

“POLITICAL CONTESTIOUS AS POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IN INDONESIAN ELECTIONPATI DISTRICT 2017 LOCAL ELECTION”

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ABSTRACT:

The problem of a single candidate is seen as an anomaly in the function and form of pragmatism of political parties which was built solely for the sake of winning the elections. This coalition based on momentary interests shows the weakness of political parties over the vision that should be a platform for struggle and benchmarks in conducting political maneuvers. This phenomenon raises political contestious among actors who are members of volunteers of KotakKosong (Empty Box) against a single candidate as happened in Pati District Election in 2017. In order to be able to analyze more deeply, the research method used is descriptive qualitative. The results of the study showed that the political contestious dynamics in the 2017 elections involved actors who were relatively the same as the 2012 elections, but in the 2017 elections the actors who faced were no longer candidates for regent or deputy regent, but between local actors who were members of volunteers of KotakKosong against incumbent as the winner of the 2012 elections.

Keywords:

Contestious Politics, Political Behavior, Regional Head Elections, Single Candidates, Volunteers of KotakKosong

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INTRODUCTION

This article explores the contestious dynamics of politics that occurred in the Singular Election in Pati District in 2017. We examine how in a feud of actors involved interacting dynamically with each other. The phenomenon of a single candidate is considered as an anomaly in the function of political parties which appears as a form of pragmatism in addressing pairs of candidates which are electable too strong (Aini et al., 2019). The strategy adopted by political parties in the lead-up to the elections by forming a coalition became the easiest strategy to achieve victory in a multiparty political system.

There are two approaches in the perspective of the rational choice theory that can explain the reasons for political parties to do coalitions, namely office-seeking and policy-seeking (Laver, 1998). The characteristics of the office-seeking coalition model are fluid, not

permanent. This justifies a practical political adage that states that in politics there are no eternal friends or enemies, there are eternal interests. In the context of democratic coalitions that are built with office-seeking motives are considered very detrimental to the constituents. Political parties are considered to deny the constituents' trust by changing the alignments of coalitions that have the same platform to coalitions that have different platforms. This is in accordance with (Brazil & Riker, 1963) who assumed that the coalition of political parties was driven by a desire to gain power in both the executive and legislative domains (office seeking), but ideally, in a certain degree, the party should consider achieving the essential goal of achieving more ideal goals in the form of policy known as policy seeking.

Based on data from the 2017 General Election Commission (KPU), almost all regions that hold simultaneous local elections in 2017 are

won by a single candidate pair, namely: 1) TulangBawang Barat Regency, Lampung by 96.75 percent; 2) TebingTinggi City, North Sumatra 71.32 percent; 3) Pati Regency, Central Java at 74.51 percent; 4) Buton Regency, Southeast Sulawesi by 55.07 percent; 5) Kota Jayapura, Papua by 84.34 percent; 6) Landak Regency, West Kalimantan, 96.86 percent; 7) Central Maluku Regency, Maluku by 70.78 percent; 8) Sorong city, West Papua 78.9 percent; and 9) Tambrauw Regency, West Papua, by 85.98 percent) (KPU, 2017). Generally, the candidate pair wins above 70 to 90 percent, except for Buton Regency which only won 55.07 percent (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kabupaten Pati Tahun 2017*, n.d.)

The absolute victory of the elections with a single candidate pair confirms that political parties hold strategic positions as democratic institutions that successfully carry and encourage someone's nomination to occupy the political office. One of the regions carrying out a single election in 2017 is Pati Regency. A single and incumbent candidate pair is carried by eight out of nine political parties that have seats in the Pati Regency DPRD. The consideration is that besides being more popular, incumbents are also believed to have more resources than new competitors. This makes it easy for political parties to realize short-term interests of winning the elections.

The fact that political parties prefer carrying a single candidate can be related to the opinion of (Katz, n.d.), that the main goal of parties is to safeguard their interests and for that the major political parties without regard to ideological similarities and political platforms can coalesce to perpetuate the interests they were together to remain in power, which became known as the cartel party. The coalition which was built solely for the sake of winning this victory shows the weakness of political parties over the vision or ideology that should be a platform for struggle and benchmarks in making policies and conducting political maneuvers. The coalition, which tends to be based on interests just

prior to determining the candidacy, is seen as a middle way to accommodate the interests of party idealism and its coalition partners. Pragmatism is understood as a political behavior that is adapted to practical goals rather than ideological (Heywood, 2017). This pragmatism is getting stronger as the desire to remain in the domain of power or government.

There are four motives that encourage parties to do coalitions, namely: First, ideological motives namely to realize ideological beliefs. Second, at the lower level is the importance of realizing the agenda (Maselena et al., 2019). This second motive can be said to be a derivative of a more adaptive, contextual, and compromise ideology. Third, there is a common view of the ideal figure of a leader (Seftyono et al., 2018). This motive is not entirely based on ideological or strategic matters, but merely because the figure is considered capable of answering the problem at hand. Fourth, opportunistic-practical. This reason is not based on ideological interests, agents

Democracy, Single Candidate Election, and Non-Party Networks

Five criteria for democracy as a political idea according to (Dahl, 1985): (1) equality of suffrage in determining binding collective decisions; (2) effective participation, namely equal opportunities for all citizens in the collective decision-making process; (3) disclosure of the truth, namely the existence of equal opportunities for everyone to provide a logical assessment of the course of political and governance processes; (4) final control over the agenda, namely the existence of exclusive power for the community to determine which agenda should and should not be decided through the government process, including delegating that power to other people or institutions that represent the community; and (5) inclusion, i.e. the coverage of the community including all adults in relation to the law. In this definition, Dahl seems to emphasize the involvement of the community in the process of policy formulation, the supervision of power and

the guaranteed equality of state treatment of all citizens as the basic elements of democracy.

Carter (Carter & Herz, 1982) defines democracy as limiting power. While Ebenstein and Fogelman (1987: 185) see democracy as an appreciation for a number of freedoms which are then detailed in the following conceptual criteria: (1) rational empiricism; (2) individual interests; (3) instrumental theories about the state; (4) the principle of volunteerism; (5) the law behind the law; (6) emphasis on the matter of methods; (7) deliberation and consensus in human relations; and (8) all human equality. All of these criteria are put by Ebenstein and Fogelman in the context of respecting the freedom of each person in expressing themselves and their interests.

The joining of political parties supporting candidates who no longer consider the similarity of ideology and platforms or the so-called rainbow coalition has sacrificed the interests of constituents to get the best leaders and is limited to the political calculations of party elites without evaluating the performance especially of the incumbent. The position of the elite as someone who determines the fate of cadres in general becomes difficult to the dam. The opportunity for elitism or personalization in the candidate selection process is getting bigger because internal party rules tend to provide opportunities for party elites. Besides the political costs that must be provided by candidates, the situation creates a candidate's dependence on the financial network of the elite and the oligarchs. They act as sponsors who finance the needs of contestation as a result of exclusive political agreements with elites or oligarchs.

The election with a single Paslon actually still provides alternative choices for people who do not agree with the vision and mission offered by a single pair by selecting a blank column on the ballot paper. In accordance with Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning Second Amendment to Law Number 1 of 2015 concerning Establishment of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2014 concerning Election of

Governors, Regents and Mayors, that a single candidate can be appointed as a regional leader, if successfully obtaining 50% + 1 vote from the total valid votes, if the conditions are not met then the implementation of the elections will be repeated from the initial stage.

Weaknesses in this law are not yet regulated regarding the Empty Column, along with socialization and campaigns. On the other hand, political parties are free to campaign and this is assumed to be a form of injustice that eventually led to Volunteer of Kotak Kosongs in the Pati District Election in 2017 which had a role in campaigning Kotak Kosong. The phenomenon of the emergence of voluntary groups is also meaningful, where in reality the existence of non-party networks is effective in raising public opinion and contributing to the political preferences of the community (Noor, 2018).

Political and Election Behavior

There are at least three approaches that have been the basis for reading voting behavior, namely The Columbia Study, The Michigan Model, and Rational Choice (Bartels, 2012); (Roth, 2008). These three approaches are better known as sociological, psychological and rational choices. In addition, there are also different approaches developed by (Lau & Redlawsk, 2006), namely rational choice, early socialization, fast and frugal, and bounded rationality. In this paper, only briefly describe the first three approaches as a basis for understanding voting behavior in the case under study.

The Columbia Study was pioneered by Lezarsfeld in 1940. The Columbia Study came to be better known as a sociological model or approach. The sociological approach shows that there is an influence between sociological values attached to the individual that influences one's behavior in politics. Sociological values in the form of religion, social class, ethnicity, region, family tradition and others (Bartels, 2012).

The next voting behavior approach is The Michigan Model, a method for finding out voting

behavior that developed in the early 1950s. The Michigan Model came to be known as a psychological approach whose full description can be seen in "The American Voter" (1960) written by (Campbell et al., 1980), Converse, Miller, and Stokes. In contrast to the sociological model, in the psychological model, there is a psychological attachment/drive that shapes a person's political orientation. The psychological bond is caused by a feeling of closeness with the party or candidate. Individual perceptions and assessments of candidates or themes raised (short-term influence) greatly influence election choices. The last behavioral choosing approach is the rational choice model. A rational choice is an approach to choosing behavior which is a critique of two existing approaches, namely the sociological and psychological approaches. There is anxiety that scientists see changes in voting behavior that cannot be explained by the two approaches. The theoretical background for the explanation of this approach departs from economic theory (Mujani et al., 2012); (Bartels, 2012). This model is an attempt to explain voting behavior related to political-economic parameters. The premise is simple, if the assumption of rational choice can explain the market, then this can also explain the political function.

Volunteers of KotakKosongin Pati Election in 2017

The term KotakKosong does not exist in the Pilkada regulations, but the practice in the field of the community is more familiar with the term compared to the Empty Column as opposed to a single candidate pair. KotakKosong is a term proposed by Effendi Ghazali when submitting a judicial review of Law Number 8 Year 2015 concerning Pilkada, article 49 paragraph (8) and (9), article 50 paragraph (8) and (9), article 51 paragraph (2), Article 52 Paragraph (2) and Article 54 Paragraph (4), Paragraph (5), Paragraph (6) to the Constitutional Court (MK) so that 2015

will continue, even though there is only 1 (one) pair of candidates so that the people's voting rights are guaranteed in the 9 December 2015 Election.

Volunteer of Kotak Kosongs are community groups supporting the Empty Column. Volunteer of Kotak Kosongs are not included in the interest group, because they are incidental and formed before the election. This mention is considered in accordance with the opinion of (Tarrow, 2011) which mentions a movement that is not formally organized, with clear leadership, a hierarchy of objectives, and decision-making entities are not interest groups. The objective of the Volunteer of Kotak Kosongs is limited to being a place to accommodate different choices, as stated by the secretary of the Volunteer of Kotak Kosong alliance stating, "the goal of establishing a Blank Box volunteer group is to make groups that do not fit the candidate pair. So the alliance is to make different choices. " This group is temporary and dissolves after the 2017 elections are over.

The opposition of Volunteer of Kotak Kosongs in the Pati district single election in 2017 became a unique phenomenon of social movements that emerged since Indonesia held a simultaneous local election in 2015. The social movement conducted by the Volunteer of Kotak Kosongs is not new, given a study of the effects of elections on social movements concluded that election general has created opportunities that stimulate the growth of new social movements. The phenomenon of this movement has arisen related to the persistence of this group to campaign for Kotak Kosong not found in other regions in Indonesia that are equally holding elections with a single Paslon.

The term KotakKosong does not exist in the election regulations, but the practice in the field of the community is more familiar with the term compared to the Empty Column to refer to opponents from a single candidate pair. The election with a single Paslon actually still provides alternative choices for people who do not agree with the vision and mission offered by a single

paslon. A single candidate pair was born from a rainbow coalition of political parties that no longer considered the common ideology and platform of the party or preferred pragmatism to win.

Volunteers of KotakKosong were born as a form of community protest with the existence of a party oligarchy that led to the occurrence of a single candidate pair in the elections as well as being ridden by an interested elite. The position of the blank column as a contestant on the ballot paper does not necessarily make the supporting volunteers the status of a successful team, because the regulations are contested democracy, not uncontested democracy, resulting in the overall implementation of the Pilkada only for the candidate pairs and does not reach the Kotak Kosong as a competitor of single candidate pairs in Pilkada

Actors behind the Kotak Kosong include non-party political elites and political party political elites. For the non-party political elite in the 2017 elections the victory of an empty column makes the way for contestation in the next period open. For party elites, the decision of a candidate carried solely on the results of an exclusive political agreement of the elite or oligarchs in addition to the consideration of incumbent electability based on a survey conducted becomes the party's elite's reason to prefer carrying a single candidate rather than his own cadres. The consideration is that besides being more popular, incumbents are also believed to have more resources than new competitors. This makes it easy for political parties to realize short-term interests of winning the elections.

Contentious Politics Pati Regency Election in 2017

Contentious politics, according to Charles (Lichbach, 1998), is "the use of disruptive techniques to make a political point, or to change government policy". The intended disruptive technique is actions that disrupt normal activities in the community. According to (Lichbach, 1998),

contentious politics is a movement from culture to structure, from collective behavior and relative deprivation to resource mobilization and the mobilization of resources and political processes. Contentious politics is not a social movement, but the initial stage of the emergence of a movement. Contentious politics that surfaced on the 2017 elections is a continuation of the 2012 elections that succeeded in placing the incumbent in the first period of office. If the first period, each candidate competes as a pair of regents and deputy regents, then in 2017 the incumbent will try to maintain its position as the number one person in Pati Regency.

Contentious politics in the 2017 elections has emerged since the emergence of Volunteer of KotakKosongs at the end of 2016, a few months before the PatiPati election in 2017 takes place. Aside from being a form of protest over party oligarchy that causes a single pair of candidates, there are also other factors originating from individuals or actors who share a sense of fate, common interests, and efforts to protect each other from intimidation by a single pair stronghold. With its ability, the actors succeeded in mobilizing and convincing the grassroots community, that winning the KotakKosong is the only alternative that can be done to bring change for the better.

Contentious politics volunteer Empty squares against Paslon are embryos of social movements as a joint effort to increase or oppose changes in a society, having different membership characteristics from the party. If political party membership is based on membership cards, membership in a social movement is very fluid (Killian, n.d.); (Tarrow, 2011); (Gittler, 1957); (Lichbach, 1998); (Sztompka, 2007). All group activities can be categorized as social movements, if it is not institutionalized from various members of the community who are not represented and move in the flow of interaction that is at odds with the elite or the opposition, this means that social movements always consist of a number of individuals who are dissatisfied and want to make

changes and then transform into a collectivity. aims or groups, this non-institutionalized group then moves vis a vis with the authorities to make changes, although it does not rule out the existence of groups that are organized and mobilized to make changes for the better.

The political contestious dynamics in the 2017 elections involved actors who were relatively similar to the 2012 elections, but the position of the actors who faced each other was no longer a candidate for regent or deputy regent, but between the incumbent as the winner of the 2012 elections with local actors who were members of an Volunteer of KotakKosong. Normally a competition, then the victory will be on one side only. The winning party will get everything, while the losing party will lose everything. What is at stake usually concerns matters that are considered to be a principle, such as self-esteem, faith, life or death issues, and important government positions (Subakti, 2007). The dispute begins when people collectively make claims against others. This can be used to explain the reasons for the political elite versus the incumbent regent to re-engage in the movement against the pair in the second period.

Pati Regency Regional Election in 2017 was held on February 15, 2017 followed by a single pair of candidates namely Haryanto and Saiful Arifin which was carried by the majority of the coalition political parties from PDIP namely Gerindra, Golkar, Demokrat, Hanura, PKB, PKS, and PPP, which were the first phenomena in the Regency Election. Pati, as well as the only one in Central Java Province. The only political party that did not carry the incumbent was the Democratic National Party. Based on the decision of the Pati Regency General Election Commission Number: 20 / Kpts / KPU-Kab.012.329311 / 2017 concerning the Determination of Elected Candidate Pairs of Regent and Pati Regent in 2017, stipulates the Candidate Pair of Regent and Deputy Regent of Pati elected in the Election of Regent and Deputy Regent of Pati Year 2017 namely H. Haryanto, SH, MM, M.Sc and H.

Saiful Arifin as regents and deputy regents of Pati for the period 2017-2022, with 74.51 percent of votes and an KotakKosong of 25.49 percent of the total valid votes and one the only regions with the most votes being collected are KotakKosong compared to other regions in Indonesia which are also conducting elections with a single candidate.

Community groups who declare themselves as Volunteer of KotakKosongs are only carried out by those who dare to fight openly, even though behind that there are other communities that are not in line with incumbent policies but do resistance in private. For people who do not dare to express support, it is limited to voting and becoming a financial donor so that volunteer activities can continue. Bureaucrats and members of political parties who do not agree with the decisions of their parties belong to this group. The rise of support for the KotakKosong is really utilized by the KotakKosong actor to mobilize the power of the masses by accommodating all groups with different interests.

Actors behind the KotakKosong include non-political political elites, namely those who are not supported by political parties and thus do not have the opportunity to advance in the contestation and political parties' political elites who are disappointed with the party's decision carry the incumbent. For non-party political elites, the 2017 election feud is a continuation of the previous Pilkada. This is evidenced by the existence of a line of hurt labels directed at the KotakKosong actor. LaskarPelangi Secretary of one NGO expressed his opinion, "this is related to previous rivalry, this previous rivalry was even though it was carried by political parties, not necessarily most party people who have money like businessmen".

The involvement of candidates who failed to be promoted by political parties and subsequently became the actors behind the Kotak Kosong was justified by one of the members of the Pati Election Commission by stating, "Look at the possible gaps of candidates who failed. At the time of 2017 there were several candidates who

wanted a nomination, if this contestation was won an empty column without a picture, it means an opportunity in the next period, meaning there is an opportunity that can be used ". Allegedly there is an actor behind the row of Kotak Kosong also conveyed by members of Pati Regency Election Supervisory Body, "Structurally invisible, but in movement visible, coincidences of resistance from the former deputy regent, because he did not get political vehicles so that his hopes for the elections to be postponed again there is recruitment again".

In terms of the party's political elite, the confession of a member of the Golkar party confirms the existence of internal party disappointment. In an interview, he said, "Honestly, because the regent has been temporarily deputy while the deputy regent has not, we hope that our cadres have the same opportunity to become deputy regents, but with various considerations and prerogative rights of our regent pairs, we must legowo accept this Haryanto Arifin pair as a pair we must stretcher together ". Thus it can be concluded, the decision to determine the candidates to be carried by the party is based more on sole calculation of win-lose by party elites and there is even a party policy related to sanctions for members who violate the decision.

The movement of the Volunteer of Kotak Kosongs in the 2017 elections is very disadvantaged: First, regulation. The regulations that were in force at the time were contested democracy, not uncontested democracy. So that the overall election administration infrastructure is only intended for pairs of candidates and does not reach the Kotak Kosong as a competitor for a single pair of candidates in the elections. Another example related to this regulation is the term successful team is over the campaign team. Provisions in the Republic of Indonesia Election Commission Regulation Number 3 of 2017 concerning the Nomination of the Election of the Governor and Deputy Governor, the Regent and Deputy Regent, and or the Mayor and Deputy

Mayor, article 1 paragraph (17) states that the campaign team is a team formed by the Candidate Pair together with a Political Party or a Combined Political Party that proposes a Candidate Pair or by an Individual Candidate Pair who is registered with the Provincial KPU / Aceh KIP or Regency / City KPU / KIP. Referring to the definition of the campaign team above, the Volunteer of Kotak Kosong is not a campaign team, because it is not formed by a candidate pair together with a political party or a combination of political parties and is registered with the KPU. This continued until he was not entitled to place his witness in the polling station (TPS).

Second, resources. Resources here include Human Resources (HR), networks, economics, and the running of party machines. The resources of the volunteer alliance are very limited. At the beginning, the community was very enthusiastic, but some were just part of it. If there are those who have the critical thinking, there are not many. In addition there was intimidation by the pair camp. One candidate explained, "What I know is that there are a lot of people who are disappointed, because yes, with behavioral policies with behaviors that are lazy, like a lot of people become victims, so that when approaching the elections. form an alliance. Before the nomination, they were already in groups, but they had not yet declared it openly. When they are being chased by officers, finally forming an alliance to seek protection, so that their existence seems to be legal ".

The network owned by volunteers is also very limited. In fact, a confession from one of the volunteer network members said that almost all parties supported the incumbent. Volunteers are only able to make the network horizontal, while there is no vertical at all. Horizontal networks built with outsiders are media that indirectly play a role in providing socialization to the public regarding the Kotak Kosong.

Furthermore from the economic side, the only funding obtained from volunteers is donors or saweran (in Javanese term) and the results of the

sale of shirts to sympathizers. This is not comparable to the economic resources possessed by pair which is very abundant. This condition causes the voluntary alliance to be weak especially because there is an element of criminalization. In an interview with investigators of the Kotak Kosong, he said, "He has a lot of money. Actually this is the one who wants to run a lot, because of his ambition all parties are bought if he is brave two times A 10. Then in the past, there were actually candidates supported by three parties, if only one party was not strong from the National Awakening Party (PKB), the Work Group (Golkar), and Nasdem. These two can be bought that can not be purchased only Nasdem".

The running of the party machine in campaigning for the Paslon was triggered by rejection by the Volunteer of Kotak Kosongs who were considered to represent a portion of the community, in addition to fears that the Kotak Kosong would later win. This opinion was strengthened by Gerindra members who stated, "It is still a campaign because the name of a human being is easily tempted if a single candidate is carried by several parties if he loses he is ashamed". In an interview with the success team from the PDIP stated, "We are still focused but still trying, so the structural party and other bearers are maximized, if the party gets to the dukuh twigs, twig children are all there, so it is maximized, plus the success team notes from various kinds the volunteers are from business people, religious leaders, cross-sectoral".

The resistance of the Volunteer of Kotak Kosongs in a single election is a new form of social movement as part of the relationship between the state and collective action. Judging from its position, the social movements carried out by Volunteer of Kotak Kosongs differ from political parties because they are carried out by parties outside the formal political institutions. Many political experts have conducted studies on the effects of elections on social movements which have led to the conclusion that elections

have created new opportunities for social (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004)).

Despite the hidden interests that lie behind the opposition of the Kotak Kosong to pair in the 2017 elections, this collective movement has the right moment to gain the sympathy and support of the community. Empty columns or Kotak Kosong campaigned by volunteers are legal and legal, referring to the decision of the Constitutional Court as an alternative choice on the ballot paper. The emergence of Volunteer of Kotak Kosongs identifies the dynamics of the process of democratization at the local level as a form of progress in political education on the one hand and the struggle for the interests of political actors to mobilize the masses for their interests to gain power on the other.

CONCLUSION

The emergence of volunteer of KotakKosongresistance in the 2017 elections is a continuation of the contentious politics of the 2012 elections which were won by regent incumbent Haryanto. This is based on the usual thought of competition, so the victory will be on one side only. The winning party will get everything, while the losing party will lose everything. This condition at least explains the factors underlying the actors behind the KotakKosong against the incumbent. Charles Tilly defines contentious politics as the use of disruptive techniques to make a political point, or to change government policy. Both Tilly and Lichbach agree contestious politics is a movement from collective behavior and relative deprivation to resource mobilization and the mobilization of resources and political processes.

The struggle of volunteers Empty squares against Paslon are embryos of social movements as a joint effort to increase or oppose changes in society. This is based on the argument that the social movement is not institutionalized, membership is very fluid, and moves in the flow of opposing interactions or opposition to the elite. The voluntary movement of the KotakKosong

begins with a number of individuals who are dissatisfied and want to make a change and then transform it into a collective aim. The institutionalized group then moves vis a vis with the authorities to make changes. Contestious politics that occurred in Pati showed the dynamics of local democracy, although it was still very premature given the relatively traditional voter society, marked the struggle of the interests of political actors to mobilize the masses in order to gain power.

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