SINGLE CANDIDATES AGAINST THE EMPTY BOX; ON REGIONAL HEAD ELECTIONS 2020 IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT. Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) on 2020 have a positive effect on the implementation of a constitution and at least democracy for measuring political participation, the elections that were held after reform started from a Regional Head who was elected by the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), then elected directly by the community (one man one vote). The direct election then became a simultaneous election in all parts of Indonesia. Until the latest development, namely the presence of a single candidate. The Single Candidate then implies the Empty Box as a companion because there are no candidates or no eligible candidates. This consequence must be accepted due to the Direct-Simultaneous Election system with the threshold record regulations as full of regional head nominations. This gave birth to various interests of political elites and party elites playing in it so that party elites inevitably intervened to whom the letter of recommendation would be given, or consolidation at the elite political level had agreed on a political dowry which then gave birth to a single candidate. This research uses qualitative methods with comprehensive analysis through data collected from the General Election Commission (KPU) and previous research. This paper examines the main factors that gave birth to a single candidate and the political elite's role in compiling the party's recommendation letter. The hypothesis that can be seen from the phenomenon of fighting empty boxes is the political dowry factor and the party cadre system's ineffectiveness in producing leader candidates.

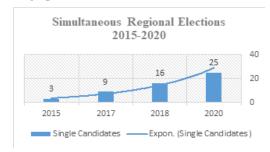
Keywords: Single Candidates; Empty Box; Money Politics; Campaign Costs

INTRODUCTION

Regional Head Election (Pilkada), simultaneously held on December 9, 2020, was attended by 270 regions throughout Indonesia, covering nine provinces, 224 regency, and 37 cities (kpu.go.id, n.d.) The holding of direct regional head elections (Pilkada) by the people and simultaneously is an effort of the Indonesian nation to improve the quality of local Democracy and regional governance, following the post-New Order democratization agenda (Patarai, 2019). Robert A. Dahl stated in On Democracy (1998) that Democracy will provide opportunities for the people for effective participation; equality in voting; get clear understanding; carry out final oversight of the agenda; and coverage of adults (Dhal, 2001). Democracy means putting the people as parties who participate in the plans carried out by state administrators to reach political decisions. The people, consisting of several individuals, have the authority to decide their struggle. Muhammad Idris Patarai (2019) expressed his opinion on Democracy, namely: "Democracy is a government that comes from the people so that the power of government is also in the hands of the people. Therefore, with the highest power held by the people, the people have things to protect, regulate, and defend themselves from coercion by others. Democracy through regional head elections functions to accommodate the bottom-up leadership selection process and minimize the birth of leadership dropped from above or is top-down (Aspinall, 2017).

Regional head elections is a manifestation of democratic people's sovereignty and as a means of channeling people's aspirations towards government (Rosanti, 2020). Regional head elections is expected to improve the quality of independence and people's participation because the people can determine and choose the best candidates in fighting for their interes (Ahmad, 2017; Arasid et al., 2022). However, the elections have recently experienced a significant setback; this is evidenced by the appearance of a single candidate every time a regional election is held. A single candidate is rooted in the threshold regulatory system and the failure of political parties to carry out the cadre function. Political parties also tend to be pragmatic and choose instant or widespread candidates for fear of losing (Hanafi, 2014).

The simultaneous regional elections 2020 are the fourth batch of regional head elections followed by 270, with nine provinces, 224 regency, and 37 cities. There are 25 regions with a single candidate fighting an empty box (kpu.go.id, n.d.). The phenomenon of a single candidate in each regional election continues to experience a significant increase. This can be seen in the graph below.



Source: kpu.go.id, 2021 Modified by author

Figure 1. Regional Head Election with Single Candidates 2015-2020

The potential for a single candidate is expected to continue to increase at every second election event; this is base on data from the last four election events, which shows that the percentage of single candidates against empty boxes continues to increase. The existence of political elites' fact that can collect political parties' recommendations or coalitions beyond the required seats causes the remaining political parties to be insufficient to carry the candidate pair (Kurniawan & Wawanudin, 2019). The nomination that ends in a single candidate is a setback from democracy because democracy involves two dimensions, namely competition and participation of all levels of society (Muhammad, 2017).

Many factors cause the phenomenon of a single candidate and the emergence of an empty box at each election event, but the author will focus on two issues, namely; Firstly, the political costs to become a candidate for the regional head in the provincial election requires a hefty fee for campaign costs and so on, but what is always a hot issue is the political dowry that is requested or given to the supporting party. This political dowry is challenging to find because candidate pairs are not open and political parties are also closed; this political dowry is believed to exist but still needs critical data and studies to prove it (Arianto, 2018). Second, the process of party regeneration did not go well, resulting in instant cadres who then had to pay political fees to get a recommendation letter; political elites and parties then played these two things to give birth to a single candidate against the empty box (Harahap, 2017). Research that written by (Lestari, 2019) regarding general elections and empty boxes is more focused on juridical reviews, while research that written by (Widyasari, 2019) about elections and empty boxes is more focused on analyzing community involvement in winning empty boxes than single candidates. This research is interesting because its focuses more on the role of political party elites who compromise to give birth to a single candidate in regional elections. So that every year the number of single candidates increases. With a large number of political parties in Indonesia, there should not be a single candidate in the regional head election. This research was conducted to see how the influence of political dowry and the process of party regeneration in producing a single candidate who is oriented towards victory.

METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach using data from reliable sources, including the General Election Commission, the Election Supervisory Board, international and national journals, proceedings, and information from the website. Qualitative

research methods emphasize problem analysis in nominating regional heads, supporting parties, and political dowries based on accurate data. Through a qualitative approach, the researcher is expected to comprehensively explain the problems related to the regional elections, which in turn give birth to a single candidate (Jamaluddin, 2015).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Emergence of a Single Candidate in Regional Head Elections 2020

Several things can show that the emergence of a single candidate is closely related to the pragmatic nature of political parties (Edward Aspinall and Sukmajati, 2016). One of them is the cartelization of political parties. The cartelization of political parties is a condition in which differences in party ideology are no longer a determinant of party support for the candidates it will promote (Garzia & Ferreira da Silva, 2021). Political parties are willing to share "power" as long as it provides them with an advantage and victory. This political party cartelization is also used by political elite actors and incumbents who have political power and economic resources to deter and tackle opponents who are considered potential winners by gaining support from political parties. Political elites and incumbents have lobbied and set up in various ways to get all recommendations from political parties as a condition for nomination; this is related to political dowries and flawed party cadre system.

Regional Head Election 2020 was held simultaneously on Wednesday (9/12/2020), attended by 270 Regions, with 25 regency and cities having only one candidate or candidate pair fighting an empty box. In the 2020 Pilkada there are six parties that make their cadres as a single candidate in regional elections.

Table. 1 Party supporting single candidates

No	Party			
1	PDIP - Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (Indonesian			
	Democratic Party of Struggle)			
2	PKB - Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Resurrection			
2	Party)			
3	Golkar - Partai Golongan Karya (Golongan Karya Party)			
4	Demokrat - Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)			
5	PPP - Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development			
3	Party)			
6	Nasdem - Partai Nasional Demokrat (Democratic National			
	Party)			

Source: kpu.go.id, 2021

Based on data from the central General Election Commission (KPU), Provincial KPU and regency or city KPU have carried out the registration extension process in the regions. A single candidate only follows, however, until the deadline for renewal of registration, no one else has registered in the 25

regency or cities, so whether or not the regional head elections must be held with a single candidate (kpu.go.id, n.d.). The phenomenon of a single candidate should be interpreted as a setback in the process of consolidating democracy in Indonesia. Democracy requires competition and participation (Ahlskog, 2021). A single candidate does not create a competitive democratic system because people do not have the option to compare the ideas, ideas, vision-mission, or work programs offered, so that it is likely to impact the decline in the level of community participation. Regional head elections with a single candidate can be seen in the table 2.

The phenomenon of a single candidate in global elections usually occurs in areas with a small number of voters. In areas with an insignificant number of voters, political parties are generally not too betting on their existence (Ahmad, 2017). This is because political parties think that a small number of voters will not affect the party's existence as a political institution (Bhavnani & Jensenius, 2019). However, in Indonesia, a single candidate occurred in areas with many voters and happened in the middle of a multi-party system where the existence of political parties was essential in carrying out candidates. Even though a single candidate pair

Table 2. List of single candidates

No	Regency or City	Name Candidate for Regent or Mayor	Name Candidate for Vice Regent or Mayor		
1	Regency of Manokwari Selatan	Markus Waran PDIP Cadre	Wempi Welly Rengkung Golkar Party Cadre		
2	Regency of Pegunungan Arfak	Yosias Saroy Nasdem Party Cadre	Marinus Mandacan PDIP Cadre		
3	Regency of Raja Ampat	Abdul Faris Umlati Demokrat Party Cadre	Orideko Iriano Burdam Non-Party		
4	Regency of Gowa	Adnan Purichta Ichsan Golkar Party Cadre	Abdul Rauf Malaganni PDIP Cadre		
5	Regency of Soppeng	Andi Kaswadi Razak Golkar Party Cadre	Lutfi Halide Nasdem Party Cadre		
6	Regency of Mamuju Tengah	Aras Tammauni Golkar Party Cadre	Muhammad Amin Jasa Non-Party		
7	City of Balikpapan	Rahmad Mas'ud Golkar Party Cadre	Thohari Aziz PDIP Cadre		
8	Regency of Kutai Kartanegara	Edi Damansyah PDIP Cadre	Rendi Solihin Golkar Party Cadre		
9	Regency of Sumbawa Barat	W. Musyafirin PDIP Cadre	Fud Syaifuddin PPP Cadre		
10	Regency of Badung	I Nyoman Giri Prasta PDIP cadre	I Ketut Suiasa Non-Party		
11	Regency of Kediri	Hanindhito Himawan Pramono PDIP Cadre	Dewi Maria Ulfa PKB Cadre		
12	Regency of Ngawi	Ony Anwar Harsono Golkar Party Cadre	Dwi Rianto Jatmiko PDIP Cadre		
13	Regency of Boyolali	Said Hidayat PDIP Cadre	Wahyu Irawan Non-Party		
14	Regency of Grobogan	Sri Sumarni PDIP Cadre	Bambang Pujiyanto Non-Party		
15	Regency of Kebumen	H. Arif Sugiyanto, S.H Non-Party	Ristawati Purwaningsih PDIP Cadre		
16	City of Semarang	Hendrar Prihadi PDIP Cadre	Hevearita Gunaryanti Rahayu PDIP Cadre		
17	Regency of Sragen	Kusdinar Untung Yuni Sukowati PDIP Cadre	Suroto PKB Cadre		
18	Regency of Wonosobo	Afif Nurhidayat PDIP Cadre	Muhammad Albar PKB Cadre		
19	Regency of Humbang Hasundutan	Dosmar Banjarnahor PDIP Cadre	Oloan Paniaran Nababan Non-Party		
20	Regency of Gunungsitoli	Lakhomizaro Zebua PDIP Cadre	Sowa'a Laoli Non-Party		
21	Regency of Pematang siantar	Asner Silalahi Non-Party	Susanti Dewayani Non-Party		
22	Regency of Pasaman	Benny Utama Golkar Party Cadre	Sabar A.S. Demokrat Party Cadre		
23	Regency of Ogan Komering Ulu	Kuryana Azis Nasdem Party Cadre	Johan Anuar Golkar Party Cadre		
24	Regency of Ogan Komering Ulu Selatan	Popo Ali Martopo PPP Cadre	Sholehien Abuasir Non-Party		
25	Regency of Bengkulu Utara	Mian PDIP Cadre	Arie Septia Adinata Nasdem Party Cadre		

Source: kpu.go.id, 2021

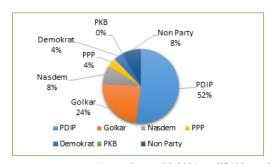
has the power of law regulated by the constitution, the phenomenon of a single candidate shows that the implementation of democracy in Indonesia is experiencing a setback (Darmawan, 2017). Instead of improving the quality of democracy at the local level, the emergence of the phenomenon of a single candidate in simultaneous regional elections is an anomaly for the implementation of democracy itself.

PDIP cadres still dominate the single candidate in regional head elections 2020. Even though it has not solved Indonesia's problems fully, PDIP remains the most favorite choice for the Indonesian people. We can see this from the victories of the PDIP in various regions, both in the 2019 legislative and presidential elections or in the regional head elections in 2020. The militancy and popularity of PDIP cadres in multiple areas have become essential assets in winning the polls so that other parties do not dare to fight. As a result, a single candidate is created whose majority is controlled by PDI cadres. We can see this in the table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of single candidates for party cadres

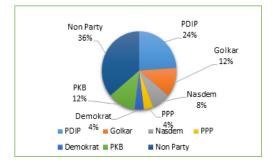
No	Political Parties	Regent or Mayor	Vice Regent and Mayor	Total
1	PDIP	13	6	19
2	Golkar	6	3	9
3	Nasdem	2	2	4
4	PPP	1	1	2
5	Demokrat	1	1	2
6	PKB	0	3	3
7	Non Party	2	9	11

Source: kpu.go.id, 2021



Source: kpu.go.id, 2021 modified by author

Figure 2. Percentage of party cadres becoming of single candidates for regent and mayor



Source: kpu.go.id, 2021 modified by author

Figure 3. Percentage of Party Cadres Becoming of Single Candidates for Vice Regent and Mayor

In table 2, the majority of 25 single Candidates pairs for Regent or Mayor and Vice Regent or Vice Mayor come from PDIP cadres, with 13 cadres being the sole candidate for regent and mayor and six-party cadres becoming candidates for vice regent or mayor at the election. Regional head 2020. The Golkar Party has six cadres as the single candidate and three cadres as the deputy candidate in second place. In third place, there is the Nasdem Party, with two-party cadres being the single candidate and two cadres being the representative candidates. Then, there are PKB, Democratic Party, and PPP, who are also the pioneers of the emergence of a single candidate.

Based on the data above, we can conclude that the PDIP is still the leading pioneer in creating a single candidate in regional head elections. PDIP, which has been in power for two periods, has made it easier for its political elites to consolidate with other political parties so that it can be possible for the role of this political elite to help gather the support of all parties and a single candidate was born in the 2020 regional head election.

PDIP became the dominant party in the single candidacy in the 2020 elections, it was influenced by the PDIP factor which became the ruling party, so the political elite took advantage of this situation to get support from central party administrators, for example, the single candidate in Kediri Regency, East Java (Hanindhito Himawan Pramono) was the son of Pramono Anung who served as Cabinet Secretary of Indonesia in Cabinet of President Joko Widodo's government and a close person to the General Chair of the PDIP. In addition, Kediri Regency has become one of the PDIP bases so that other parties are easier to compromise and cooperate.

Political Dowry in Regional Head Elections 2020

Political dowry can be interpreted as a gift from a person who wants to run for regional head to a political party; this is done to get a recommendation letter and support from a political party (Utami et al., 2020). The public defines a political dowry as an underhand transaction or an illicit deal that involves the provision of large amounts of funds from candidates for the elected office in large numbers in regional head elections with the political party as the political vehicle. Regional heads are nominated by political parties or a combination of political parties (Aminah, 2020). In addition to the interest of buying recommendation letters, political dowry was also agreed between prospective candidates and supporting parties for political costs, namely the campaign and winning process (Rosanti, 2020). This includes survey activities, procurement of socialization tools and campaign props, bureaucratic party

machines, transportation and accommodation for volunteers, and direct giving money to voters (*Serangan Fajar*).

The politics of dowry creates deviations in democracy. Suppose democracy is in the interests of the people. In that case, dowry politics makes democracy more oriented towards the party giving the dowry. The party prefers to nominate someone who is financially strong than one who has integrity (Arianto, 2018). The practice of political dowry has eroded the principles of equality and healthy competition. The direct democracy process is hijacked by a handful of people or families (local strongman) who have substantial financial resources or have vital access to party elites (Nodeh & Gerayli, 2020). The process of nominating regional heads is no longer based on the integrity and competence of figures, but shifts to the pile of money that can be deposited into political parties as part of the political costs, so that good people with high integrity and superior competence must be marginalized. Political recruitment has been hijacked like that has led to figures who lack integrity and competence but quickly move onto the regional election contestation stage and become regional heads, either regents or mayors (Budiyanto, 2020).

Political dowry is constantly raised by regional head candidates who fail to get a political party recommendation letter (National Kompas, n.d.). For example, in the 2020 provincial election, the issue of political dowry was revealed by the former candidate for Regent of Sumenep, Madura, East Java, Achmad Yunus, who tried to advance in regional head elections 2020 nomination, acknowledging that there was a political dowry. Yunus failed to get a party recommendation because he could not pay the political dowry set by the political parties (journalinakor, n.d.). Yunus also said that the primary variable to get recommendations from political parties is the bag's contents (money).

Achmad Yunus said that he had gone through all the registration process with the party to get a recommendation letter and was supported as a candidate for regent of Sumenep, but he failed because he was unable to pay the political dowry required by the party (Mediaindonesia, n.d.), Yunus emphasized that there is a political dowry;

"Yes, political dowry or buying seats for a political party is confirmed. Some range from 100 million IDR for one chair to 1 billion IDR for one seat. This is an actual practice in Indonesian political parties, "said Yunus during a discussion with Indonesian Media Journalist Ahmad Mustain at the Journalist on Duty event, which was broadcast via live Instagram @mediaindonesia, Monday night (21/9/2020)."

In his nomination process, he admitted that he was not asked about the vision and mission by the leadership of political parties starting from the regency level (DPC) to the central level (DPP) (Mediaindonesia, n.d.). Transactions in the form of political dowries are suspected to be the most significant component of financing for a candidate in the regional elections (Lestari, 2019). This was also conveyed by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Indonesia Tito Karnavian, during a meeting with Committee I of the Regional Representatives Council (DPD) of the Republic of Indonesia at the Parliament Complex, Senayan, Jakarta, Monday (11/18/2019). At that time, Tito said that the significant costs incurred by the regional head candidates, among others, were for the sake of obtaining a political vehicle from the party (political dowry). According to Tito, a candidate for regency head, if he does not have IDR 30 billion, he will not dare to go forward in the regional head elections and for the governor candidate even bigger. So, "If someone says they don't pay, zero percent, I want to meet the person," said Tito as reported (detik.com, n.d.).

Indications of political dowry are still occurring in regional head elections 2020; this is reflected in the statement of the Regent of Jember Faida. This incumbent candidate, who refused to register through political parties and chose the path of individual candidates, made his statement when he was a speaker at a Cakra Wikara Indonesia webinar discussion held on August 25, 2020. At the discussion, Faida complained that a regional head candidate must spend billions of money to get a recommendation letter for a political party. Simultaneously, the regent's salary is only an average of IDR 6 million plus incentives. According to Faida, the billions of nomination costs make it difficult for a regional head to become an upright leader when elected (cakrawikara.id, n.d.).

In Law number 8 of 2015, this political dowry implicitly falls into the prohibited money politics category. It is threatened with fines, even cancellation of nominations (Article 47, paragraphs 1-6) (Kpu. go.id, n.d.). The prohibition of political dowry or whatever the term is if it contains the substance of buying and selling party support for the sake of regional election candidacy will undoubtedly be subject to sanctions, but the Election Supervisory Body itself finds it challenging to reveal the practice of political dowry (Patarai, 2019). This was conveyed by a Member of the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), Ratna Dewi Pettalolo, in a virtual discussion held on Wednesday (22/7/2020). Ratna admits that it is difficult to prove the practice of dowry politics in a regional election. Political dowries tend to be limited and secret (Bawaslu.go.id, n.d.). To prove the existence of a political dowry, there must be an acknowledgment from the giver that he spent a certain amount of money (with solid evidence, for example, a stamped agreement letter) so that the giver and recipient can be subject to criminal sanctions (Utami et al., 2020). So far, only one party has disclosed the secret out of disappointment, but there is not enough evidence that it cannot be processed.

A large number of single candidates in the 2020 regional elections, allegedly due to political dowries, was also highlighted by Ratna Dewi Pettalolo, a member of Bawaslu RI. Ratna assessed the rise of the phenomenon of single candidate pairs due to the problem of political dowry (Aluisia Prita Parahita, 2019). According to Ratna, it is likely that a political dowry will occur if there is deliberate conditioning. Many political parties support one pair of candidates and closing the opportunity for an opposing candidate to advance in the regional elections (Bawaslu.go.id, n.d.). Therefore, Bawaslu asked its regional staff to look for indications of the practice of political dowry. Bawaslu hopes that the public will report if they find allegations of political dowry in the regional elections.

The Failure of the Cadre of Political Parties

The increasing number of single candidates in the 2020 regional elections is believed to be part of the failure of the regeneration system. Political parties are one of the pillars that affect the quality of a country's democracy (Patarai, 2019). Political parties are considered to be the only channeling institutions for national leaders and state officials because political parties have a role, political recruitment. The recruitment pattern is formed by the relationship between the availability of candidates looking for political careers and the selection process set by political parties (Scarrow, 2005).

There are two patterns of political party recruitment; the first is a vertical pattern, namely party recruitment is carried out hierarchically with a structural path within the party organization (Arnesen et al., 2021). Besides, this recruitment is also related to organizational career paths that are not easily achieved; the recruitment process is based on skills, abilities, and political careers determined based on the achievement or performance of cadres. In general, parties will elect party cadres who have been proven to have worked for the party for a long time.

The second is the lateral pattern. Namely, the recruitment is opened to all individuals, both inside and outside the party. New cadres can enter as candidates to challenge incumbents or senior cadres who have long been in the party (Arnesen et al., 2021). This recruitment process is carried out in a decentralized manner, starting from selecting

potential candidates at the regional to central level, starting from candidates for mayor or regent to governor. In this pattern, the party organization can determine who is the right candidate to be nominated as regional head. This lateral recruitment pattern is then widely used by party elites, resulting in many instant cadres in regional head elections (Widyasari et al., 2019). Besides, recruitment using this pattern is then used to nominate a person with significant capital to finance general elections, ultimately resulting in a political dowry. In the end, political parties did not look at cadres but looked at who used to give political dowries; the political elite then used this by collecting recommendation letters from all parties so that a single candidate emerged.

Political parties that are supposed to prepare regeneration or cadres who will become human resources in the democratic process in regional head elections, political parties have recently been united in supporting a pair of candidates for the regional head (single candidate) so that there is no contestation in general elections and society. Have no other alternative options (Arianto, 2018). Suppose a political party as a source of national leaders does not have a good recruitment pattern and regeneration mechanism. In that case, it will undoubtedly raise various problems, one of which is that the regional head election will only be controlled by someone who is in power or has a significant capital (Harahap, 2017). As a result, the function of political parties has changed; which was previously a political organization that functions in political recruitment and subsequently recruiting politicians, now it has become a "ticket" provider for actors with significant funds to become leaders. The political recruitment process that has not been running as it should be can be seen from the non-objective selection of cadres. The process is carried out no longer prioritizing the community's needs but fulfilling individual and group needs (Patarai, 2019). Procedures such as the provision and screening of political candidates or cadres are not working correctly. Weak political recruitment patterns have resulted in this country, both in the central and even regions, led by officials and politicians, who do not comply with standards, capabilities, technical, administrative, and moral capabilities. Ideally, political parties must have strong relationships with the community, social movements and social forces, so that parties can emerge as strong leaders and have integrity (Guo, 2020).

CONCLUSION

The Regional Head Election (Pilkada), held on December 9, 2020, was attended by 270, with 25 single candidates winning against empty boxes.

The direct election of regional heads in all regions of Indonesia, which has been completed, provides a glimpse of the decline in democracy experienced by some areas. This is indicated by the presence of a single candidate, which leaves the public with no other alternative in choosing a regional head candidate. Political dowry and the ineffectiveness of the party cadre system in producing regional leader candidates are some of the main factors for the emergence of a single candidate in the 2020 elections. The high political costs, from dowries for obtaining party recommendation letters to campaign costs to win political contestation, are a severe problem in every regional head election. The process of nominating regional heads cannot be separated from political transactions. To get a recommendation letter for a political party alone, a candidate for regional authority must pay a dowry of up to billions of rupiah. This is what then hinders potential candidates with integrity from advancing in regional head elections. As a result, many regional head candidates have banned letters of recommendation, and a single candidate appears in the regional head election.

Apart from that, the emergence of a single candidate was also caused by the failure of the regeneration process of political parties. At each regional election, the party lacks cadres as figures with integrity as candidates for the regional head. As a result, political parties prefer to form coalitions and support cadres of other parties in a regional election contest. As we can see from the analysis of this article, most of the 25 single candidates in the 2020 elections are dominated by PDIP cadres and Golkar Party cadres. Suppose there is no improvement in this democratic process. In that case, it is not impossible that every election of other parties will only become supporters and are afraid to become competitors. Even though in a democracy, there needs to be contestation. Therefore, the government must have the courage to improve the regional head election system so that there will no longer be a single candidate in the election. Finally, the authors would like to thank's to the team of the Jurnal Bina Praja, hopefully the results of this research can be useful in science.

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