

Political Party Pragmatism: The Emergence of Single Pair in Ngawi Regency Head Election

Danang Eko Prastya^{1*} , Titin Purwaningsih² , Zuly Qodir³ 

^{1,2,3}Master of Government Science, Department of Government Affairs and Administration, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, DIY, Indonesia

*Correspondence : danang.eko.psc20@mail.umy.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to determine the emergence of a single pair in the regional head election of Ngawi Regency in 2020. The research uses descriptive qualitative methods to describe the facts of existing symptoms or phenomena. Data collection is carried out by tracing scientific journals, government reports, regulations, mass media news, and other articles relevant to the emergence of a single candidate in the head of the local election. Data analysis was carried out by reducing, presenting data, and drawing conclusions. The study results show that the large coalition of political parties supporting the pair Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko with the tagline "OK Win Together" has a pragmatic and victory-oriented tendency to gain power. This pair is supported by the majority of parties in the Ngawi Regency DPRD, with 45 seats. There are ten supporting political parties, including PDIP, GOLKAR, PKS, GERINDRA, PKB, NASDEM, Demokrat, HANURA, PAN, and PPP. This large and majority coalition's built-in support of the pair Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko shows the tendency of the party to ignore its ideological platform and desire to win to present a single pair in the 2020 regional head election in Ngawi Regency



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INTRODUCTION

The direct election of regional heads can be said to be implementing principles in good governance, namely the involvement of public participation. The community can directly determine its leader through local head elections ([Legowo, 2005](#); [Setiawan et al, 2018](#)). Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution stipulates that governors, regents, and mayors are each head of democratically elected provincial, district, and city-regional governments. With sovereignty in the hands of the people, it can be used to convey political aspirations in regional head elections to influence regional policies and futures ([Yuristianti, 2018](#)). Simultaneous regional head elections (Pilkada) in Indonesia have been held since 2015. The elections then continued in 2017, 2018, and 2020. Although the implementation went smoothly, voters exercising their voting rights were in the spotlight. The level of public participation in exercising their right to vote is still low in implementing the regional head elections from 2015 to 2018. Voter

participation in 2015 was 69,14%, then in 2017 it was 74,2% and in 2018 it was 73,25% so it was below the 75.5% target set by the KPU ([Harahap, 2016](#)).

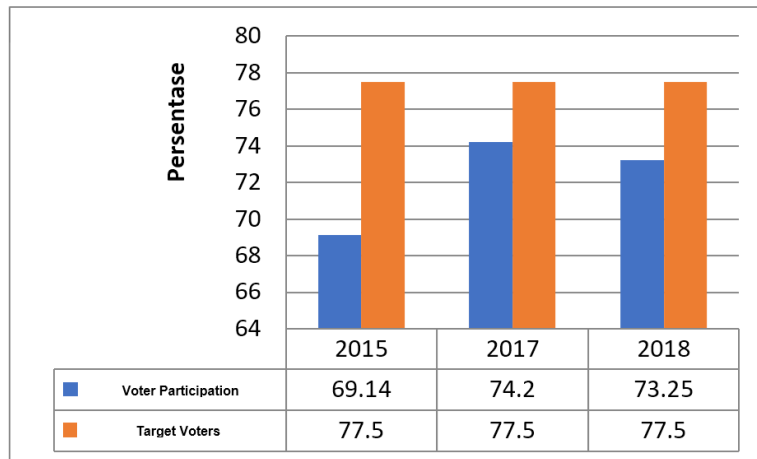


Figure 1. Simultaneous Election Voter Participation. Source: processed by researchers, 2020 ([Andayani 2018](#); [Coil 2017](#); [Priyasmoro 2017](#))

Not only voter participation but the presence of a single partner is also a particular concern. Although it does not conflict with the constitution, it is homework for political parties to form a coalition and carry out their cadres ([Sari, 2020](#)). In three simultaneous regional elections from 2015 to 2018, the number of single candidates has increased ([BBC Indonesia, 2020](#)). While the simultaneous regional elections in 2020 took place in 270 regions, there were 25 single candidates ([Nugraheny, 2020](#)). Ngawi Regency is part of the region that will carry out regional head elections in 2020 ([Seconds 2019](#)). However, the 2020 elections are considered different from the previous elections. The reason is that there is no competition in the contest because of the emergence of a single pair, namely Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko ([KPUD Ngawi, 2020b](#)). Previously, the implementation of regional elections from 2005 to 2015 was always followed by more than one pair of candidates competing. In 2005 there were four pairs of candidates, then in 2010, there were five pairs of candidates, and in 2015 there were two pairs of candidates for regional heads ([Intana, 2010](#); [Tempo, 2005](#); [Wibisono, 2015](#)).

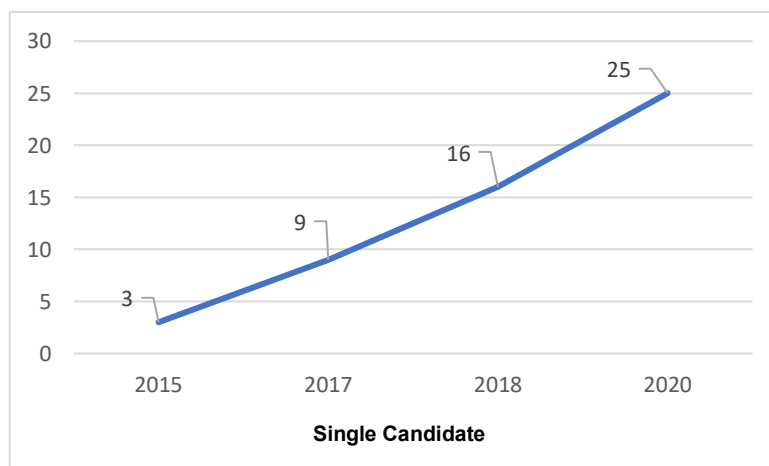


Figure 2. Single Candidate for Simultaneous Pilkada. Source: processed by researchers, 2020

The lack of pairs of candidates competing is a concern for the role of parties in building coalitions or carrying out their own best cadres ([Wartoto, 2020](#)). The party cadre is considered to have failed, and the party's involvement in the pilkada is interpreted as a formalistic political vehicle ([Paskarina, 2016](#); [Romli, 2018](#)). In addition, the low promotion of qualified cadres in political competition illustrates the failure of political parties in providing political education to their cadres ([Lestari et al., 2019](#)). Parties tend to support the strongest candidates who have survey results and muscular financial strength. In addition, the strengthening of certain parties and dominance in the acquisition of votes or seats raises the "scare effect" for parties that might nominate their candidate ([Lay et al., 2017](#)). The acquisition of party seats in the previous three legislative elections for the Ngawi Regency DPRD tends to be controlled by certain parties. The seats for political parties in Ngawi Regency are as follows;

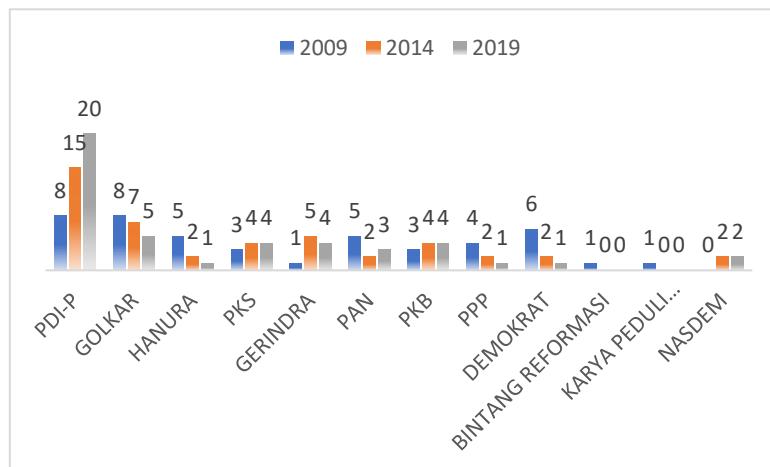


Figure 3. Membership of the Ngawi Regency Legislative Election Party. Source: Data processed by the author, 2020 ([KPUD Ngawi, 2009, 2019; Purwanto, 2014](#))

Seeing the party's seat acquisition in 2019 doesn't make it challenging to build a coalition or carry out its cadres to advance in the contestation. Although there is a tendency to gain seats that lead to certain parties, it does not become an obstacle for building coalitions. However, in the 2020 Pilkada, a large coalition and the majority of parties supported specific candidate pairs, namely Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko. This pair has the support of all parties that have seats in the Ngawi Regency DPRD, with 45 seats. Therefore, it is interesting to pay attention to the pattern of a coalition built by the party supporting the pair Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko. General elections can be interpreted as a forum for the people to fill positions in both the executive and legislative branches for a certain period. In the country's management, the implementation of democratic elections is an essential and primary requirement ([Respationo, 2013](#)). As a mandate from the reform of the implementation of regional head elections (pilkada) it has been held directly since 2005 2005 ([Haris, 2005a:57](#)).

The emergence of the Pilkada immediately became the spirit and one of the efforts to restore the political rights of the people who were previously represented by those who sat in the seats of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). The community has now become an important actor in the electoral process. With their sovereignty, the community can become the main party involved in the political process by giving their voting rights to candidates for regional heads ([Usfinit et al., 2015](#)). The community directly and openly has the right to use their votes in choosing their regional head ([Pehingirang et al., 2018](#)). Active and ideal participation from the community must be accompanied by high responsiveness. Can foster political confidence in the elected regional heads to make policies according to the community's needs ([Suyatno, 2016](#)). The presence of the Pilkada is still a critical discourse considering that the Pilkada has a positive or negative impact on the development of

democracy ([Meyliana & Erowati, 2020](#)). Affan Gaffar explained that the indicators of the success of democracy include; first, elected public officials must be able to account for their policies.

Second, the rotation of power as a regional head recruitment process must be carried out in a sustainable, orderly, and peaceful manner. Third, the rotation of power requires an open political recruitment system. Fourth, the recruitment of political positions must be carried out through elections and carried out regularly, competitively, honestly, and fairly. Fifth, every society must enjoy broad fundamental rights, such as the right to express opinions, assemble, associate, and enjoy a free press ([Gaffar, 2006](#)). With the presence of the Pilkada, it is hoped that it will produce regional leaders who have the capacity and capability to serve the community ([Marijan, 2010:183](#)). Simultaneous local elections are held following the mandate of Law no. 8 of 2015 and have been going on since 2015. This election then continued in 2015, 2017, 2018, 2020, and it is hoped that simultaneously nationally in 2027. The spirit of efficiency and effectiveness is the bearer of this simultaneous regional election. However, holding simultaneous local elections is still a problem ([Harahap, 2016](#)).

The emergence of a single candidate pair is a particular concern and can threaten the degree of democracy in the region. Since it was held in 2015, three single candidate pairs have colored the simultaneous regional elections. Then the simultaneous regional elections in 2017, there are nine single candidate pairs. Even the number will be 16 in 2018, and in 2020 it is estimated to be 25 ([Nugraheny, 2020](#); [Romli, 2018](#)). After the decision of the Constitutional Court No. 100/PUU-XIII/2015, the existence of a single candidate pair can still compete in the regional head election ([Wardana, 2016](#)). Pilkada as a form of democracy is still carried out to meet the community's needs for leaders who regulate in their regions ([Nurhalimah, 2017](#)). Although it is not against the law, the increase in a single candidate raises attention to the function of political parties in creating new figures and their cadres. In determining coalitions and candidate pairs, parties tend to be pragmatic because they are oriented towards victory ([Ekowati, 2019](#); [Sari, 2020](#)). The party cadre is considered to have failed, and the party's involvement in the Pilkada is interpreted as a formalistic political vehicle ([Paskarina, 2016](#); [Romli, 2018](#)).

In addition, the low promotion of qualified cadres in political competition illustrates the failure of political parties in providing political education to their cadres ([Lestari et al., 2019](#)). On the other hand, political dowries and an expensive nomination process are still issues that arise in implementing simultaneous local elections ([Romli, 2018](#)). Therefore, a legal framework is needed to guarantee maximum support for candidates supported by political parties or in combination with coalitions to minimize monopolies or groups in providing support to candidates for regional heads ([Tanjung & Saraswati, 2019](#)). Political parties can be said to be pragmatic when they prioritize short-term interests by ignoring the values or ideological platforms held by the party. In making a decision, political parties are indeed based on their Articles of Association and Bylaws. By having a standard of normative values, a party can be used as a party in the management process, regeneration, and promotion of its cadres. This standard of normative values then becomes the party's platform or ideology in politics ([Norris, 2006](#)).

Party pragmatism can occur when the role of ideology or value standards is no longer considered in decision-making. It is undeniable that the Pilkada has made the party pragmatic because it is oriented towards winning results. Profit and loss orientation is a short-term consideration by building coalitions that tend not to pay attention to the party platform ([Mahadi, 2011](#); [Samnuzulsari et al., 2018](#)). A pragmatic party can be seen in the formation of coalitions in carrying candidate pairs in the regional elections even though ideologically they look different from the others ([Harris 2005b](#)). Theoretically, there are approaches commonly used to describe coalition building, namely office seeking and policy seeking ([Laver, 1998:5](#)). Office Seeking view of rational choice and play. The party is analogous to a single entity that tends to be calculative-oriented and gain power alone ([Back, 2005](#)). The number of seats is an essential concern in the preparation of the coalition. Meanwhile, Policy Seeking sees the party

as a single entity and commitment and loyalty in a particular ideology used to influence and make actual policies ([Yudiatmaja, 2015](#)).

Not only the number of seats but the future policy plan is the primary concern in building a coalition. This approach is also supported by a veto player who can emphasize coalition-building ([Tsebelis & Ha, 2014](#)). Veto players can play the leading role of solid people in coalition building and policy direction ([Budi, 2013](#)). Although office seeking and policy seeking can be used in building coalitions, it should be noted that political sects or even party ideologies tend not to become the basis for political parties when building coalitions. In direct local elections, cross-party coalitions in Indonesia often do not follow the standard pattern of ideological grouping ([Lay, 2007](#)). Direct regional head elections can make political parties often put aside the ideological platform and pragmatic orientation of power as the basis for forming coalitions ([Pratikno, 2009](#)) with the potential for greater profits and victories, it can be the party's determination to support or form a coalition for the pair of candidates promoted in the Pilkada ([Noor, 2014](#)). In its development, some models or typologies are carried out by parties in building coalitions.

Coalition size and orientation to power can be a model in coalitions. In terms of size, small and large coalitions can be formed, while ideological and pragmatic coalitions can be formed ([Makhasin, 2016](#)). From this typology, four schemes can be formed, namely, the formation of small and ideological coalitions, small and pragmatic, large and ideological, and large and pragmatic. In addition, large coalitions can form in support of the majority of parties to support when there is one figure who has high electability ([Nurhasim, 2018](#)). It can happen if candidates from strong incumbents and/or other candidates have high electability. The coalition of the majority of the supporting parties can lead to a cartel coalition because of the ambition to win the election and minimize the fear of losing in the contestation ([Nurhasim, 2018](#)). There is no denying the existence of incumbent candidates and party considerations in providing support because they have several advantages. Incumbents have long been known by the public, making it easier for them to get public support.

In addition, they also have access to resources used for their benefit in maintaining support, both through policies and the use of public budgets. On the other hand, the incumbent has a great chance in the election for several reasons: privileges, media exposure, and fundraising advantages ([Egner & Stoiber, 2007](#)). In addition, access to power that has been obtained while serving as the regional head can be used to play his relationship with the executive with the legislature in the region ([Zuada et al., 2020](#)). It allows direct local elections to provide more significant opportunities for incumbents to build political dynasties to perpetuate their power ([Purwaningsih & Widodo, 2020](#)). Political conditions and situations like this can make political parties use all their resources to win regional head election contestations. The pragmatic attitude taken by the party can cause three problems. Among others, the memory of voters will be weak because of the party's contribution to politics, the tendency of parties to work at a minimum, and can lead to deadlocked political channels between citizens and the state ([Aminuddin and Ramadan 2015](#)).

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach to describe the facts of the object under study. descriptive research and tend to use analysis. This method can be used to solve problems that occur in the present with existing data and facts to provide an overview of the symptoms or phenomena that occur ([Prasetyo & Jannah, 2016](#)). Data collection is done by browsing scientific journals, government reports, regulations, mass media news, and other articles relevant to the emergence of a single candidate in the pilkada. Data analysis is done by reducing, presenting data, and drawing conclusions ([Sugiyono, 2014](#)). In addition, the data was analyzed using Nvivo 12 Plus software to view the 2020 Ngawi Regional Election Cloud Word. Nvivo 12 application as a tool for processing and analyzing qualitative data. The results of NVivo are then analyzed in depth in accordance with Political Party Pragmatism The Emergence of Single Pair in Ngawi Regency Head Election.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Dynamics of Regional Head Election of Ngawi Regency.

Ngawi Regency held direct regional head elections from 2005 to 2015. The 2005 regional head election was attended by four pairs of candidates who contested, and 4 party coalitions support candidate pairs. The following is a list of coalition parties for the 2005 post-conflict local election as safe in the following table

Support Party	Candidate Pair Name Nama
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PDIP • GOLKAR • PPP • PKS 	Harsono and Budi Sulistyono
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PAN • Demokrat • PKPI 	Oesodo Hadidjojo and Sugiho Pramono
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alliance of 15 Political Parties 	Marsahid and Hery Setiawan
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PKB 	Budijono and Soedariono

Table 1. 2005 Regional Election Party Coalition. Source: Data processed by the author, 2020

The regional head election in 2005 was won by the pair Harsono and Budi Sulistyono with 224,225 votes out of a total of 427,262 people. At the same time, the voices of the other three pairs are below it. The pair Oesodo Hadidjojo and Sugiho Pramono came in second with 139,266 votes or 32%. While in third place is the pair Marsahid and Heri Setiawan with 34,731 or 8.1%. The pair Budijono and Soedariono finished last with 11,040 votes or 2.6% ([Tempo, 2005](#)). Until the end of the election, the couple Harsono and Budi Sulistyono became the winners and were entitled to sit as Regent and Deputy Regent of Ngawi ([Diskominfo Ngawi, 2005](#)). The implementation of the 2005 Pilkada resulted in problems faced by the KPUD and the election supervisory committee. The election supervisory committee firmness is considered lacking because it only provides a warning for violations that occur. Meanwhile, the appointment of PT. Mahardika by KPUD as a company that prints votes is considered less transparent and does not have an open bid.

On the other hand, the high abstention rate was 31% or 207 thousand from 655,790 selected vote lists. The socialization of the election stages is less than optimal, and the lack of public awareness of the candidates affects the low voter participation. The community needs to be involved in supervising the election stages to maximize the performance of the KPUD and election supervisory committee ([Hendrayanto, 2008](#)). The Pilkada then continued in 2010 with five competing pairs of candidates participating ([Intana, 2010](#)). Some incumbents returned to participate in this election, namely, Budi Sulistyono, the deputy regent in 1999-2004 and 2005-2010. Budi Sulistyono stepped forward and was accompanied by Ony Anwar Harsono, the son of Harsono, the Regent of Ngawi, from 1999 to 2010. Apart from the incumbent, there were also candidates from the individual or independent path. The following is the coalition of parties in the 2010 regional elections, as shown in the following table.

Support Party	Candidate Pair Name
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PDIP • GOLKAR • PKS • PAN 	Budi Sulistyono and Ony Anwar Harsono
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democrats, Alliance of Non-Parliamentary Political Parties 	Maryudhi Wahyono and Suratno
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HANURA 	Tri Suyono and Suramto

Support Party	Candidate Pair Name
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PPP, PKB 	Ratih Sanggarwati and Khoirul Anam
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual/Independent 	Mohammad Rosidi and Siti Amsiyah

Table 2 Party Coalition Pilkada the year 2010. Source: Data processed by the author, 2020

The voting held on 12 May 2010 again won the incumbent candidates, namely Budi Sulistyono and Ony Anwar Harsono. The pair received 222,588 votes or 54.38%, placing its position in the first place. Meanwhile, the pair Maryudhi Wahyono and Sunarnto took second place with 99,059 votes / 24.20 percent. The third place was the pair of Ratih Sanggarwati and Khoirul Anam with 58,310 votes or 14.24%. Then the fourth place got 18,444 votes / 4.51 percent occupied by the pair Tri Suyono and Suratmo. The next couple Mohammad Rosidi and Siti Amsiyah, ranked last with 10,939 or 2.67% ([Intana, 2010](#)). Pilkada in 2015 only participated by two pairs of candidates who competed. Another pair of candidates from independent or individual paths emerged, namely Agus Bandono and Adi Susilo. Meanwhile, the other incumbent pairs are competing again, namely Budi Sulistyono and Ony Anwar Harsono. The pair is supported by a large coalition of supporting parties ([Wibisono, 2015](#)). The parties supporting the 2015 regional head election candidates are shown in the following table.

Support Party	Candidate Pair Name Nama
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PDIP • PKS • GOLKAR • PKB • GERINDRA • PAN • NASDEM • Demokrat • HANURA 	Budi Sulistyono and Ony Anwar Harsono
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual/Independent 	Agus Badono and Adi Susilo

Table 3. Party Coalition Pilkada 2015. Data processed by the author, 2020

The results of the elections held on December 9, 2015, were won by the incumbent pair. The pair Budi Sulistyono and Ony Anwar Harsono emerged as winners with 454,041 votes or 87.65%. This victory is the second victory achieved by the incumbent pair. Meanwhile, his competitors, Agus Bandono and Adi Susila, only received 63,958 votes or 12.35% ([Sudarmojo, 2015](#)). The next election in 2020, although it has been postponed due to the Covid-19 pandemic, will continue with voting on December 9, 2020 ([Watra, 2020](#)). This election is considered different from the previous one because of a single candidate pair, namely Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko. This pair supports all parties, with 45 seats in the Ngawi Regency DPRD ([Manar, 2020](#)). The supporting parties are shown in the following table.

Support Party	Candidate Pair Name Nama
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PDI-P • PKS • PKB, • GOLKAR • GERINDRA • NASDEM 	Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko

Support Party	Candidate Pair Name Nama
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PAN • HANURA • Demokrat • PPP 	

Table 4. Party Coalition Pilkada 2020. Data processed by the author, 2020

Table 4 shows that the pair of Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko, carried by the PDIP Party, have no competitors because they have all the support of seats in the Ngawi Regency DPRD. Looking at the composition of seats in the DPRD, other parties can carry out their best cadres and build coalitions to compete. However, the strength of the candidate pairs Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko was a consideration for the party not to carry its cadres. This pair has political capital and bureaucratic experience as well as good popularity so that it discourages other parties to nominate their best cadres ([Abidin, 2020](#); [Dwiono, 2020](#); [Safutra, 2020](#)). Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko were nominated as candidates for regent and deputy regent after receiving a recommendation from the PDIP DPP. Recommendations are given after going through the screening and screening process carried out by the PDIP party.

These results are then communicated with other political parties, community organizations, and leaders in Ngawi. In principle, PDIP invites all political parties to support the pair jointly, Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko ([Jalil, 2020](#)). Garner's support from other parties also builds political communication by screening and screening other Ngawi DPRD, such as Nasdem, PKS, PAN ([Febri, 2020](#); [Setiawan, 2020](#); [Wachid, 2019](#)). The PDIP Party as the supporter for the pair Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko, managed to build a coalition with the majority of political parties that have seats in the Ngawi DPRD. By declaring "OK Win Together." Faced with an empty box on the December 9, 2020 voting, this single pair won an absolute victory by gaining 471,082 votes or 94.42%, while the empty box got 27,831 votes or 5.58% of the total votes received by 531,323 votes ([KPUD Ngawi, 2020a](#)). This victory led them to become regents and deputy regents of Ngawi district for the 2021-2026 period.

Pragmatic Coalition Election of Regional Head of Ngawi Regency.

Large coalitions that lead to party pragmatism in supporting candidate pairs were seen in the 2015 regional elections. 2 pairs of candidates competed in 2015 regional elections. There were incumbent pairs namely Budi Sulistyono and Ony Anwar Harsono, who support a large coalition with nine parties with seats in the DPRD, including the PDIP, PKS, GOLKAR, PKB, NASDEM, HANURA, PAN, Democrat, and Gerindra parties. The coalition supporting the pair has a total of 43 seats out of 45 seats. Only one party does not carry a candidate or is in the opposition, namely the PPP party. Meanwhile, the competitors from this incumbent pair advanced through the individual route, namely the pair Agus Bando - Adi Susilo. This condition shows that parties tend to ignore ideological platforms and are only power-oriented ([Makhasin, 2016](#); [Nurhasim, 2018](#)). The formation of a powerful coalition took place at the 2020 regional election. The contest was only followed by Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko. The pair has the support of the majority of parties in the DPRD.

He was carrying the coalition with the tagline "OK Win Together" this couple was supported by ten parties with a total of 45 seats. The majority of parties that support this pair include PDIP, PPP, Democrat, Hanura, Nasdem, PAN, Gerindra, PKB, PKS, and Golkar. The experience of past coalitions is a consideration for the party in carrying out candidate pairs. The coalition that has been built is clearly like the grand coalition in the 2015 local elections but leaves no other parties in the opposition. A coalition tagline, "OK Win Together," also shows the party's desire to achieve victory and minimize losses ([Nurhasim, 2018](#)).

development of an area both transportation and construction. On the other hand, it also creates happy and prosperous conditions for its citizens and oversees regional conditions that are always continuous both in terms of quality and quantity of people in the area. The regional head election in Ngawi Regency from 2005 to 2015 was attended by more than one pair of regional head candidates. However, the implementation of the 2020 Pilkada is different because only Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko appear as a single pair. This pair is supported by the majority of parties in the Ngawi Regency DPRD, with 45 seats. There are ten supporting political parties, including PDIP, Golkar, PKS, Gerindra, PKB, Nasdem, Democrats, Hanura, PAN, and PPP. This large and majority coalition that was built to support the pair Ony Anwar Harsono and Dwi Rianto Jatmiko shows the party's tendency to ignore its ideological platform and the desire to win presents a single pair in the 2020 Pilkada in Ngawi Regency.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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