentralization and regional autonomy (Nordholt and Klinken, 2014: ix).

In the Indonesian context, decentralization is part of democratization, the authors of the concept of decentralization in Indonesia consider the concept of decentralization within a framework of democratization (Nordholt and Klinken, 2014: ix). Dahl (as cited in Mayhew, 2015: 180) often provides a list of criteria that will be fulfilled by an ideal democratic process,

one of which is equality in voting, effective participation, enlightened understanding, final control of the agenda, and inclusion.

Direct elections of regional heads known as Pilkada/Pemilukada, as one form of the implementation of regional autonomy in Indonesia have relevance to the understanding of democracy from Joseph Schumpeter and Robert Dahl. The philosophy of democracy from the eighteenth century, namely the democratic method that governs institutions to arrive at political decisions, where for the public good the community decides its own problems through the selection of individuals to gather in order to carry out their will (Schumpeter, 2013: 411).

The simultaneous regional head elections for most regions in Indonesia have been conducted since 2017, 2018, 2019 and will be carried out for all local governments in 2024. The fundamental question is how the implications of local elections and their dynamics on aspects of strengthening local democracy and finally in Indonesian democracy? The fact is that regional elections give birth to some dynamics that even turn into a backflow for affirmation of democracy. The election of regional government heads is even colored by various paradoxes (Ibrahim, 2017: 40).

At the local level, the form of direct local elections has become a very interesting phenomenon to be discussed. The shift from elections using the legislative representation system to direct elections at the community level has had a major impact on the democratic process at the local level (Ibrahim, 2017: 40).

One of the paradoxes in the implementation of direct local elections (Pilkada) in Indonesia is the empirical phenomenon that is the problem of "single candidates" competing without competitive competitors, because they are dealing with empty boxes.

Based on data from the General Election Commission (KPU) data, the problem of a "single candidate" emerged in the holding of simultaneous local elections in 2015, found in three regions namely Blitar (East Java), Tasikmalaya (West Java) and Central Timor Regency North (East Nusa Tenggara / NTT).

The emergence of a single candidate in the 2015 simultaneous local elections is believed because a number of political parties are reluctant to carry their champion in the contest of democratic parties. Therefore political parties are considered to have neglected their functions in recruitment and nominating their cadres (Dhesinta, 2016: 90).

The existence of a single candidate can mean a high level of public trust in a character. However, this condition also slipped the possibility of money politics because there was the possibility of a single candidate not proposing another candidate. The phenomenon of a single candidate shows that party regeneration has failed. This shows how difficult the party has alternative candidates (Ardipandanto, 2015:19).

Public participation in the electoral political process is an important factor. In addition to the high level of public trust in a figure, there are also data that show that the level of community participation in voting in the 2015 regional head elections has decreased compared to the previous regional head elections as happened in North Central Timor (Mulyawati, 2017: 301).

Then in the simultaneous local elections in 2017, there are nine regions that only have one candidate pair or "single candidate" namely Tebing Tinggi City (South Sumatra), Jayapura City (Papua), Sorong City (West Papua), Tulang Bawang Barat Regency (Lampung), Pati Regency (Central Java), Landak Regency (West Kalimantan), Buton Regency (Southeast Sulawesi), Central Maluku Regency, Tambrauw Regency (West Papua).

In the regional head election (Pilkada) in 2018, the phenomenon of a single candidate pair was present again, but the presence of the phenomenon, on the one hand, gave different political dynamics in Indonesia but on the other hand was allegedly placing the elections as a

selection process that did not require choice so as to degrade the elements community participation in democracy (Rahmanto, 2018:104).

Based on data in the simultaneous local elections in 2018, there are 16 regency/cities that have the problem of "single candidate", including: Prabumulih City (South Sumatra), Tangerang City (Banten), Lebak Regency (Banten), Tangerang Regency (Banten), Pasuruan Regency (East Java), Karang Anyar Regency (Central Java), Enrekang Regency (South Sulawesi), Southeast Minahasa Regency (North Sulawesi), Tapin Regency (South Kalimantan), Puncak Regency (Papua), Mamasa Regency (West Sulawesi), Jayawijaya Regency (Papua), North Lawas Regency (North Sumatra), Central Mamberamo Regency (Papua), Makassar City (South Sulawesi), Bone Regency (South Sulawesi).

Regulations related to the elections are the regional head election law (Pilkada) No. 8 of 2015, which has not accommodated the phenomenon of a "single candidate" because it requires that the election be able to run if there are at least two candidates.

The phenomenon of "single candidate" in the Pilkada in Indonesia is strengthened by the decision of the Constitutional Court which grants the material test of the issue of "single candidate" in Law No.8 of 2015 concerning the election of Governors, Regents and Mayors. The Constitutional Court's decision became the basis for allowing "single candidates" to compete in the regional head elections (Pilkada) simultaneously in the first period, December 2015. Then after the decision of the Constitutional Court, Law No.8 of 2015 was replaced with Law No.10 in 2016.

This law accommodates "single candidates" with various conditions that are required, including the pair of "single candidates" allowed if the General Election Commission (KPU) has extended the registration, but no other candidates have registered. Then it was added that a single candidate was allowed provided that there was more than one candidate who registered, but was declared ineligible to result in a "single candidate", this was regulated in article 54C paragraph (1) of Law No. 10 of 2016 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors Become Laws.

Furthermore, in Law No.10 of 2016, there is a provision that "a single candidate" is declared to win if he gets more than 50 percent of the votes valid. But if less than 50 percent win an empty box, it means that there are no candidates yet. If this happens, the government assigns acting governors, acting regents / acting mayors. In general, the problem of a "single candidate" and the rules of its implementation have been accommodated through Law No.10 of 2016. On the other hand, the root of the problem of why the phenomenon of "single candidate" appears has not been completely resolved by the existence of Law No.10, 2016 (Karyono, 2017: 127).

Based on the data above, in the simultaneous local elections in 2018, 2 regencies and 1 municipality in Banten Province also had the problem of a "single candidate", namely Lebak Regency and Tangerang Regency and Tangerang City. Meaning three regional elections (Pilkada) in Banten Province took place between the "single candidate" incumbent against an empty box. The phenomenon of "single candidate" in the 2018 simultaneous local elections in Banten Province is quite interesting because it occurs in three of the four local elections taking place in this area. One of the regions in Banten that did not present a "single candidate" in the 2018 elections was the municipality of Serang, because the incumbent had twice/served term so it was not possible to run again.

In general, all "single candidates" in Banten Province, namely Tangerang City, Tangerang Regenc, and Lebak Regency, are all incumbents who have only served for one period. First, the City of Tangerang, the pair Arief R. Wismansyah and Sachrudin became

"single candidates" supported by a coalition of 10 political parties (Golkar, Democrats, PDIP, PKB, Hanura, PPP, Gerindra, PKS, PAN, and Nasdem).

Second, Tangerang Regency, Ahmad Zaki Iskandar, and Mad Romly were the only candidates supported by a large coalition of 12 political parties (PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, Democrat, Hanura, PKS, PPP, PKB, Gerindra, PKPI, PAN and PBB). Third, the City of Lebak, the pair Iti Octavia Jayabaya and Ade Sumardi became the sole candidate supported by a coalition of 11 political parties (Democratic Party, PDIP, Golkar, PAN, PKB, United Nations, PKS, Hanura, Nasdem, PPP, and Gerindra).

In addition to Banten Province, the problem of a "single candidate" also occurred in the Makassar City Election (South Sulawesi Province) which according to the official calculation results of the Makassar City Election Commission found a fairly rare result, namely "empty box" obtaining a superior vote (53.23%) compared to the "single candidate", the pair Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi (46.77%).

The Makassar City Election incident was highlighted by Indonesian political observers, because it was the first time the "empty box" was the winner in the holding of the post-reform Pilkada in Indonesia. The Munafri pair Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi in the Makassar City Election was supported by a large coalition of 10 political parties namely Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, PAN, PPP, PDIP, Hanura, PBB, Gerindra, PKPI.

In connection with the problem of "single candidates" in the elections in Indonesia, there have been a number of relevant literature reviews namely:

1. Dhesinta (2016) with the title Single Candidate in the Election of Regional Head and the Concept of Democracy (Analysis of the Regional Head Election of Blitar Regency in 2015); This article explains the polemic of a single candidate in the 2015 simultaneous local elections believed to be because a number of political parties are reluctant to carry the champion. Simultaneous local elections also lack participation, because some residents deliberately did not vote because the existing candidate figures did not match their consciences, some felt that there was no competition in the elections. An assessment of the undemocracy of elections with a single candidate is interesting considering the concept of democracy developed by experts is the ability to elect political leaders during the election period.
2. Rahmanto (2018), entitled Single Candidates in the Perspective of Voting and Voting in Banten Province; This article explains the phenomenon of a single candidate pair in the simultaneous local elections in 2018, providing different political dynamics in Indonesia, but on the other hand placing the elections as an election process that does not require choice so as to degrade the element of community participation in democracy. Regional Head Election which is followed by a single candidate as a form of implementation of people's sovereignty in accordance with the perspective of human rights. In the context of regional head elections, one measure of contestation that has a human rights perspective is that the implementation must guarantee the availability of space or opportunities for participants, in this case candidate pairs and the public to manifest their sovereignty in exercising their rights, both the right to vote and the right to be elected.
3. Ardipandanto (2015) with the title Single Candidate in the 2015 Simultaneous Local Election; this article explains the technical obstacles in the simultaneous local elections in 2015 including those concerning a single candidate. The issues raised regarding the 2015 Local Election Law have not included provisions regarding the phenomenon of a single candidate. This case shows two sides of weaknesses that must be corrected immediately, namely the problem of cadre formation in the body of political parties and

the problem of the substance of the Law on local elections which must be corrected immediately.

4. Romli (2018) with the title "Direct Local Election, Single Candidate, and the Future of Local Democracy"; this article describes the phenomenon of the emergence of a single candidate in the regional head election which mostly wins the regional head election, only the single candidate in Makassar City suffered defeat. There are several factors that cause the emergence of a single candidate, namely pragmatism of political parties; the failure of regeneration, the increasingly stringent requirements for candidates, and the high "political dowry". The victory of the single candidates in the local elections can hamper the local democratic process because the check and balances mechanism does not work.
5. Mulyawati (2017) with the title *The Impacts of Single Candidate on Public Participation in Voting: A Case Study of Local Election in North Central Timor District, Indonesia*; This article explains the impact of the "single candidate" on public participation in voting in local elections in the Middle East North Regency (TTU). The results showed that the election of a regional head with a single candidate made people less enthusiastic and did not want to participate in the election process or in the election.

The issue of "single candidate" becomes important to be analyzed from the perspective of Political Science because the number continues to increase in the implementation of the elections from 2015, 2017, 2018. In particular the problem of "single candidate" is also often confronted with the main principles of democracy which prioritizes equality in a contestation openly often denied.

This paper is based on the formulation of the problem in the form of a question: what factors resulted in the occurrence of a "single candidate" in the elections in Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City, Lebak Regency (Banten Province) and Makassar City (South Sulawesi Province)?

Specifically, the purpose of this paper is to analyze the factors that support the birth of a "single candidate" in Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City, Lebak Regency (Banten Province) and Makassar City (South Sulawesi Province).

Methods

Scientific research is an appropriate way to solve social problems because it is a systematic, controlled, empirical, and critical investigation of natural phenomena guided by theories and hypotheses about the alleged relationships that exist between these phenomena (Kerlinger, 2006:14).

The approach used in this research is qualitative. Qualitative research can be constructed as a research strategy that usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in data collection and analysis, emphasizing an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, which emphasizes the placement of theory creation (generation of theory). Qualitative research is defined as a process of inquiry to understand social problems based on creating a complete holistic picture formed by words, reporting the views of informants in detail and arranged in a natural setting (Cresswell, 2016:140).

According to Punch (2006), qualitative research is empirical research where the data are not in the form of numbers. The model of qualitative research characteristics will greatly facilitate researchers in finding and understanding research questions. As mentioned by Creswell (2016) where researchers can use multiple methods that are interactive and humanistic. Data collection methods evolved along with the increasing number of participants and the sensitivity involved in this study.

This research was conducted using descriptive explanatory research type which is a combination of descriptive research and explanatory research. In explanation, descriptive research is aimed at answering the 'what' questions, while explanatory research will answer the 'why' and 'how' questions.

The design of this study began with the data collection stage regarding the factors behind the occurrence of a "single candidate" supported by a large coalition of political parties in Banten Province (Tangerang Regency, Lebak Regency, Tangerang City) and in Makassar City in the simultaneous local elections in Indonesia in 2018. Then identify and analyze the problem of "single candidate" in relation to 1. The Regulation governing "single candidate", namely in Article 54C paragraph (1) of Law no. 10 of 2016, 2. Functions of political parties, especially in carrying out regeneration that produces qualified candidates and have electability in society, 3. High incumbent electability is a problem for political parties to be able to compete in contestation, so political parties became pragmatic in making coalition choices with several other parties.

Data collection techniques in this study refer to interview techniques (deep interviews) and library research (library research), a variety of written literature is used as data to strengthen the results of interviews, such as various books/literature, journals and mass media reports that are relevant to the problem and purpose research.

Data from in-depth interviews (in-depth interviews) as the main data is strengthened by literature study which will complement, control and confirm one another. Overall data will be presented in the form of a narrative analysis design that is equipped with a row and column of a matrix for quantitative data such as tables, graphs, diagrams and so on. Through the presentation of these data, the data is organized, arranged in a relationship pattern, so that it will be easier to understand (Sugiyono, 2012: 249).

Result

The problem of "single candidate" in the implementation of simultaneous local elections in Indonesia in 2018, in particular can be identified, namely because political parties are pragmatic and the strengthening of political cartelization by political parties from the center to the regions. Political parties in the region (Tangerang Regency, Lebak Regency, and Kota Tangerang) and Makassar City have created situations that lead to "single candidates".

This is reinforced by the view of Romli (2018) who explained that there were several factors that led to the emergence of a single candidate, namely the pragmatism of political parties; the failure of regeneration, the increasingly stringent requirements for candidates, and the high "political dowry". The victory of single candidates in the elections could hamper the local democratic process because the check and balances mechanism does not work.

In the case of Banten Province (Tangerang City, Tangerang Regency and Lebak Regency), political parties in the three regions did not want to take the risk by contesting fairly, because there were no candidates who had high electability such as incumbent candidates. On the other hand, in the case in Makassar City, initially, there were two candidates facing each other where incumbents advanced through individual channels, because the parties formed a large coalition to support other pairs of candidates from the political clans of Jusuf Kalla's family and Bangsawan Bone. Finally, the incumbent candidate was declared not fulfilling the requirements because he was considered to have carried out political mobilization by the Makassar State Administrative High Court, so the Makassar mayor election was only followed by a "single candidate".

Single Candidates in Banten Province (Tangerang City, Lebak Regency and Tangerang Regency).

During this political dynamics in Banten Province which is quite phenomenal is the problem of political dynasties inherent in Ratu Atut Chosiyah and Hasan Shohib's father, as the political implications of the implementation of decentralization within the framework of regional autonomy (Sutisna,2017:102). In its development the implication of implementing decentralization or regional autonomy in Banten Province is the emergence of the problem of "single candidate".

The phenomenon of "single candidate" that occurred in the simultaneous local elections in Banten Province has become a public concern, because three of the four elections in 2018 were dominated by single candidates, namely Tangerang City, Tangerang Regency, and Lebak Regency. The only region in Banten Province that did not bring up a "single candidate" was Serang Municipality. This is what distinguishes Serang City from the other three regions in Banten Province, namely all "single candidates" in these three regions are incumbents who have only served for a period and are able to re-nominate with high power and electability compared to new candidates submitted by a particular party. On the other hand, the city of Serang has served two terms so that it cannot run again.

The dominance of the "single candidate" in the Banten Pilkada illustrates the strength of efforts to maintain not Atut Chosiyah political clans, especially those that occurred in Lebak and Tangerang Regency. In the aftermath of the legal case that struck Atut Chosiyah, in the Lebak Regency, a Jayabaya political clan emerged, a name referring to Mulyadi Jayabaya, a former regent in power for two periods from 2003 to 2013. A single candidate from Lebak Regency Iti Oktavia was Mulyadi Jayabaya's son.

In the Lebak Regency elections in 2013, Jayabaya and Atut were involved in a direct battle, in which Jayabaya nominated his son Iti Octavia and Atut to support Amir Hamzah-Kasmin. Although Atut was very dominant in Banten politics at the time, Mulyadi's influence in Lebak was apparently impenetrable, so Iti Octavia won a landslide victory against Amir.

In Tangerang Regency, there is the Ismet Iskandar political clan, who had served as Tangerang regent for two periods between 2003 and 2013. Then Ismet Iskandar's family power was continued by Ahmad Zaki who won the Tangerang Regency Regional Election in 2013. Ismet Iskandar's power can be illustrated in the Regency Election Tangerang in 2013, where the Atut power network lost in Tangerang Regency.

The strength of the "single candidate" in the Pilkada in Banten Province (Tangerang City, Lebak Regency, Tangerang Regency), can be illustrated by a large coalition of supporting political parties namely:

Table. 1. The Coalition of Political Parties in Banten Province Election in 2018

No	Candidate pair	Regency/City	The Coalition of political parties
1	Ahmad Zaki Iskandar and Mad Romly	Tangerang Regency	PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, Demokrat, Hanura, PKS, PPP, PKB, Gerindra, PKPI, PAN, and PBB (12 parties).
2	Arief R.Wismansyah and Sachrudin	Tangerang City	Golkar, Demokrat, PDIP, PKB, Hanura, PPP, Gerindra, PKS, PAN, dan Nasdem (10 parties).
3	Iti Octavia Jayabaya and Ade Sumardi	Lebak Regency	Partai Demokrat, PDIP, Golkar, PAN, PKB, PBB, PKS, Hanura, Nasdem, PPP, dan Gerindra (11 parties).

(Source: Tangerang Regency KPU, Tangerang City KPU, and Lebak Regency KPU, 2018)

The table above can explain that political parties in three regions of Banten, namely Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City, and Lebak Regency carried out a coalition policy because they saw the strength of the candidates who happened to be incumbent to have higher electability compared to cadres who were planned to be carried by each party politics in the big coalition.

Single Candidate in Election of Regional Heads (Pilkada) of Tangerang City

Nailufar (2018, in tracing the history of the Tangerang region, data found during the Japanese occupation, namely the name Tangerang, first became the official name of a region in 1942-1945. After Indonesia's independence, the Tangerang area took the form of a district level II experiencing very rapid development. Its location directly adjacent to Jakarta makes several sub-districts bordering the center of government, economic, industrial, trade, political, socio-cultural activities. This is what underlies the government regulating the administration of government specifically through Government Regulation No. 50 of 1981 concerning the establishment of the administrative city of Tangerang.

In the 2013 Tangerang City Election, the figure of the pair Arief R. Wismansyah and Sachrudin emerged and won the regional election for the 2013-2018 term, against four other candidate pairs. The pair was supported by Democrats, PKB and Gerindra, won the victory with 48.01% of the vote.

In contrast to the Tangerang City Pilkada in 2013, the Tangerang City Election in 2018 attracted attention because it was only attended by one pair or "single candidate" namely Arief R. Wismansyah and Sachrudin who were supported by a large coalition of political parties namely Golkar, Democrats, PDIP, PKB, Hanura, PPP, Gerindra, PKS, PAN, and Nasdem (10 parties).

There is an interesting analysis of the attitudes of political parties in Tangerang City which are pragmatic in nature, which has led to the occurrence of "single candidates" in the Tangerang City Election. This was related to the attitude of the Wahidin Halim family clan who was serving as the Governor of Banten to Abdul Syukur as his family, who had paired with Hilmi Fuad. In the Tangerang City Pilkada in 2013, the couple Abdul Syukur-Hilmi Fuad who was promoted by Golkar received 187,003 votes (26.34%) in second place.

If you see the vote, actually Abdul Syukur has the chance to run again against Arief R. Wismansyah and Sachrudin in the Tangerang City Election in 2018. However, the potential for contestation is directly ignored by Golkar officials in this area, especially by Wahidin Halim who was the Governor of Banten.

The Deputy Chair of Tangerang City Golkar, Hapipi, explained his party's position that the decision not to bring cadres themselves as candidates for mayors, because the results of an internal survey showed the high electability of incumbent couples Arief-Sachrudin. Initially, the Golkar DPP had given a mandate to Sachrudin to become a candidate for mayor or candidate for mayor, but referring to the survey results indicated the possibility of being nominated as the first position (mayor) was not possible, so Sachrudin was approved to accompany Arief R. Wismansyah.

Political parties in Tangerang City have chosen to be pragmatic, not taking the risk when faced with potential incumbents who have a good track record of governance and have high electability.

The final results of the Tangerang City Election "single candidate" pair Arief R. Wismansyah and Sachrudin obtained 609,428 votes (85.62%) and empty boxes obtained 102,386 votes (14.38%). The victory of the pair Arief R. Wismansyah and Sachrudin only

received support from Tangerang City community participation 68.78% of the total number of permanent voters (DPT) 723,104 voters.

Single Candidate in The Election of Regional Heads (Pilkada) of Tangerang Regency

One of the three "single candidates" in the simultaneous regional elections in Banten Province in 2018 is Tangerang Regency which has one pair of regent candidates - deputy regent namely Ahmed Zaki Iskandar - Mad Romli who has the support of a large coalition of 12 political parties namely PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, Democrats, Hanura, PKS, PPP, PKB, Gerindra, PKPI, PAN, and PBB.

Ahmed Zaki Iskandar is a potential incumbent, who in the 2013 regional election won 55 with 46% defeating three other pairs. Ahmed Zaki Iskandar officially replaced Ismet Iskandar who was his biological father.

In the political development in Banten Province after the weakening of the Atut Chosiyah clan, it was found that the Mulyadi Jayabaya clan strengthened in The Lebak Regency and the strengthening of the Ismet Iskandar clan in Tangerang Regency. Ismet was a former Tangerang regent for two periods before his son Ahmed Zaki Iskandar won a victory in the 2013 elections. The family clan of Ismet Iskandar grew again, where his daughter, Intan Nurul Hikmah became Deputy Chairperson of the Tangerang Regency DPRD for the 2014-2019 period.

In the Tangerang Regency Election in 2018, Ahmed Zaki Iskandar as incumbent again ran for office again with a track record of his leadership during 2013-2018 which was considered quite successful so that he had a high level of electability. Special views are given by Ace Hasan Sadzili (Golkar DPP) who considers Ahmed Zaki to have the ability to be re-nominated as a candidate for the Regent of Tangerang, because as a party cadre who has good achievements.

On the other hand, the opportunity to nominate candidates from other parties other than Golkar, such as PDIP, is actually quite open, because PDIP has 10 seats so that it only needs to add 5 more seats through the coalition. alone, but this opportunity was not taken by PDIP. The reason stated by the Chairman of the PDIP Banten DPD was that the Party had encouraged cadres to advance in the Tangerang Regency Election, but the political reality was not supportive because the other parties were not willing to be invited by the coalition so that the PDIP took the policy of supporting potential incumbents.

Tohir (2018), the final result of the vote recapitulation in Tangerang Regency KPU, Ahmed Zaki Iskandar-Mad Romli, got a vote acquisition percentage of 83.72%, while the empty box received a vote of 16.28%. The victory of Ahmed Zaki Iskandar-Mad Romli only received the support of Tangerang Regency community participation 61.5% of the total number of permanent voter lists (DPT) 1,148,762.

Single Candidate in the Election of Regional Head (Pilkada) of Lebak Regency

Lebak Regency as part of Banten Province is now a concern, this is due to the emergence of the Jayabaya political clan that refers to Mulyadi Jayabaya, former Lebak Regent who was in power for two periods from 2003 to 2013. The single candidate incumbent who competed in the 2018 Election was Iti Oktavia Jayabaya, was a biological child of Mulyadi Jayabaya who was supported by a large coalition of 11 political parties namely Democrats, PDIP, Golkar, PAN, PKB, PBB, PKS, Hanura, Nasdem, PPP, and Gerindra.

If all this time Banten Province was known as a voice barn for Golkar with the dominant political power of the Atut Chosiyah family clan. After the fall of Atut who was

arrested by the Corruption Eradication Commission, the power of the not Atut family clan began to be known and had quite dominant power in other areas, such as in Lebak Regency. During this time the Atut Chosiyah clan was considered a symbol of the strength of Golkar in Banten Province, at this time there began to be a competitor with the strengthening of Mulyadi Jayabaya as a pioneer of the Jayabaya clan.

Interestingly, unlike Atut as a symbol of Golkar's strength in Banten, Mulyadi also became an important figure who became a symbol of the strength of PDIP in Banten Province. After stepping down from the leadership in Lebak Regency, Mulyadi Jayabaya had intended to try to run for the candidate for Banten Governor in the 2017 Banten Provincial Governor Election. But then Mulyadi shifted support to the pair Rano Karno-Embaya Mulya Syarif, who eventually lost to the Wahidin Halim- Andhika Harzumy.

The political strength of the Jayabaya clan in Lebak Regency was seen in the voice of Rano Karno-Embaya Mulya Syarif, who won a landslide victory over the Wahidin Halim-Andhika Harzumy pair. In the Lebak District Head Election in 2013 Mulyadi Jayabaya and Atut Chosiyah were involved in a direct fight, where Mulyadi nominated his son Iti Octavia Jayabaya, while Atut supported the couple Amir Hamzah-Kasmin. At that time Atut's power was very dominant in Banten Province, but Mulyadi's influence in Lebak Regency could not be defeated, so the victory of Iti Oktavia Jayabaya defeated Amir Hamzah-Kasmin.

Empirically, in the political development in Banten Regency, the development of the Mulyadi Jayabaya clan began to emerge as one of the new political forces replacing the Atut Chosiyah clan. The strength of the Jayabaya clan can be represented by the election of Mulyadi's son Mochamad Hasybi Asyidiki as a member of the DPR RI from PDIP for the period 2014-2019. Then Mulyadi's sister, Emuy Mulyanah became a member of the Lebak Regency DPRD and Agus R. Kisas became a member of the Banten Province DPRD for the period 2014-2019.

The strength of the Mulyadi Jayabaya clan originating from PDIP ultimately became the main factor in the emergence of "single candidates" in the Lebak Regency Election in 2018, namely the pair Iti Octavia Jayabaya-Ade Sumardi. The final result of the vote recapitulation of the Lebak Regency Election Commission refers to the plenary results of 28 sub-districts in Lebak Regency, the Iti Octavia Jayabaya-Ade Sumardi pair obtained a vote of 453,938 (76.96%) and an empty box with 135,879 (23.04%). In terms of political participation, this Lebak Regency Election in 2018 only received 65.46% of the 929,567 voters registered in the DPT.

Single Candidate in the Election of Regional Heads (Pilkada) of Makassar City

The phenomenon of the emergence of single candidates in the Makassar City Election has a special background that is different from other regions in Indonesia, especially with three "single candidates" in Banten Province (Lebak Regency, Tangerang Regency, and Tangerang City).

Initially, before the decision was made by the Makassar State Administrative High Court, the Makassar Regional Election was attended by two candidate pairs namely the pair Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi facing the pair Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto and Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti. But the pair Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto (incumbent) and Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti (Chair of the Makassar DPRD) who advanced through individual channels were declared not fulfilling the requirements so that the election of the mayor of Makassar was followed by a single candidate.

This happened when the pair Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi supported by a large coalition of political parties sued the nomination of the pair Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto and Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti to the Makassar State Administrative High Court. The reason is related to the government program of Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto which divides cellular

phones to neighborhood units (RT) and neighborhood units (RW). The actions of candidates from these incumbents are considered to influence the election of mayors and are considered as a form of political mobilization. The Makassar Administrative High Court granted the claim, so the pair Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto and Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti were disqualified, this decision resulted in the implementation of the Pilkada in Makassar City only followed by "single candidates".

The final result of vote acquisition refers to the provisions of the Makassar City Election Commission found that the empty box can defeat the "single candidate", namely the pair Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi obtained 264,245 (46.68%) and the empty box received 300,795 votes (53.32%). Empty cities won in 13 sub-districts from 15 sub-districts in Makassar City and "single candidates" Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi only won in 2 sub-districts namely Tamalate and Manggala. The political participation of the Makassar City community in the 2018 regional election was only followed by registered voters (DPT) of 584,406 (57.20%).

The victory of the empty box in the Makassar City Election was the concern of Indonesian political observers, because the phenomenon was quite interesting to be used as an analysis in the context of the special problems that occurred in the implementation of regional elections in Indonesia.

In general, the victory of this empty box is considered as a harsh criticism of the "single candidate" that is there, the pair Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi that they should approach the community as the sovereign holder rather than control the political parties that support it.

Referring to Law No. 10 of 2016 concerning Pilkada, the results of the Makassar KPU recapitulation cannot be sued to the Constitutional Court by the pair Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi as the losing party. This is regulated in detail in Article 158 paragraph (2) letter d. The regulation states that districts / cities with a population of more than 1 million, submission of disputes can be made if there is a 0.5 percent difference in the sound of the total vote is valid. While the empty column was superior to Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi with a difference of around 6 percent of the vote.

The rules regarding "single candidates" in Law No.10 of 2016, namely "single candidates" are declared winners if they get more than 50 percent votes from valid votes. However, if less than 50 percent win a blank column, it means that no candidate has been elected. If this happens, the government assigns the acting governor, acting regent/acting mayor. Especially for the city of Makassar, the repetition of the Pilkada won by an empty box must wait for the next simultaneous local election, namely the Pilkada in 2020. The victory of the empty box is part of the manifestation of the sovereignty of the people of Makassar in the 2018 elections.

Analysis

The table below is the result of votes from the Banten Provincial Election (Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City, and Lebak Regency) and community political participation, namely:

Table 2. Results of Voting Results for Single Candidates for the Banten Province Election of 2018

No	Name of Single Candidate Pair	City /District	Party-Coalition Supporting Party	Voice Acquisition	Political Participation

1	Ahmad Zaki Iskandar and Mad Romly	Tangerang District	PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, Democrat, Hanura, PKS, PPP, PKB, Gerindra, PKPI, PAN, dan PBB (12 parties).	941.804 (83,72%)	61,5% from 1.148.762
2	Arief R. Wisnansyah and Sachrudin	Tangerang City	Golkar, Democrat, PDIP, PKB, Hanura, PPP, Gerindra, PKS, PAN, dan Nasdem (10 parties).	609.428 (85,62%)	68,78% from 723.104
3	Iti Octavia Jayabaya and Ade Sumardi	Lebak District	Partai Democrat, PDIP, Golkar, PAN, PKB, PBB, PKS, Hanura, Nasdem, PPP, dan Gerindra (11 parties).	453.938 (76,96%)	65,46% from 929.567

(Source: Tangerang Regency KPU, Tangerang City KPU and Lebak Regency KPU, 2018)

Referring to the table above, it can be analyzed that all "single candidates" from Banten Province (Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City, and Lebak Regency) are incumbents who do not have competitors because they are considered successful during their leadership. This has encouraged and justified parties in the region to join a large coalition. The results of votes obtained from the elections in these three regions (Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City, and Lebak Regency) show that the vote acquisition is quite high, namely above 75%. On the other hand, in terms of political participation, the community refers to the DPT in the range below 70%.

The table below is the result of the vote in the Makassar City Election (South Sulawesi Province) and the political participation of the community, namely:

Table 3. Results of Voting for the Single Candidate of the 2018 Makassar City Election 2018

No	Name of Single Candidate Pair	City/District	Party-Coalition Supporting Party	Voice Acquisition	Political Participation
1	Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi	Makassar City	Gerindra, Golkar, Hanura, NasDem, PAN, PBB, PDIP, PKPI, PKS, dan PPP. (10 parties)	264.245 (46.68%)	57,20% from 584.406
2	Empty box	Makassar City	-	300.795 (53,32%).	

(Source of KPU Makassar City, 2018)

Based on the above table it can be analyzed that the "single candidate" in the Makassar City Election is an elite (Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi) who comes from the Jusuf Kalla family clan and the Bone nobleman who sued the couple Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto (incumbent) -Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti, so the KPU family Makassar City establishes a "single candidate". In contrast to the results of votes in Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City and Lebak Regency which were won by a "single candidate", in the results of the vote in the Makassar City Election the winner was an empty box, defeating the "single candidate" which was fully supported by a large coalition of parties politics, with the political participation of the people of Makassar City at 57.20%.

Discussion

Addressing the empirical phenomenon in the issue of "single candidates" in the simultaneous regional elections in 2018, problems can be identified including: The problem starts from the nominating stage, namely the existence of a nominating threshold for political parties and individual candidates. This threshold regulation causes political parties do not have the ability to compete openly to carry cadres or figures who are considered capable of becoming candidates for regional heads, so they prefer to build coalitions only to fulfill requirements or vote in the nomination process.

Terms of nomination must also be completed with the existence of a maximum seat limit or vote for political parties in forming a coalition in carrying out a pair of candidates for regional head. This is very important to prevent the support of political parties from happening, compared to the minimum threshold requirements that actually foster political dowry practices. The bearer party often requires high dowry to the candidate and the existence of a strong incumbent, resulting in other candidates will recalculate to advance as candidates.

The phenomenon of "single candidate" is the impact of the existence of criteria in the law regarding the terms of support, especially for individual candidates (independent), referring to the decision of the Constitutional Court September 29, 2015, which stipulates that individual candidates must collect 10 percent KTP in areas with the number of permanent voter list (DPT).

The emergence of "single candidates" is an empirical phenomenon regarding the weakness of political education and political regeneration carried out by political parties from the central and regional levels, so that political parties do not have qualified cadres to be promoted in regional elections, even if the party has qualified cadres but cannot "Sold" because it does not have high electability.

In general, the emergence of "single candidates" in the period of direct elections in 2015, 2017 and 2018 turned out to be dominated by incumbents. This happened because there were several factors, namely the incumbent was considered successful in his reign and mastered the sources of support that came from various elements of society. The position of an incumbent is strong, causing parties in the regions to prefer incumbent candidates rather than new candidates whose electability is still in doubt.

Conclusion

In understanding the main factors that drive the occurrence of "single candidates" in Banten Province (Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City and Lebak Regency), it turns out to have differences with the factors of the occurrence of "single candidate" in Makassar City (South Sulawesi Province).

In general, the main problem of the occurrence of "single candidates" in the implementation of the elections in Indonesia in 2018 is starting from the candidacy stage, namely the existence of threshold nominations for political parties and individual candidates

which causes political parties in Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City (Banten Province) and Kota Makassar (South Sulawesi Province) does not have the ability to compete openly to bring cadres or figures who are considered capable of becoming regional head candidates, so they prefer to build coalitions only to meet the requirements or vote in the nomination process.

Then the bearer party often requires a high dowry for the candidate and the existence of a strong incumbent candidate, resulting in other candidates will recalculate to advance as a candidate. This happened in Tangerang Regency (Ahmad Zaki Iskandar-Mad Romly), Tangerang City (Arief R. Wisnansyah-Sachrudin) and Lebak Regency (Iti Octavia Jayabaya and Ade Sumardi), where the incumbent candidate did not have a competitor from cadres or figures from another party.

In the case of the Makassar City Election, incumbent candidate (Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto-Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti), advanced through individual channels and was able to meet the requirements of the Constitutional Court (MK) regarding the terms of support conditions by collecting a KTP of 10 percent in areas with permanent voter lists (DPT). On the other hand, his potential opponent (Munafri Afifuddi-Rachmatika Dewi) is supported by a large coalition of political parties because of the support factor of the dominant family clan in control of politics and economy in Makassar City. The case of a "single candidate" in the Makassar City Election occurred because one of the candidate pairs, Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto (incumbent)-Indira Mulyasari Paramastuti was disqualified. So that the case of "single candidate" Makassar City is different from the case of "single candidate" in Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City and Lebak Regency.

In general, the problem of "single candidate" in the elections in Indonesia from 2015, 2017 and 2018 is a picture of the failure of political parties to regenerate. So that political parties in Indonesia from the central to the regional level are pragmatic and neglect their basic functions to present a democratic climate through political contestation. Cases of "single candidate" in the elections, the problem lies with the nominating political parties, because political parties in Indonesia are managed with kinship ties

Suggestion, regeneration issues must be carried out seriously by political parties at the regional or central level to prevent the absence of candidates who have the capability and electability when dealing with incumbents who have strong political, social and economic modalities.

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