

PERTUKARAN POLITIK CALON TUNGGAL DALAM PILKADA: STUDI KASUS PILKADA KABUPATEN PASURUAN 2018

POLITICAL EXCHANGE OF SINGLE CANDIDATE: A CASE STUDY ON 2018 PASURUAN DISTRICT HEAD ELECTION

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Abstract

This study has a focus on the study of political exchange in the process of determining a single candidate in the 2018 Pasuruan District Head Election (Pilkada Pasuruan 2018) by emphasizing two problem formulations, namely how is the process of determining a single candidate in the District Head Election Pasuruan and how is the forms of political exchange and its implications in determining the single candidate. The Analysis was carried out using Hopkin's clientelistic exchange theory (2006). This research is a qualitative research with a type of descriptive analysis that is used to case study method. Data collection techniques through literature study, documentation, observation and in-depth interviews. The results of this study showed that the process of determining a single candidate in the Pasuruan Distric Head Election cannot be separated from the role of formal determinants; political parties and Regional General Elections Commision of Pasuruan District (KPUD) and the role of non-formal determinants; religious elites and determinations of politics based on the flow. This research reveals that political exchanges occur between single candidate with political parties, single candidate with KPU Pasuruan District and single candidate with loyalist voters based on political flow. The political exchange has two forms; economical and traditional exchange. The economical exchanges are given to local political parties such as political modalities for 2019 legislative elections, political party office facilities. While the traditional exchanges are given to KPU Pasuruan and the loyalist voters in the form of increasing district election budgets, populist programs and recruitment of contractual officials in the education and social sectors.

Keywords: *political exchange, single candidate, 2018 pasuruan district head election*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini memiliki fokus kajian tentang pertukaran politik dalam proses penentuan calon tunggal di Pilkada Kabupaten Pasuruan 2018 dengan penekanan dua rumusan masalah, yaitu bagaimana proses penentuan calon tunggal di Pilkada Kabupaten Pasuruan dan bagaimana bentuk pertukaran politik dan implikasinya dalam penentuan calon tunggal tersebut. Analisisnya menggunakan teori pertukaran klientelistik Hopkin (2006). Penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif dengan tipe analisis deskriptif yang

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digunakan untuk mengkaji studi kasus tertentu. Teknik pengumpulan data melalui studi literatur, dokumentasi, observasi dan wawancara mendalam. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa proses penentuan calon tunggal di Pilkada Kabupaten Pasuruan tidak bisa lepas dari peran determinan formal; partai politik dan KPU Kabupaten Pasuruan dan peran determinan non-formal; elite agama dan determinasi politik aliran. Penelitian ini mengungkap bahwa pertukaran politik terjadi antara calon tunggal dengan partai politik, calon tunggal dengan KPU Kabupaten Pasuruan dan calon tunggal dengan pemilih loyalis berbasis politik aliran. Bentuk pertukarannya ada dua; ekonomis dan tradisional. Pertukaran ekonomis diberikan kepada partai politik lokal seperti modalitas politik untuk Pileg 2019 dan fasilitas kantor partai politik. sedangkan pertukaran tradisional diberikan kepada KPU Kabupaten Pasuruan dan pemilih loyalis berupa peningkatan anggaran Pilkada, program populis dan perekrutan pegawai kontrak di sektor pendidikan dan sosial.

Kata kunci: pertukaran politik, calon tunggal, pilkada kabupaten pasuruan 2018

Introduction

Pilkada (District Head Election) simultaneously gets special attention from a number of political experts and observers of national democracy. This is due to weaknesses and problems in the democratic process at the regional level. The biggest problem is the emergence of a single candidate in the elections in Indonesia. Even this 2018 Pilkada event, there are as many as 16 single candidate cases in the Regency / City (Bawaslu, 2018: 4), from the simultaneous Pilkada matrices in 2015 there were around 3 single candidate cases from 269 regions or 1%, while the Pilkada simultaneously in 2017 there were 9 cases from 101 regions or 8.9% (Ardiantoro, 2017: 10). If this fact is compared to the single candidate case in 2018 regional elections which amounts to 16 out of 171 regions or 9.3%, this phenomenon has increased by 0.45%. Even though this increase is not too significant but the phenomenon if viewed from the point of view of increasing the number of single candidates from 3 (2015), 9 (2017) and 16 cases (2018), the increase is almost doubled.

In the event of the simultaneous Pilkada in the last decade, the Simultaneous Pilkada in December 2015 (the First Stage of Pilkada) which was originally planned to be held in 269 regions. The details were followed by 9 provinces, 36 cities and 224 regencies. But at the last moment, 5 (five) regions could not be implemented such as Central Kalimantan Province, Fakfak Regency, Simalungun Regency, Pematangsiantar City and Manado City, so the details became 8 Provinces, 222 Regencies and 34 Cities. Of the total number of participants in the Regional Pilkada in the First Stage (December 2015), there are 3 (three) regions followed by one pair of candidates or Single Candidates. And the three regions are Tasikmalaya Regency, Blitar Regency and Timor Tengah Utara Regency.

Simultaneous Pilkada in February 2017 (Second Stage of Pilkada) followed by 101 regions from the provincial, district and city levels. With details of 7 provinces, 76 districts and 18 cities. Of all the regions designated as participants in the 2017 regional elections, there are at least 9 (nine) single candidates, all of whom are incumbents in

their territory, although there are those who remain with their current partners, some are changing partners. While the simultaneous regional elections in June 2018 from 171 regions that held the 2018 Simultaneous Local Election, there were at least 169 of them having determined candidate pairs. Two regions that have not yet determined the candidate pairs, namely Papua and Pinrang. Of the 171 regions implementing the 2018 regional election, there are 16 regions that are determined by a single candidate pair.

From the number of District Head Election (Pilkada) participants starting from the first wave (December 2015) to the third wave (June 2018) there are at least 28 single candidate pairs with details of the first wave (December 2015) of 3 pairs, the second wave (February 2017) 9 pairs and the third wave (June 2018) as many as 16 single pairs. Of the 28 single candidate pairs there are 24 single candidates who are incumbents in their respective regions. The details are in the first wave (December 2015) of 3 incumbents, the second wave (February 2017) as many as 8 incumbents and the third wave (June 2018) with 13 incumbents. Among them are candidates from Pasuruan Regency, namely Mohammad Irsyad Yusuf and Mujib Imron.

Irsyad Yusuf is the incumbent regent who is also chairman of the PKB DPC Pasuruan Regency. while Mujib Imron is a public figure from the pesantren (kiai) who has a strong network influence with the pesantren (non-party) community. This means that the two pairs of candidates are representative figures of politics based on the same religious and community culture so that their constituents are uniform.

Historically, the phenomenon of a single candidate in Pasuruan Regency in 2018 was a phenomenon that had just happened for the first time. This phenomenon contrasts with the implementation of the 2013 Pilkada in Pasuruan where there were 6 candidates who emerged and competed for executive coordination in Pasuruan Regency, although at that time the winner was Irsyad Yusuf who now incidentally became a single incumbent incumbent. In 2018, the candidate for Regent-Deputy Regent of 2018 Irsyad Yusuf and Mujib Imron had officially won support from political meetings ranging from PKB, PPP, Hanura, PKS, Gerindra, Golkar, Nasdem, Democrats and those who had just joined PDI Perjuangan (Bawaslu) , 2018: 84-86).

All political parties that officially declared their support for the Candidate Pair of Irsyad-Mujib Imron who were also incumbents were the party who held seats in the Pasuruan Regency DPRD. Even PAN, which does not have a seat in parliament, also provides official support to the candidate pair. The support of nearly 50 council seats is believed to be a strong political capital to be able to compile the development program of Pasuruan Regency in the period 2018-2023 together. Although this is different from the opinion of Ramlan Surbakti (1992: 180) that every party that has a coalition has a program (interest) that is different, even contradictory and each party has figures who want to get a position in the government. In addition, this fat coalition (a coalition of all political parties in the parliament later called the Maslahisi Coalition) is expected to continue and synergize in parliament, so that pro-people policies can be fully supported. Such as natural disaster management, social inequality, economic inequality, disparity in the eastern and western parts of Pasuruan and unemployment. In this case, political parties as stated by Robert Michels (1984, 405-406) that he is not only an organizational body of the mass of voters, but also is a group of oligarchic activities carried out by

party leaders to organize themselves and consolidate interests they are behind the big name of democracy.

Before the determination of a single candidate by the Pasuruan Regency Election Commission, the Candidate Pair of Irsyad Yusuf-Mujib Imron was challenged and challenged by the emergence of a candidate from his former Deputy Regent named Riag Kulup Prayuda and Anjar-Bandi non-party pair but then failed to advance as a candidate for different reasons. Riag Kulup Prayuda previously declared himself to be a Candidate Regent but then he issued a statement resigning as a candidate for the Pasuruan Regent because the party predicted to be his coalition namely PDI Perjuangan and Democrats, turned out to revoke support and instead provide recommendations for support to Irsyad Yusuf- Mujib Imron. Whereas the candidates for the Anjar-Bandi pair were rejected by the Pasuruan Regency KPU because the registration file for the pair of individual candidates (independent non-party lines) did not meet the requirements such as copies of supporting Identity cards (KTP) totaling around 75,250 or 6.5% of the total voter list still Pasuruan with 1,157,372 people.

The single candidate election in Pasuruan Regency in 2018 provides several philosophical assumptions underlying the importance of this research study, *first*; that the dominance of a single candidate in the Pasuruan Regency regional election by incumbents is very possible because of the incumbent power to buy votes from political parties in building a coalition of nearly 50 seats in the Parliament of Pasuruan Regency, so that this also causes other candidates not to compete, reluctant follow or give up before contesting. In fact, the absence of opponents who want to fight incumbents in the Pasuruan Regency Election 2018 is indicated by the power of the coalition or what is called the Maslahat coalition which not only binds political party associations but is also supported by almost all elements of community organizations.

The *second* assumption, the emergence of a single candidate in the regional election indicated that there was a political exchange between single candidates and the actors in the process of determining a single candidate in the Pasuruan Regency Election 2018. These actors could be elite local political parties, executive elites and religious elites (non-formal elite) which has a major influence on the dynamics of determining candidates in Pasuruan Regency. The reason is Pasuruan Regency is a city of *santri* which in fact the community has a style of thinking and culture in the style of Islamic boarding schools so that in the practice of local democracy, it cannot be separated from patterns of political interaction from a religious-based political perspective.

The *third* assumption, political lobbies carried out by single candidates against political parties and religious elites in Pasuruan Regency is a process of political interaction among the structures of political elements that aim to bring out a single candidate as a political phenomenon that is inevitable. In the end, political parties that originally wanted to carry out certain candidates could do nothing but follow the political flow that had been systematically built. In this case, political exchanges occur where the actors play their objectives and preferences in the political lobbying process through the political forms promised to political parties and their supporting organizations.

The study of single candidates in the Regional Head Election has been carried

out by researchers in the form of journal and final assignment research, but the focus of the study is on political exchanges between incumbent and political parties by taking a single candidate case in the 2018 Pasuruan Head Election. specifically the researchers have not done too much so that here it can be a motivation for us to continue to try to elaborate and analyze the forms of political exchange that occur between incumbents and political parties or incumbents and others especially at the local level.

There is a number of conclusions that are considered to be a single candidate study in the Pilkada in Indonesia, for example in the Pilkada there are cartel practices among elite political parties (Fajar, 2017; Mujiburrohman, 2017), undemocratic elections (Ismail, 2014; Mujiburrohman, 2017), and uncontested election (Simanjutak, 2018). However, this research is different from these studies because it reveals political exchanges in the determination of single candidates made by incumbents as sole candidates and local political parties as bearer parties as well as by single candidates and other elite figures as determinants as well as supporters of the existence of a single candidate in Pasuruan Regency Election 2018. On this basis, this study has a focus on the question of how the process of determining a single candidate in the Pasuruan Regency Election 2018 and What is the political exchange in determining a single candidate in the Pasuruan Regency Election 2018?

Research Method

This single candidate political exchange in the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Election is a qualitative research study with a case study research method by taking the focus of the study on the process of determining a single candidate in the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Election which is seen from the point of its political exchange. The research was conducted in May 2018 until June 2019 by taking research subjects such as the Deputy Regent of Pasuruan (KH. Mujib Imron, SH. MH), Deputy Chairperson of the Pasuruan Regency DPRD from the Nasdem party (H. Joko Cahyono, SH. MH), DPRD Members Pasuruan Regency from PDI Perjuangan (Andri Wahyudi), Chairperson of Pasuruan Regency Elections Commission (KPU-Zainul Faizin), Chairman of the Election Supervisory Committee (Paswaslu Regency- M. Nasrup), District Legislative Candidate from Nasdem (Suryo Ageng). Qualitative studies do not have the standard size of informants interviewed or as data sources (samples). The qualitative sample size is considered sufficient if the measure of eligibility is met (Aminah & Roikan, 2019; 138). That way, the informant is determined and chosen by the researcher with the classification of parties who can provide information about the symptoms seen (Rudito & Famiola, 2008: 124). To support the course of this research, researchers used several data collection techniques including observation, interviews and documentation.

Regarding the theoretical framework, this research works on Jonathan Hopkin's clientelistic exchange theory (2006) and exchange theory developed by Peter Blau (1964) in the realm of sociology. Then, the Blau exchange theory (1964) was adopted for political issues in the process of determining a single candidate on the Pilkada on the grounds that political actions carried out by a single candidate through his political lobbying process could not be separated from the rewards exchanged in it. Nevertheless,

the researcher made the concept of political exchange desired in this study that he was a political action carried out by a single candidate as a ruler through a reward mechanism to prevent the emergence of other candidates in certain political contestations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Role of Formal and Non-Formal Determinants in the Process of Determining Single Candidates for 2018 Pasuruan Pilkada:

The appearance of a single candidate in the 2018 Pasuruan Pilkada is the first election of a single candidate that occurred in the history of Pasuruan Regency. This phenomenon cannot just happen without a situation constructed by political elites in the process of determining a single candidate. This fact is carried out by two determinant roles that can determine the existence of a single candidate in the 2018 Pasuruan Pilkada. The two roles are the role of formal and non-formal determinants. The role of the formal determinant is carried out by local political parties and the Pasuruan Regency KPU (General Elections Commission). While the role of non-formal determinants is carried out by religious elites (local leaders) and political determinations of the flow.

The Role of Formal Determinants: Local Political Parties:

In the process of determining a single candidate in the Pasuruan Regency Election, it was related to the political efforts made by PKB as the party ruling chair and party led by Irsyad Yusuf as the Regent. The series of processes were carried out starting from the selection of candidates, the selection of pairs of candidates (deputy regents), negotiations of other political parties until the nomination process in the Pasuruan Regency KPU.

The coalition in 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada contains large parties at the local level who have regional parliamentary seats ranging from PKB, PPP, Nasdem, Hanura, Golkar, Gerindra, PKS, Democrats and PDI-P, even PAN which does not have seats in parliament recommendation for support to the candidate pair Irsyad Yusuf - Mujib Imron. The 100% coalition of all political parties has an acronym name with the "Great Coalition". *Terma Maslahat* is a term contained in the scientific tradition of Islamic law that sees the element of mutual interest or benefit as a determinant factor in making a law or policy. The *Maslahat Coalition* is a coalition naming consisting of parliamentary political parties that carry the candidate pair Irsyad Yusuf - Mujib Imron (ADJIB) in the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada.

The three key figures in political negotiations were Irsyad Yusuf as regent as well as Chairman of the Pasuruan DPC PKB, Saifullah Yusuf (His brother who is also a candidate for Governor in East Java Election 2018) and Sudiono Fauzan as chairman of the Pasuruan Regency DPRD and his success team leader. The three figures play their role in political negotiations in accordance with the context they face. For example, nominating KH. Mujib Imron as a candidate for his Deputy Regent, Irsyad Yusuf and Sudiono Fauzan used a cultural approach to simplify political communication between

kiai and KH. Mujib Imron, including his mother. Political communication was also carried out by the three figures intensely and massively to other political parties so that the party which initially consisted of 7 political parties (PPP, PKB, Golkar, Nasdem, Hanura, PKS, PAN) then became 10 bearers (PDI Perjuangan, Gerindra, Demokrat). With the division of tasks, Irsyad Yusuf and Sudiono Fauzan were the liaison of the political party and the religious elite at the local level while Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) was the liaison of the political parties at the national level.

Local political parties in Pasuruan Regency were initially divided into two groups in providing support to two prospective candidates, Irsyad Yusuf and Riag Kulup Prayuda as a result of the scenario of the planned partnership split (Prihatmoko, 2009: 222). then the two political party groups merged and joined in in the Maslahat coalition to give its support to Irsyad Yusuf and KH Mujib Imron. All these local political parties do not have any power and authority in giving recommendations except what is determined by the Central Board of each party. Local political parties only have proposed recommendations with a level of rationality and arguments submitted to the political party's DPP.

The process of uniting the two local political parties is certainly a deterministic cause for the emergence of single candidates in the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada. In this case local political parties are unable to mobilize new and distinctive ideas in programs in preparation for regional head election competition in the Regency of Pasuruan. This argumentation was based on a sense of concern experienced by local political parties when in the Pilkada competition, they lost and failed to get a lot of votes than the candidates for the Regent who were incumbents. In this connection, Peter Blau (1964: 164) said:

“In parallel fashion, the political party whose program is rejected by the voters may be able to recoup its losses by modifying its program, but it cannot do so if strong commitment to the old ideas preclude such mobility of ideological resources, so to speak. Even when an organization’s resources are immobile and its lack of adaptability to changing conditions leads to its decline, its individual members suffer only temporary setbacks if they themselves are mobile.”

The power of mobilizing the idea of a political party is in the strength of its leader. The same as what is in the determination of a single candidate in the Pasuruan Regency Pilkada where his strength is in the leadership of his political party elite. On this occasion, members of local political parties who were supposed to benefit from their membership in the party were ignored. The reason is that political party elites have made political exchanges with single candidates so that the ideas and platforms of political parties cannot be realized because they have been replaced by ideas and platforms belonging to a single candidate.

In the process, exchanges were carried out by a single candidate with the elite of a local political party to provide recommendations in political rewards that could benefit the elites of the political party. Local political parties made an offer to become Deputy

Regent of Irsyad Yusuf as a clientelistic exchange of recommendations for his candidacy in the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada. Not only that, local political parties called for more economic exchanges as a binder of connectivity between local political parties and single candidates .

In connection with the exchange, Hopkin (2006) said;

“However, the client can also offer other services, such as help with electoral campaigning, or package of votes from friends, relatives or work colleagus. The more these goods are provided to an individual candidate, rather than to a faction or party organization, the more clientelistic the relationship. Similarly, the patron (candidate or party) can offer goods of varying degrees of excludability”.

The theory indicates that in clientelistic relationships, patrons can be carried out by candidates and political parties. However, in the case of the Pasuruan Regency Pilkada, a single candidate acts as a patron while his client is a local political party. The argument is that local political parties provide political services in the form of nomination and political campaign recommendations as political support to single candidates while single candidates provide goods and facilities as political rewards according to relatively different exchange rates according to the fact that the political parties provide support (excludability).

The recommendations for nomination and political support from the local political parties determine candidates in the Pasuruan Regency Pilkada to be only followed by one candidate pair (single candidate) so that local political parties as clients do not want to give their recommendations to a single candidate for free. For them, giving recommendations and political support must be replaced with political rewards that are extrinsic and market (economical exchange). Thus, political exchange carried out by single candidates and local political parties as patron-client relations is a new clientelism model in which political exchange based on the political lobbying process and the purchase of voting support is not due to elements of closeness and social ties.

The United Development Party (PPP) when the process of selecting the incumbent recommended to him, PPP Pasuruan Regency saw it as a party representation and political capital which were both born from the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. In addition, the equality of political culture from the process of giving blessings from a number of clerics of Pasuruan Regency (*Kiai*) became one of the indicators in the process of selecting these candidates. Nevertheless, the PPP DPC did not waste the opportunity to recommend the Chairman of the PPP DPC Ahmad Mawardi as the prospective candidate for Irsyad Yusuf (Deputy Candidate for the Deputy Regent).

On the other hand, the Pasuruan Regency National Democratic Party (Nasdem) opened the registration of candidates (recruitment process) in their political parties, besides there were large political parties in Pasuruan Regency such as the National Awakening Party (PKB), PDI Perjuangan, Democrats and Golkar. prospective screening process. On the internal body of the Nasdem party, the first person to register through Nasdem in the selection process was Irsyad Yusuf as the candidate from the incumbent,

then Riang Kulup Prayuda as deputy Regent of Irsyad Yusuf at that time, Eddi Paripurna (one of the leaders of Pasuruan who had followed Pilkada in 2008 and 2013), Andri Wahyudi (Chair of PDI-P in Pasuruan District) and Udik Djuantoro (participant in the 2013 Pilkada). These last two names register as candidates for deputy regent. The process must pass the stages that have been made by the Nasdem party such as the administrative stages and the Fit and Proper Test stages in Jakarta where candidates must represent their vision, mission and program before the Selection Team called the "Nine Team".

Candidates for Riang Kulup Prayuda and Andri Wahyudi will be supported by three seat voter political parties in the Regency of Pasuruan 2013-2018, namely Gerindra, Democrats and PDI Perjuangan. The number of seats from the three parties is 20 seats with details of 7 PDI-P seats, 7 Gerindra seats and 6 Democratic seats. The number of seats from the joint party has fulfilled the nomination requirements for which 20% of the total seats in the Regency parliament are 50 seats. However, the couple failed in the process of nominating candidates for the Regent and Deputy Regent of Pasuruan 2018 because they did not get recommendations for support from the supporting parties (Gerindra, Democrats and PDI Perjuangan), especially the PDI-P which was very intense to give support to him.

Pasuruan Regency KPU (General Elections Commission):

As organizers of regional elections, the KPU of Pasuruan Regency experienced ups and downs of the change of chairman of the commissioner for various reasons. According to the Chairman of the Pasuruan Regency KPU, Zainul Faizin, since 2014 the replacement of the KPU chairman has changed three times. The two KPU leaders previously resigned so he became the third person to replace him (interview; May 16, 2019). Without intending to examine the statement, in the search of researchers for the media, in the vulnerable period of 2014-2019 there was the head of the Pasuruan Regency KPU who was dismissed by the DKPP (Honorary Board of Election Organizers) on the grounds that they violated the election code of ethics and administrative procedures in the 2018 Pilkada. In addition, it is considered to violate the code of ethics because it does not invite all members of the local KPU in the second plenary regarding the validity of the support of one political party against the prospective candidate pair.

The verdict in the form of Declaration No. 28 / DKPP-PKE-VII / 2018 came out after DKPP received a complaint report from Anjar Suprianto by filing a complaint against the Chairman of the Pasuruan Regency KPU at that time Winaryo Sujoko. The complaint technically questions the extension of the registration of candidate pairs as contained in Article 102 paragraph (3) PKPU No. 15 of 2017 concerning Changes to PKPU No. 3 of 2017. Anjar Suprianto is a resident of Pasuruan Regency who had nominated himself by Samsul Bandi's partner through an independent route but his registration was rejected by the Pasuruan Regency KPU commissioner at that time on the grounds that the Identity Cards (KTP) supporting the couple not eligible.

Previously, the Pasuruan Regency KPU also had irregularities in the Irsyad

Yusuf- Mujib Imron (Adjib) single candidate registration process when the Pasuruan Regency KPU held two plenary meetings on January 10, 2018. The first Plenary Meeting was held at 1:00 p.m. decided the Pair of Candidates for Irsyad Yusuf-Mujib Imron was carried by 8 political parties holding seats in the Pasuruan Regency DPRD after the Hanura political party which also supported him was constrained by the signing of the nomination requirements document carried out by the Deputy Chairperson and Secretary of the Hanura DPC of Pasuruan Regency, not the Chairperson of the DPC because he was worshipping Umrah so that the Hanura party as the bearer party does not meet the requirements.

The second Plenary Meeting was held at 23.30 am where the Pasuruan Regency KPU only had 30 minutes remaining nearing the end of the registration, namely at 24.00 am on 10 January 2018. The Plenary Meeting was attended by the Chairperson of Winaryo Sujoko Regency KPU and 2 other KPU members. as the bearer party of Irsyad Yusuf-Mujib Imron was considered legitimate after receiving a support document signed by the Chairperson of the Hanura DPC of Pasuruan Regency before leaving Umrah.

During the second process of the Plenary Meeting, it was found irregularities in the compilation of the first Plenary Meeting that governed the Hanura Party did not fulfill the requirements as a bearer party as contained in the Minutes Number 3 / PL03.2.-BA / 3514 / KPU-Kab / I / 2018, with thus, Irsyad Yusuf-Mujib Imron's candidates were only supported by 8 political parties namely PKB, Nasdem, PKS, PDI Perjuangan, Golkar, Gerindra, Democrats and PPP. However, it turns out that the Chairperson of Pasuruan Regency KPU, Winaryo Sujoko, requested permission to receive and the registration status of candidate pairs must meet the nomination requirements because they prefer the candidate pairs so that all supporting parties can fulfill the requirements in order to assist by using the party in the Pasuruan Regency DPRD.

As an election organizer, the Pasuruan Regency KPU has a determinant role in the existence of a single candidate in the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Election. Ideally, the Pasuruan Regency KPU should not accept political input and lobbying by a single candidate in delaying the time for granting nomination status to obtain 100% support from political parties, seat owners in the Pasuruan Regency DPRD. This is evidence of the role of the Pasuruan Regency KPU which has contributed to the process of supporting coalitions owned by single candidates.

In the implementation of the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada, the General Election Commission of Pasuruan Regency stipulates 120 members of the PPK (District Election Committee) and 1095 PPS (Committee for Voting). The court structure was prepared for the task of Election of Regents, Deputy Regent of Pasuruan and Governor of Deputy Governor of East Java with the formation of 120 KDP members or as many as 5 people in 24 sub-districts throughout Pasuruan Regency. While in 365 villages / kelurahan, the KPU has chosen 4 members of PPS or 1095 members throughout Pasuruan Regency.

From the implementation of the Regent and Deputy Regent Election budget in Pasuruan 2018, the Regency Government (PEMKAB) allocates a budget of 52.7 billion

rupiah through the signing of the Regional Grant Agreement (NPHD) on the Implementation of the Regency and Deputy Regent of Pasuruan Implementation Funds in 2018. From this budget the most widely used honorarium for ad hoc officers such as PPK, PPS, security and residents who cover ballots, and the percentage reaches 59%. The allocation of funds is more than three times more than the 2013 Pilkada of 17 billion rupiah

In the mechanism for holding elections, the Pasuruan Regency KPU is the spearhead for the sustainability of democracy in this country. Neutrality and capability of the organizers of elections at the local level is not merely a statement of commitment and consequence but also the attention and direct supervision of the community and non-governmental organizations at the regional level. The single candidate event in the Pasuruan Pilkada in 2018 is inevitable from the Regency KPU as an institution that organizes election at the local level. Even though the Pasuruan Regency KPU does not participate as a competition participant but its role is very decisive (deterministic) in the process of recruiting competition participants. These participants both emerge from prospective party bearers and individuals (independent lines). The determination of the local KPU in the Pasuruan Regency case was seen from the absurdity of the Pasuruan Regency KPU in PKPU's interpretation of the registration of candidate pairs, the postponement of the nomination status of Irsyad Yusuf-Mujib Imron on the basis of the candidate pair's request, and the KPU commissioner's refusal to register submitted by prospective individual candidates. Thus, the KPU in the Pasuruan area is not only a regulator but also a client of a single candidate who is a incumbent and a ruler at the local level.

Clientelistic relations between single candidates and Pasuruan Regency KPU as patrons and clients are traditional (old clientelism) who prefer a stable relationship rather than conflict. Request for a single candidate to delay granting of Receipt for nominating status and giving time for the management of wealth reports in the name of KH. Mujib Imron is a political effort carried out by a single candidate with a traditional-cultural approach. That is, the professionalism of the Pasuruan Regency KPU is still negotiable and negotiable by candidates characterized by respect and patronage that can provide implicit benefits. This is as said by Peter M. Blau that old clientelism is a form of social and political exchange in which a person gives special treatment to others, and even though there is general hope there will be rewards in the future, even though certainty is not fixed in advance (Blau, 1964 : 93).

Clientelistic conducted by the Pasuruan Regency KPU at the time of the nomination registration examined the neutrality issue of the Pasuruan Regency KPU 2018 as the organizer of the election with the candidate system in the context of facilitating campaign props in accordance with Local Election Regulation No. 10 of 2016 Article 63 paragraph (2) that Regency KPU facilitates campaigns both by political parties and candidate pairs. In fact, the Pilkada in Pasuruan is a Single Candidate Election, so the problem is there is no facility from the state to the volunteer team of empty columns (*bumbung kosong*)

The consequences that cannot be contained in the implementation of a Single Candidate Election are opposed to an empty column. In fact, the Pasuruan Regency

Election in 2018 has voluntary empty columns (empty bumbung). The role of the Regency KPU in this case is also very determinant in the socialization of the elections and the method of voting. Socialization is a way for election organizers to introduce a running electoral system, technical implementation as well as candidate pairs as participants in the elections. However, in the socialization of a single candidate pair can influence voter behavior even if only through pictures. Writing the editorials in the socialization activities must be carried out carefully so as not to appear to be persuasive and political.

In addition, campaign props facilitated by the Pasuruan Regency KPU were only given to the candidate pair Irsyad Yusuf - Mujib Imron. The empty column volunteer team had requested the facility but was refused because it did not have institutions and organizations that were not participants of the elections and there were no rules for providing facilities for empty columns or voluntary empty columns. From here, criticism was addressed to the Pasuruan Regency KPU which was not neutral in the campaign props facilities. However, in the socialization of the campaign props the editor in writing was "Click on the picture" (*Coblos yang Ada Gambarnya*) with the reason that the column in the ballot shows the column with the picture and no image. As for the placement of a single candidate pair in the right column or on the left, the Pasuruan Regency KPU held a public draw, where in the drawing process the single candidate pair Irsyad Yusuf - Mujib Imron was in the left column position.



Picture 1. Campaign Props "Click on the picture" written by the Pasuruan Regency KPU

The Role of Non-Formal Determinants: Religious Elites:

Talking about the religious elite in Pasuruan Regency, it cannot be separated from the influence of Ulama and Kiai (*Masyayikh*) as local leaders. Kiai and politics do not seem to be released in the history of Indonesia. Even historians believe that in the kingdom, the relationship between the kiai and the king was harmoniously interwoven. The strength between the two is relatively balanced (Mansurnoor, 1990: 377). Kiai have a very diverse role in economic, social and political life. In fact, Kiai can also be said as political leaders and drivers of social action for their followers (Zuhro, 2011: 159; Turmudi, 2003).

The largest political party in Pasuruan Regency is the National Awakening Party, which is politically affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama community organization, including Banom, which is under it and a network of pesantren communities. Like PCNU (The Branch Manager of Nahdlatul Ulama) Pasuruan Regency, Muslimat NU, Anshor, Fatayat NU, PMII, and Ma'arif. While the network of pesantren communities is reflected in the alliance of the generation of santri millennial, an alliance of village kiai and an alliance of kiai and community leaders who provide political support to Irsyad Yusuf-Mujib Imron.

Even though the process of determining a single candidate was basically a political party but the influence of the leadership of the religious elite (kiai and habib) in the process sufficiently had separate implications for local political parties. The leadership of clerics in Pasuruan Regency has a strong influence on all people's lives, including social, educational, economic and even political. When the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada emerged, at that time issues of support from the clerics who broke into two shafts emerged along with the emergence of two would-be axes between Irsyad Yusuf and Riag Kulup Prayuda. The scenario of a split between the two highest officials of the local executive indirectly provides socio-political implications for the issue of breaking up support from religious elite groups (kiai and habib).

Moreover, the candidate Riag Kulup Prayuda who was paired with Andri Wahyudi from PDI Perjuangan had the blessing of religious elite figures in Pasuruan such as Kiai Sholeh (Ngalah), Gus Mad (Pulungan), Kiai Bahar (Sidogiri), Habib Zainal (Dalwa) In contrast to the religious elite who supported the future candidate Irsyad Yusuf who was dominated by religious elites who sat in structural NU. Therefore, Chairman of the Pasuruan DPC PKB Irsyad Yusuf and the Chairperson of the Pasuruan Regency DPRD from PKB, Sudiono Fauzan often conducts political gatherings to Islamic boarding schools and sambang to the house of clerics who are administrators of the structural NU daily to get blessings and prayers. The political silaturahmi that was carried out indicated the role of the religious elite in the Pilkada became increasingly deterministic when the religious elite accepted it and gave political support to him so that the influence on the community indirectly was extraordinary.

The figure of the religious elite from the structural NU axis is like KH. Muzakki (PCNU Rois Syuriah Pasuruan Regency), KH. Najib, KH. Mahfud Ali Ridlo (Syuriah-Tanfidziyah Bangil ranks), KH. Mujtaba Abdus Shomad (Chair of the Board of Shuro DPC PKB Pasuruan Regency), KH. Imron Mutamakkin (Chairperson of Pasuruan Regency PCNU), KH. Sonhaji Abdusshomad (Mustasyar ranks and Tanfidziyah NU Pasuruan Regency), KH. Mushonnif Muslich (Rois Syuriah MWC NU Pandaan) and several other kiai.

Finally, the most relevant implication of the involvement of the religious elite in the process of determining the candidate was Irsyad Yusuf's decision to collaborate with KH. Mujib Imron as a candidate for his Deputy Regent is also a representation of the pesantren. KH. Mujib Imron is a cleric who has an Islamic boarding school of al-Yasini with nearly 3,000 people. In addition, the al-Yasini boarding school is one of the largest and most prominent huts in addition to the Sidogiri boarding school and the Ngalah boarding school in Pasuruan. Even before leaving for the Pasuruan Regency KPU office

in Bangil Subdistrict, the two pairs of candidates carried out sungkeman to their parents and kiai at the al-Yasini boarding school as the residence of the prospective Deputy Regent Mujib Imron. Previously, the submission of the SK recommendation for support from the United Development Party was carried out at the al- Yasini boarding school (Pesantren) witnessed by KH. Nawawi Abdul Jalil, caretaker of the Sidogiri Islamic Boarding School. At the residence of KH. Mujib Imron has been a meeting place several times talking about political issues both at the local and national levels.

In addition, the influence of religious elites on the people of Pasuruan Regency is the role of non-formal determinants or not political parties but they can become political pressure groups with cultural figure capital towards other political parties that were previously predicted to be opponents of Irsy Yusuf's bearer party . For example what was done by KH. Abdullah as the Caregiver of the Sladi Kejayan Islamic Boarding School who requested the PDI-P Pasuruan Party to be consistent and consistent in providing support to the candidate pair Irsyad Yusuf - Mujib Imron (ADJIB) after Andri Wahyudi failed to advance with Riang Kulup Prayuda and failed to nominate himself as a candidate for Deputy Regent Irshad Yusuf. Local political parties cannot freely use the networking functions and nominations at the time of elections when they have entered the network that is far stronger than him. The reason is the political implications that are actually detrimental to the political party if they are with their political character to continue to provide resistance in the regional elections. Although the pressure is on the determination process, the implications will have an impact on the process of voting support for the voter patterned in traditional voters.

In the Weberian perspective, religious elites have social and symbolic capital in the form of worshipers, religious knowledge and charismatic leadership that make themselves obeyed by all the people in the area (HH Gerth & CW Mills, 1946). The kiai leadership model is closely related to charismatic authority where the leadership stability and trust of the kiai depend on the loyalty of their followers. Not to his professionalism. The relationship of a kiai with other kiai in the area is very influential. Kiai naturally build network patterns both vertically and horizontally. The vertical network is a network of relationships that the kiai builds with his teachers or from his students with the kiai. Whereas horizontal network is a relationship built by kiai with family and friends of colleagues during their studies or in structural religious organizations (Muthmainnah, 2005: 223).

As a candidate pair, both Irsyad Yusuf and Mujib Imron were community figures who possessed the breed or descendants of the kiai, so that they were not rarely summoned by Gus Irshad and Gus Mujib or the pair "Duo Gus". The term "Gus" is intended for the son of a kiai who has a pesantren or not but has a congregation for recitation. When the candidate pairs participated in an electoral arena at the local level, the religious culture was unconsciously dragged into political activity and even strengthened in Pasuruan Regency.

Clientelistic relationships are found in a single candidate pair who in fact still has blood relations with local leaders (religious elite) in Pasuruan Regency. The single candidate pair is like being a patron while the alliance of other local leaders, santri and loyalist voters from his jama'ah is his client. The relationship between a single candidate

and the religious elite as a local figure here is a traditional clientelistic. This means that the exchanges between the two are more determined by social and cultural approaches so that reciprocal relations are realized due to the obligation and respect. This relationship is at least reflected in the electoral contestation which continues to see religious practices such as recitation, istighosah, recitation of prayer, haul and so on directed at mobilizing political support. For example, the activity of reciting the Nariyah prayer in the Adangghad 2 Islamic Boarding School in Banggle Beji Pasuraun was attended by Gus Irsyad and around 10,000 pilgrims held with the aim of seeking blessings for Pasuruan Regency. In addition, Irsyad Yusuf motivated the santri that his choice to become a regent was due to the prayers of the habib, the request of the kiai and the people's trust.

Kiai as religious elites are indeed not political institutions that can legitimize nominations through recommendations stipulated in institutional decrees. In other words, kiai is not a determinant authority in the process of determining candidates for a prospective leader from an institutional party perspective but the influence is very deterministic in the process of determining the candidate through a cultural approach mechanism. Determination of the influence of the religious elite in the case of the process of determining the sole candidate for the Pasuruan Regency Regional Election provided a conceptual understanding that even though the recommendations of the kiai were not a requirement for nomination in the KPU, he was the determinant of prospective leaders in increasing the voice of support. From the example of the determination of candidates in the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada, a logical proposition emerged that If the kiai had agreed to give their recommendations through the blessing of one particular candidate pair, the political party that would carry other candidates would have to reevaluate the vote support and funding before making a decision to fight in regional elections.

Political Determination of the Flow:

The politics of flow in Pasuruan Regency has a quite effective determinant role in the Pasuruan Regency Pilkada 2018 process. The politics that are most thick with the culture of the Pasuruan community are politics based on the flow of religion, Nahdlatul Ulama. The political culture found in the largest religious organization in Indonesia has connectivity and collectivity with social and political structures in Pasuruan district. In its history, the Nahdlatul Ulama or abbreviated as NU cannot be separated from the political dynamics in Indonesia. The position of ulama who are at the forefront of Islamic society does not only make them informal leaders who maintain Ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah understanding, but also political leaders, because in Indonesia the relationship between politics and Islam is very strong (Turmudi, 2003; 147) .

In NU religious organizations there are not a few that have and have produced many public figures that are needed by the community not only in the religious sector but also in the economic, social and political sectors. In fact, for the Pasuruan community, NU is not only considered a collection of public figures but also political figures. In the 2018 regional election, there were two figures who were involved in this

regional election which were considered as representations of religious culture on the one hand and from the flow of politics on the other. The two figures are two brothers named Irsyad Yusuf who incidentally was the incumbent regent and re-nominated as the Regent of Pasuruan for 2018-2023 and Saifullah Yusuf who in fact was the Deputy Governor of East Java and ran for the Governor of East Java for 2018-2023. However, Saifullah Yusuf or his brother did not win the 2018 East Java regional election against Khofifah Indarparawansa.

Moreover, the majority of Pasuruan residents refer to Pasuruan Regency as a "City of Santri" where a city has a relatively large number of pesantren and makes the culture of the pesantren a cultural characteristic of its people. In the search of researchers, there are at least 200 Islamic boarding schools in Pasuruan Regency both those that have been established in legal form or those that have not. The large and prominent Islamic boarding schools in Pasuruan District are such as the Sidogiri Islamic Boarding School, al-Yasini Kraton, Sunniyah Salafiyah Pohjentrek, Dalwa Islamic Boarding School, Salafiyah Bangil Islamic Boarding School, Ngalah Islamic Boarding School and Raudlatul Ulum Kejayan with thousands of students.

In the pesantren tradition, there is a distinctive relationship between kiai and santri. In the context of the pesantren community, the kiai is an honorary title loaded with religious content, aimed at someone who is wallowing in the activities of teaching religious knowledge and social interaction activities in Islamic boarding schools (Sukamto, 1999: 85). Outside the pesantren, kiai sometimes interact interactively by following other religious organizations that are used to carry out some of their religious functions and sometimes social functions with other pesantren communities. Here, the role of scholars in the perspective of Clifford Geertz (1958) is said to be a cultural broker and added by Greg Fealy (2003) that the kiai's new function is as a cultural link between increasingly modern national elites and traditionalist Muslims in the countryside. However, in the context of Pasuruan Regency, scholars do not just stop at the context of cultural relations but experience a shift in the role of being a political broker by considering the problem of local politics that cannot be separated from the socio-cultural structure.

While santri is a term aimed at people who are studying religion in Islamic boarding schools (Sukamto, 1999: 97). However, the social ties between kiai and santri in Pasuruan Regency remain harmonious and strong even though santri no longer demand religion in Islamic boarding schools (alumni). In every moment of religious activity in the pesantren if the santri alumni are not available, then the alumni take the time to join the activity. In fact, not a few santri alumni became jama'ah at the recitations and religious events which were followed by the kiya outside the pesantren. The term santri cannot be patented for people who are studying or studying religion in Islamic boarding schools only, for the people of Pasuruan, almost many people who have never been home (studying religion in pesantren) but calling themselves santri on the grounds that they are following the recitation conducted by kiai actively. Thus, a group of communities in the pesantren and outside the pesantren with strong social interaction between kiai and santri (santri, alumni, jama'ah of recitation) can be called the santri community or the *sarungan* community. As for the community, the shoot is

taken from the term of culture from the point of view of dressing a person who uses "sarong" in some of his daily activities. Sarong is A garment made of a length of printed cloth wrapped about the waist that is commonly worn by men and women in Malaysia, Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia, and the Pacific islands.

The santri community relations, namely between kiai and santri, are patron-client. Kiai appear in their interactions as patrons and santri both those who are studying, alumni and jama'ah appear as clients. The relationship actually originated from conditions to respond to socio-religious problems, but the relationship increasingly shifted when responding to politics and elections both at the national and local levels, even down to the lowest level, rural.

Regarding the number of people in Pasuruan Regency who joined the organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), indeed, in quantity there is no data that mentions in detail and accurately regarding the subject matter, but if borrowing Greg Fealy's theory (2003: 39) on this matter that "The majority of NU members are in Java, especially in East Java and Madura, along the northern coast of Central Java and in the Cirebon and Banten regions, West Java" and supported by the results of research investigators on the Pasuruan Regency Nahdlatul Ulama Branch (PCNU) at the sub-districts and twigs there are around 19 Deputy Branch Offices (MWC) and 310 branches (*ranting*) in all regions of Pasuruan Regency, it can be concluded that the majority of Pasuruan Regency communities are affiliated with this largest organization in Indonesia. The statement can be proven from cultural and geographical aspects. Not to mention, the Banom (Autonomous Agency) organization which is under the NU structure is very much like IPPNU-IPNU, Fatayat, Anshor, Muslimat, Maarif Education Institution, and PMII Regency Pasuruan student network

Culturally, in the everyday language of Pasuruan Regency people use three distinct languages, namely Javanese, Maduranese and Arabic Bangil. While in dressing, people tend to use white robes, robes and sarongs so that people often refer to it as a sarungan community. Geographically, Pasuruan Regency in the north is an area directly adjacent to the Madura Strait and includes the Pantura Line for national land routes. From this proposition, a logical reasoning can be taken that the people of Pasuruan Regency are the majority members of the NU organization.

Political candidates or contestants approach the NU community organization and its Banom with a political flow approach with the aim of mobilizing the mass base in the process of determining candidates to raise voting support. This was done by the single candidate Irsyad Yusuf-Mujib Imron who invited the management of the Bangil Muslim NU branch to succeed in the Pasuruan Regency Pilkada by participating in determining the regional head leader in Pasuruan. The Alliance of 100 Kiai and Community Leaders who are members of the Pasuruan Community Silaturahmi Forum (For Irsyat Pas) declared their support for candidate Regent Irsyad Yusuf on the grounds that they have built education based on the diniyah madrasah and santri empowerment in Pasuruan. In addition, the support action of 10,000 pilgrims who were members of Fatayat and Muslimat NU throughout Pasuruan Regency for Irsyad Yusuf where the activity was packed with recitation and recitation of Salat Nariyah.



Picture 2. Declaration Supports Irsyad Yusuf by Alliance For Irsyat Pas

The Phenomenon of the Single Candidate in the Pasuruan Pilkada 2018 when it is associated with the context of democracy, the researcher cites Kacung Marijan's opinion quoted in the book *Local Democracy Model; East Java, West Sumatra, South Sulawesi and Bali* (Zuhro, 2011: 161) that pessimistic attitude arises whether the kiai are able to encourage the democratic process or not. Structural scholars who are supposed to play more roles because they have served in the management of the modern NU organization did not do much. On the contrary, cultural kiai have a stronger influence. These scholars can be actors who encourage the democratic process if they are able to interpret their influence to improve the fate of the people in the region by supporting potential leaders with quality and integrity. Unfortunately, most of them use their influence for their own sake.

From the statement, the researchers thought that sometimes in Pilkada autonomous kiai emerged that had different choices with other kiai, but the case in the Pasuruan Regency Election 2018 why pesantren kiai can unite to support potential incumbents. In this case, the researcher got two different answers from several informants. The first answer is that the union of the kiai and the people of Pasuruan Regency is very important so that it can avoid division and chaos. The second answer is an answer given by some farmer farmers in the Bangil area that in this problem there are statutory benefits related to the madrasah diniyah, the empowerment of pesantren and santri, so that the benefits are in the form of budget allocation policies and return programs for pesantren programs in the Regency Pasuruan (interview, February 13, 2019)

Political Exchange Process in Determining Single Candidates Patterns of Political Exchange:

Political behavior in the process of determining a single candidate in the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada is still characterized by an exchange pattern. In the process, the emergence of single candidates in the 2018 Pasuruan Pilkada cannot be separated from the pattern of exchanges carried out by candidates with local political parties with diadik interaction models both personally and social groups. Irsyad Yusuf as the incumbent regent received a recommendation for support from nine party owners in the Regency Parliament, so that the pattern of exchange was Irsyad Yusuf and PKB as his political vehicle to become a patron in associational relations with local political parties

as his clients.

The incumbent Regent, Irsyad Yusuf has control and power over the resources needed and requested by clients with relatively different exchange levels. As an obligation, local political parties (in this case clients) are expected to give respect and loyalty of support to provide nomination recommendations in 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada which become commodities exchanged for single candidates. The pattern of political exchange in the process of determining a single candidate is more likely to be a utilitarian principle, which minimizes the least possible loss and maximizes profits. Therefore, this coalition is called the masala coalition where this term is found in the literature of the tradition of Islamic science understood as a common interest and a collective benefit.

In the process of nominating a single candidate in the Pasuruan Regency Election 2018, this mass coalition actually consisted of two groups where it originated from a scenario that broke out with a partnership carried out by the incumbent Regent, Irsyad Yusuf against his own Regent representative, Riang Kulup Prayuda. Each leader in the executive district is advancing as a candidate in the 2018 Regency Election. The support scenario of his political party also has two power groups in which PPP, PKB, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, Hanura support Irsyad Yusuf as the ideal candidate as a group first. While Riang Kulup Prayuda was supported by the

From the clientelistic political exchange perspective, political support from the maslahat coalition or 100% of the party holding the seat of candidates (PPP, PKB, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, Hanura, PDI Perjuangan, Gerindra and Democrats) tended to the new clientelism model. His argument was that prospective candidate Irsyad Yusuf as his patron lobbied politically to all the bearer parties to get his recommendation to Irsyad Yusuf so that it closed the possibility of other candidates being promoted from political parties. The political exchange with the new clientelism model is evident when they want a more economic exchange to be able to maximize their utility without any sense of obligation and closeness to the patron (incumbent regent).

The pattern of exchanges carried out by single candidates and PKB to political parties incorporated in the coalition has a democratic pattern of exchange. That is, if the exchange promised by a single candidate and the PKB to a political party that is joined does not immediately come (realized) then there is a high probability of political instability and upheaval at the local level because clientelistic exchanges are likened to economic or market exchanges, not socio-political exchanges. In addition, the bonds formed in the pattern of economic exchange are not permanent. Moreover, the single candidate is the incumbent regent who still heads the Pasuruan regency government with power over resources.

This was stated by Peter M. Blau (1964: 234)

“Instead of comparing parties on all issues, a voter can compare their ideologies and vote for the one whose program appeals to him most and promises to bring him most rewards. Alternatively, he may vote for or against the present government on the basis of the whether or not the benefits it furnishes meet his expectations – in the terminology used here, whether or not

he receives a fair return for the various investments he has made in the government. The rational government must spend resources to provide rewards for voters until the marginal vote gain from expenditure equals the marginal vote loss from financing". .

The single candidate as regent of the incumbent sees the resources he controls can be used as rewards given to the elites of local political parties as giving recommendations and political support. The greater the promised rewards, the greater the attractiveness of local political parties to coalition. In this case, the comparison of ideologies in political parties is not prioritized because the main expectations for the party elite are far more expected benefits. The economic political exchange presents the conception of exchange with reciprocal transactions on one side and unilateral transactions on the other.

Table 1. Table of Exchange Transaction which is processed from Blau exchange theory (1964)
Single Candidate Local Political Parties

Transaction	Reciprocal	Mutual Attraction	political recommendation	Economical Exchange
	Unilateral	One-Sided Attachment	Power	Power

Furthermore, this exchange pattern resulted in the exchange of associationalistic political networks. Political exchange cannot be limited to the relations of two people (the diadic model) but the exchange can be inherent in the larger structures of political networks (Emerson; 1927). Logically, the political exchange that rotates within the structure of the political network results in a relational network of exchanges. The essence of this exchange is power that is produced continuously. The logical proposition comes from a premise that states that the greater the chance that the person (actor) exchanges, the greater the person's power. The single candidate who is the incumbent regent in the coalition and seeking support process has carried out personal and institutional party approaches to the elites of the local political party. This approach is a political exchange activity which is assumed to be able to bind the cohesiveness of the political structure that exists in each local political parties (Pasuruan district). Incumbent as a single candidate indeed is institutionally a representation of the National Awakening Party (PKB) with a distinctive political structure and almost the same as the United Development Party (PPP), but many officials from other local political parties also have similarity in culture, organization religious, and the same mass base.

Forms of Political Exchange:

The political exchange in the Pasuruan Regency Election was carried out by giving political promises in the form of increasing budgets, services, facilities and money in return for political support through recommendations given during the process of registering candidates at the Pasuruan Regency KPU. The political promise emerged from a political lobbying process constructed by a single candidate and his

PKB party to the political party elites in Pasuruan Regency to obtain electoral support through Surat Keputusan as a recommendation. This political promise has several different levels of exchange because it follows the process of joining all local political parties as seat owners in the Pasuruan Regency Parliament within the Maslahat coalition. The intended level of exchange is the selective distribution of benefits that will be given to the interested clients in accordance with the utility's relativity.

Before the researcher explained the form of political exchange between a single candidate and a political party, the researcher needed to convey an indication of political exchange also carried out by a single candidate with the KPU of Pasuruan Regency. Without intending to justify the Pasuruan Regency KPU organizers, in the implementation of the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada, the Pasuruan Regency Government, led by incumbents as Bupati candidates, has allocated a budget of 52.7 billion rupiah with an estimated 120 KDP members and 1095 PPS members spread in 24 sub-districts with 365 villages / houses. The budget is three times greater compared to the 2013 Regency Election budget which is only around 17 billion rupiah. One indication was the dismissal of the Chairman of the Pasuruan Regency KPU, Winaryo Sujoko by DKPP because he annulled the unilateral nomination process from the individual candidate pair Anjar Suprianto - Samsul Bandi.

The forms of political exchange between a single candidate and a local political parties are three forms; *the first*, distributed to local political parties who are members of the first group coalition, namely political modalities which plans are given to face the 2019 legislative elections through a network of entrepreneurs in Pasuruan Regency. Political modality is the way a person or organization expresses a political attitude or political statement that implies the reality or possibility of being realized in the future. These modalities are products of autonomous exchanges between elites (ruling elites, political party elites and business elite). The political modalities conveyed automatically ignite political exchanges among the elites involved. The mediator in the exchange is a single candidate and his party.

The *second* form of exchange was distributed to political parties joined in the Maslahat coalition in the second group. The political promises exchanged are the provision of services and facilities for the continuity of party management such as DPC office facilities, operational cars and other supporting facilities. However, according to the informant's confession and observations of the researchers on what was promised has not been realized until the leadership of a single candidate has entered a period of one year. Meanwhile, according to the research informant, the promise of political modalities for first-party bearers of political parties has not been given to bearers of political parties, but the political modalities are actually used by the PKB it self for party financing and campaign funds for legislative candidates in 2019.

The *third* form of exchange relates to the flow of political parties with single candidates namely PKB and PPP with a benefit distribution model in the fields of education and social services. Members of PKB and PPP in Pasuruan Regency often have rooted in non- formal organizations with different hierarchies and management structures. They were given the opportunity to become teaching staff in the fields of religion, nationality and Pancasila in public and private schools throughout Pasuruan

Regency.

Tabel.2. Table of Forms of Political Exchange between Patrons and Clients

Type	Unit	Forms of Exchange Patron	Forms of Exchange Client
<i>Traditional Exchange</i>	Pasuruan Regency KPU	Three-fold increase in the PASuruan Regency Election budget	Delays in nominating status and campaign facilities (APK) that tend to be political
	Loyalist voters based on political flow	Recruitment of contract employees in the education and social fields	Voice support and a Maslahat coalition guard
Type	Unit	Forms of Exchange Patron	Forms of Exchange Client
<i>Economical Exchange</i>	Local political parties that are members of the Maslahat coalition	Political modalities for 2019 legislative elections Facilities for DPC political parties needs and activities	Providing recommendations for support and political campaigns

Looking at the form of exchange, indeed the exchange pattern tends to clientelistic. However, the realization of what is promised does not always result in proportional rewards. The emergence of a single candidate in the Pasuruan Regency Election 2018 cannot justify that local political parties have failed in democracy in elections and in parties, from the premise that political parties have failed in the selection of leadership and regeneration processes. However, far from that local political parties measure their capacity when they are given or promised political modalities that can lead to political parties more likely to choose their priority utilities than the consequences of their support. Moreover, the people of Pasuruan Regency have a tendency towards traditional, not rational political behavior so that political education and democracy are still minimal. Local political parties that have no basis in Pasuruan Regency must prepare themselves as realistic political organizations looking at the future when legislative elections will be held.

For comparison, the following is the Amount of Acquisition of Pasuruan Regency DPRD Chairs from the period 2014-2019 and 2019-2024.

Table 3. Amount of Acquisition of Pasuruan Regency DPRD Chairs from the period 2014 – 2019 and 2019 – 2024.

Kursi DPRD Kab. Pasuruan 2014-2019		Kursi DPRD Kab. Pasuruan 2019-2024	
Partai Politik	Jumlah Kursi	Partai Politik	Jumlah Kursi
PKB	12	PKB	15
PDI P	7	PDI P	8
Gerindra	7	Gerindra	7
Demokrat	6	Golkar	6
Nasdem	6	Nasdem	6
Golkar	5	PPP	4
PPP	3	PKS	2
PKS	3	Demokrat	1
Hanura	1	Hanura	1
Total	50	Total	50

From the political modalities promised by single candidates and their parties (PKB) and in fact have not materialized in the 2019 legislative election process, the comparison of the seats indicates that the first and second groups of bearers of political parties have parties that experience an increase, stability and even depreciation. Political parties joined in the first coalition to gain an increase in seats in the Pasuruan Regency DPRD 2019-2024 are PKB with an additional 3 seats, Golkar with 1 additional seat and PPP also with 1 additional seat. Whereas the second party political party that gained an increase in seats was PDI-P with one seat added.

Table 4. Data on Chair Acquisition in Pasuruan Regency DPRD (Parlement)

NO	Political Party	Chairs Amount		Category
		2014-2019	2019-2024	
1	PKB	12	15	Increase
2	Golkar	6	7	
3	PPP	3	4	
4	PDI Perjuangan	7	8	Stable
5	Gerindra	7	7	
6	Nasdem	6	6	
7	Hanura	1	1	Decrease
8	PKS	3	2	
9	Demokrat	6	1	

Source: data is processed from KPU Pasuruan Regency

Even though the data presented may have no correlation between the acquisition of seats in the parliament and the promised political exchange, according to researchers, the legislative election process in Pasuruan Regency in 2019 was held in conjunction with legislative elections for provinces, centers (DPR RI), DPD and presidents (Simultaneous Elections) so logically politically, all political party funding and campaign financing would certainly consume the finance of local political parties. Finally, local political parties begin to rethink according to the utilitarian principle, namely maximizing as much profit as possible from the political exchanges that have been built and minimizing the smallest possible losses when political contestation is not just the seizure of executive seats (Pilkada elections) but legislative struggles that require not small costs.

Furthermore, in terms of political reality, single candidates and PKB when the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada seeks to how to maximize the acquisition of recommendations from all political parties holding seats in the parliament of Pasuruan Regency by creating a winning party coalition that is at least in the Pasuruan Regency legislative elections in 2019. Therefore, according to the researcher, the term of the coalition with "Maslahat" which means mutual interest is a form of exchange between political parties which is almost the same as the principle of utilitarianism. PKB and the sole candidate of Pasuruan Regency as patrons try to maximize the acquisition of support from political parties, while local political parties incorporated in this coalition act as clients who also aim to maximize the acquisition of political rewards on the basis of the political modalities discussed earlier. Even though, in the end of the 2019 legislative elections, it was the PKB party that maximally benefited from the political exchange process. This kind of political exchange requires that those who are most able to provide favorable political rewards are those who have a high chance of occupying a leadership position.

PKB as a political engine born from the womb of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization has the most mass numbers in Pasuruan Regency. PKB from year to year seeks to optimize the benefits of its constituents (clients). The most rational constituents for PKB are *sarungan* communities where they are the most social group in Pasuruan Regency. The most realistic political interaction according to PKB is starting from the leading social groups in the Pasuruan Regency. *Sarungan* communities consisting of *pesantren* communities and communities from the elements of *Nahdlatul Ulama* membership were used as an attractive mass base to be approached and considered by the candidate pairs and PKB. The most obvious exchange in this condition (2018 Pilkada) is the application of clientelism (Hopkin, 2006) where it is a pattern of exchange involving candidate pairs as patrons and the masses of the general public as clients. Candidate pairs provide access in the form of programs and policies to subsystem facilities that exist in the *Sarungan* community. As a consequence, the client in this case the *sarungan* community first provides a combination of social actions in the form of respect and loyalty which then leads to political action in the form of electoral support to a single candidate pair.

In this case, Peter Blau (1964: 89) states that appreciation and service are actually voluntary, but the gift must in fact be given based on the obligation received.

To fulfill this, a single candidate pair places the position of the program related to the needs of the community and the empowerment becomes a priority program. These programs for example are Mandatory of Religious School (Madin), Wak Muqidin, Pospeda and so on.

The Mandatory Madin program is a superior program in the field of education provided by a single candidate pair. Madin is a *Diniyah Madrasah* (Religious Schools) which is a place to learn religious knowledge both in Islamic boarding schools and in villages. However, the highest number of Madin is in the pesantren and surau in rural areas. This program is provided in the form of budgeting, administration, teaching staff, institutions and buildings. According to the data, the number of Madin in Pasuruan Regency reached 1,439 spread across 24 sub- districts in the regency. However, this program is still only attended by students from elementary and junior high schools with a total of 122,726 students who use high school level where their authority is taken over by the East Java Provincial Government.

Wak Muqidin Program or *Wayaha Kumpul Program Build TPQ* (program of building Al-Qur'an Education Place) and Madin (Early Islamic Madrasah) is a single candidate program given to Pasuruan Regency community in the field of Islamic education. Recorded monthly in May 2019, 1417 Al-Qur'an Education Places (TPQ) have obtained the legality of the District Ministry of Religion. With quantity assumptions, there are 3 (three) to 5 (five) TPQ in 365 villages / kelurahan in each village / kelurahan. This program is massively prioritized for the Pasuruan community by involving stakeholders in the religious education sector and Islamic boarding schools.

In Madin students this is shared with advanced programs that are shared with children and anti-drugs, namely the 3P Programs; *Pusaka*, *Pelasan* and *P3D*. *Pusaka* means youth and santri anti-drugs, *Pelasan* means training of santri and *P3D* means young people who are pioneers in village development. The P3D program is proclaimed for a Regency that is concerned and has the power of competition in education and youth. In addition, a pesantren industry development program is also available by utilizing santri as entrepreneurs and producers for economic development. In addition, there is the POSPEDA program, the Inter- Boarding School Sports and Arts Week which is visited by santri from various Islamic boarding schools in Pasuruan Regency. The total number of sports contested is 10 sports and 12 non- sports. The 10 branches are athletics, soccer, volleyball, basketball, table tennis, pencak silat, futsal, badminton, sepak takraw, santris and hadang. While non-sports, namely senior Islamic music, calligraphy, 3 language speeches, Islamic photography, senior Islamic painting, senior art, senior hadrah, video or short stories, theater arts, copyright reading poetry, standing comedy and Islamic fashions. This program is held to instill the character of Islamic boarding school students.

The exchange process is carried out between individuals and other social group units. Exchange through political awards in the case of the Single Candidate for the Pasuruan Pilkada in 2018 can be carried out by a single incumbent candidate and his success team (actors and groups of actors) with a dominant social group unit in Pasuruan Regency. Collectively, the political appreciation in the level of exchange is

realized through regional policy programs that benefit these social group units on a priority scale. However, this does not only stop in the context of regional policy programs but also there is a budget allocation, empowerment of human resources in the unit groups is always involved in opportunities for regional government activities. In contrast, the socio-political group unit feels joy and joy because it is considered and respected by the incumbent sole candidate because it is always involved in its policy program. This is relevant to the conditions of the culture of Pasuruan Regency people who like to be invited by the Regency government to implement these programs. Therefore, the majority of the incumbent single candidate programs are related to the pesantrenan. Either the empowerment of Islamic boarding schools institutionally, *santri* human resources, alumni human resources, education modules, building improvements, etc. related to the program that was explored from the special culture of the Pasuruan Regency area.

Implications of Political Exchange Single Candidates:

On a practical level, clientelistic exchange manifests a form of dyadical exchange between candidates and voters in return for political support (Hopkin, 2006; Kartz & Crotty, 2014; 670). However, in the case of the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada, clientelistic exchange practices experienced a shift that applies to exchange relations between single candidates and political parties as well as between single candidates and voters. The biggest advantage of the practice of political exchange is the single candidate in the Pasuruan Regency Pilkada and the local PKB as a political party that controls the district parliament in the 2019 Legislative Election.

The model of political exchange is the political-exchange of local figures or traditional- political exchanges. Namely, a political action conditioned by local leaders as the role of cultural mediation between political parties and local voters with a single candidate in the effort to establish democratic politics through the Direct Election for District Head (Pilkada). A single candidate as a patron has a reward voucher and is able to trade in these rewards with other political party leaders (clients) with promised political modalities to be linked to a larger clientelistic network (the business elite). That way, the client must replace it with a recommendation letter in nomination. The argument is that local political parties in Pasuruan Regency consider these local leaders as a source of cultural political legitimacy in themselves.

In addition, single candidates and PKB as owners of resource vouchers available in government administration, use them to bind majority voters who tend to be based on political flow in Pasuruan Regency with political offerings in the form of populist-religious policies. Populist policy is a strategic way that is able to determine victory by prioritizing populist policy making and popular activities rather than the effectiveness of certain policies and encouraging exclusive policies (Sobari, 2017: 351, Muhtadi, 2019: 9).

In this case, Hopkin (2006) says that governing parties have a greater ability to manipulate and channel resources in exchange for political support. This is very relevant to the majority of voters in Pasuruan who prioritize their willingness (single

candidate and PKB) who continuously provide protection and assistance to them (patronage). And according to researchers, the side of the problem is this context. Even though the populist policy exchange has not touched the minority community, the distribution of material benefits that exist in the policy is not balanced and fair. Such as repairing road infrastructure, capital facilities for rural communities, small industry subsidies, agriculture and fisheries, a combination of creative industries, alleviating poverty and unemployment, and public services (education and health).

In line with Greg Fealy's theory (2003; 83) about accommodative political objectives of NU-based political parties in government, first; channeling government funds to the NU community, especially to improve educational and religious facilities, such as Islamic boarding schools, madrasas, mosques and also building or maintaining social infrastructure such as health clinics, orphanages and meeting halls. Second; trying to get business and government opportunities for NU and its supporters such as lively in Pasuruan Regency with supermarket licensing, *Baitul Mal wa Tamwil* (BMT), application-based ojek and cooperatives. Third; get the position of NU members in the bureaucracy such as the placement of NU member representation in a strategic position both in the district government and non-governmental independent institutions.

Pertukaran politik dalam penentuan calon tunggal di Pilkada Kabupaten Pasuruan menyimpan pemahaman yang lebih ambigu apabila dilihat dari sudut pandang implikasi praktiknya. Tersebarunya politik dan koalisi berorientasi kepentingan bersama (*maslahat*) sebenarnya merupakan sebuah implementasi politik yang berkepentingan khusus. Usaha calon tunggal untuk meraih dukungan partai politik melalui politik klientelistik serta meraih dukungan suara dari rakyat melalui kebijakan populis menurut peneliti adalah sebuah distribusi manfaat yang bersifat selektif individual (oportunistik) sehingga secara otentik perihal tersebut dapat merugikan penyediaan kebaikan yang bersifat kolektif.

The political exchange in the determination of a single candidate in the Pasuruan Regency Pilkada saves a more ambiguous understanding when viewed from the perspective of its practical implications. The spread of politics and coalitions oriented to common interests (*Maslahat*) is actually a political implementation of special interest. The single candidate's effort to win the support of political parties through clientelistic politics and to gain votes from the people through populist policies according to the researcher is a distribution of benefits that is selectively individual (opportunistic) so that authentically this matter can be detrimental to the provision of collective good.

In terms of researchers, opportunist politics here is a person or organization in his political will capable of distributing benefits at every opportunity available through the principles he deems reasonable. In the process of determining a single candidate in Pilkada alone, a single candidate is able to take advantage of every opportunity to lobby local political parties with rewards exchanged in his political promises. Likewise, a single candidate is able to take advantage of the opportunity of a sense of closeness from the socio-cultural aspects because of the similarity of the political flow to lobby politics to local leaders (religious elites) to strengthen the network and status quo in the process of nominating the Pasuruan Regency Pilkada.

A single candidate applies opportunist politics in his political exchange rather

than aiming at a pragmatic (self-interest) orientation but opportunist politics which is meant by the researcher here is the sole candidate's ingenuity in utilizing political networking relations with the principle of ideal and principle political exchange. In other words, in the process of utilizing the opportunity, a single candidate tries to accommodate all that is requested by the surrounding units (accommodation politics) with a relatively different exchange value scheme.

The other implication of the practice of political exchanges is that local non-ruling political parties fail to ground their political ideology (down to earth) to the people of Pasuruan Regency. The ideology of the party is seen as a special character from the system of ideas that becomes the identity of political parties (Mair and Mudde, 1998: 220). Although in reality, the people of Pasuruan Regency are the majority of their political behavior tend to be based on a particular religious stream but in the market the flow of politics does not have a political platform that contains program ideas as possessed by political parties. Program ideas in the political ideology of certain political parties become a distinction from the idea of a ruling political party that tends to provide an element of benefits only to activists and its permanent voters (utility platforms). Thus, non-political parties based political parties must be able to overcome the dependence on political parties that have the majority vote from political flow to become a politics of "*program-fighting*".

Furthermore, local non-ruling political parties involved in political exchanges with single candidates will lead to inequalities of access to the political process and uneven and hierarchical distribution of benefits so that this problem can sacrifice access and effectiveness of benefits for some individuals or groups of loyal voters from non-party the ruler. As a result the distribution of access and effectiveness of benefits is only owned by individuals and groups of single-candidate voters and ruling parties.

The next implication is that political exchanges carried out by single candidates in the Pasuruan Regency Election 2018 have distorted electoral political democracy at the local level. In this context, political exchange is a political action taken by a candidate through political rewards not to bring up other candidates in the General Election. In practice in the Pasuruan Regency Election 2018, the political rewards can be in the form of financial rewards for campaigns in the 2019 legislative election, compensation for facilities for offices and offices as well as receipt of contract employees at certain official institutions.

Conclusion

Based on the field research that examined the process of determining a single candidate in the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Election (Pilkada), this study provides two main conclusions as follows:

Firstly, In the process of determining the single candidate, there are two deterministic roles that determine the birth of a single candidate in the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada, namely the role of formal and non-formal determinants. The role of the formal determinant is played by local political parties and the Pausuruan Regency KPU. The role of political parties in this case is through the provision of political

recommendations from all political parties holding seats in the Pasuruan Regency DPRD to single candidates. Whereas the KPU of Pasuruan Regency has a role in making it difficult for candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent from individual lines. The role of non-formal determinants is played by religious elites or local leaders and the influence of political determinations of the roots is rooted in the community of Pasuruan 2018 Regency through cultural network processes.

Secondly, in the process of determining the single candidate in the 2018 Pasuruan Regency Pilkada there are political exchanges that have two exchange models, namely; a model of economical political exchange and traditional political exchange. The model of economical political exchange occurs in single candidates with local political parties in which candidates provide promised political rewards to local political parties who are members of their coalitions with economic exchange mechanisms. While traditional political exchange models occur in single candidates with Pasuruan Regency KPU and loyalist voters based on political flow. Traditional political exchange runs through the distribution of benefits as political rewards for political support from the party because of the element of sense of closeness and obligation (rewards based on social and political aspects)

The forms of exchange are two models; 1) an economical-political exchange model in the form of political modality which clarifies the 2019 legislative election and facilities for political parties and 2) a traditional-political exchange model with the form of an exchange in the form of tripling the 2018 Pilkada budget allocation from the 2013 Pilkada budget and recruitment of contract employees in Pasuruan Regency especially in the education and social fields.

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