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Abstract - Regional Head Elections, more familiarly referred to as Pilkada, are manifestations of implementing democratic practices in Indonesia. The holding of regional head elections (pilkada) in 2020 is one of the regional elections that has reaped various highlights. This is because the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections were held in the midst of the Covid-19 Pandemic wave that broke out in Indonesia and even the world. Through Perpu Number 2 of 2020 concerning Regional Elections, the government stipulates that the regional head elections that were originally going to be held on September 23, 2020 must be postponed until December 9, 2020. This research then discusses the tendency of political behavior in the 2020 simultaneous regional elections in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic and how law enforcement is held in the 2020 simultaneous regional elections. The type of research carried out in this study is normative legal research with a perspective approach. The data used in this study are secondary data and the author's data collection technique is a literature study. In this study, the author then found that political behavior such as money politics and kinship politics, still colored the content of the simultaneous regional elections in 2020. In the 2020 regional elections, 124 candidates in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections were affiliated with political dynasties. Furthermore, out of the total 124 candidates, the number of female candidates is 57 and 29 of them are the wives of previous regional heads in addition, as many as 104 cases of alleged money politics have occurred and spread across 19 provinces.

Keywords: Political Behavior, Simultaneous Regional Elections, and Covid-19

INTRODUCTION

The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is one country that adheres to a democratic system and makes democracy a political understanding. Regional Head Elections, more familiarly referred to as Pilkada, are manifestations of implementing democratic practices in Indonesia. The electoral system is one of the important milestones representing the sovereignty of the people, so it is one of the important elements of democracy.¹

Article 18 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution states that the Governor, Regent, and Mayor, as Heads of Provincial, Regency, and City Governments, are democratically elected by the people through a direct election mechanism. The democratic law in this provision is then interpreted by choosing a direct election mechanism as stipulated in Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government (Pilkada) in Article 24 paragraph (5) Regional heads, and deputy regional heads are elected in one pair directly by the people in the area concerned. The same formulation was then substantially unchanged in Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government which replaced Law Number 32 of 2004.² Regional head elections are also a form of appreciation of political rights for the Indonesian people as stated in Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (1945 Constitution), because in its implementation, the people can distribute their voting rights directly to candidates for regional heads at the provincial and regency/city levels.

¹ Sylvia Bishop & Anke Hoffler, "Free and Fair Elections: A New Database", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 53 No.4, 2016, Pp. 2.

² Eco Noer K., "Implementation Election Head Area Synchronously In Indonesia: Study At Batam", *Journal Research De Jure Law*, Vol. 17 No. 1, 2017, Pp. 49.

The election of regional heads and deputy regional heads whom the House of Representatives previously elected (DPR) then the machine switched to direct elections by the people because this was a logical consequence of a shift in the concept of regional autonomy adopted by Indonesia, which was also marked by the birth of Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government. The emergence of the idea or idea of holding direct regional elections is actually a further process of efforts to improve the quality of democracy in the regions. Philip Mawhood argues that local governments also have the potential to realize democratization because decentralization certainly requires representation, accountability, and responsiveness. The bigger ones.⁴

The holding of regional head elections (Pilkada) in 2020 is one of the regional elections that has reaped various highlights. This is because the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections were held in the midst of the *Covid-19* Pandemic wave that broke out in Indonesia and even the world. Through Perpuu Number 2 of 2020 concerning Regional Elections, the government stipulates that the regional head elections that were original to be held on September 23, 2020 must be postponed until dated December 9, 2020. Furthermore, the General Election Commission (KPU), as the organizer of the Regional Elections, issued a KPU decree Number: 179/PL.02-kpt/01/KPU/III/2020, which, among others, regulates the postponement of several stages of the 2020 Regional Elections, which were previously several stages. Was implemented before the *Covid-19* Pandemic broke out in Indonesia.

The decision to hold simultaneous regional elections on December 9, 2020 reaped pros and cons from various circles. On the supporting side, maintaining democracy and the sustainability of governance in the regions are reasons that the implementation of regional elections must continue to be carried out. This reason departs from the opinion that regional elections must be implemented to avoid uncertainty in regional leadership, which can result in regional development and community welfare constraints. However, on the one hand, there are also not a few who disapprove⁵ of the implementation of the election on the grounds of the health and safety of the organizer, participants, and voters who must be paid more attention to, the technical quality of the demo krasi, and other matters related to the technical implementation of the simultaneous regional elections in the midst of the *Covid-19* pandemic.⁶

Money politics is another problem in implementing regional head elections (Pilkada). Money politics is considered to often appear every time before the implementation of the regional elections carried out by several pairs of regional head candidates. Money politics seems to be a tradition that is difficult to eliminate by some candidates for regional head pairs who are carried out to buy votes from the public. This is clearly contrary to Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. The implementation of regional elections during the *Covid-19* pandemic is considered prone to money politics because of the large number of unemployed and Indonesia experiencing an economic recession in the midst of the pandemic. This economic recession is used as a tool to win votes in simultaneous regional elections for several pairs of regional head candidates by distributing money or goods with varying nominals. ⁷

Based on the background above, the author is then interested in research on the tendency of political behavior in the 2020 simultaneous regional elections amid the *Covid-19* pandemic and how to enforce the law for holding simultaneous regional elections in 2020.

³ Noor M. Azis, 2009, Assessment Law About Election Head Area, BPHN: MINISTRY OF LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS, Pp. 5.

⁴ Philip Mawhood, 1983, *Decentralization; The Concept and The Practice. Local Government in the Third World*. York: JohnWilley & Sons, hLm. 3.

⁵ Muhidin, B., & Suswanta, S. (2023). Birocracy Politization Typology in Structural Official Replacement (Case Study in Regional Government of North Maluku Province). International Journal of Social Service and Research, 3(2), 452-459.

⁶ Sri Nuryati, Mouliza K Donna Sweinstani, Sutan Sorik, 2020, *Policy Brief: Polemic of Holding Simultaneous Regional Elections during the Covid-19 Pandemic*, Jakarta: Center for Political Research LIPI, p. 1.

⁷ Aniqotun Nafiah, 2021, *Implementation Election Head Dan Area Politics Money In The Future Pandemic Covid-19*Surabaya: UMSurabaya Publishing, Pp. 40.



METHOD

The type of research carried out in this study is normative legal research with a prespektif approach. The data used in this study are secondary data obtained from library materials, archives, and other documents that relate to the problem being analyzed. The data collection technique carried out by the author is a library search that collects data from the results of reading and analysis to try to make conclusions from related documents or legislation finally and is inseparable from law books, law journals, and other sources related to elections and political behavior.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

A. Political Behavior in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections in Indonesia Simultaneous Pilkada in the Midst of the Covid-19 Pandemic

The 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections are a contestation of the democratic party at the local level, which is held forth based on the list of organizers. Previously, simultaneous regional elections were first held in Indonesia in 2015, then the second simultaneous regional elections in 2017 and the third simultaneous regional elections in 2018. In the simultaneous regional elections in 2020, the number of regions that conducted regional head elections was 270, covering 9 provinces, 224 districts and 37 cities. Or briefly, if calculated, as many as 60% of the regions in Indonesia carry out regional elections.

However, the 2020 regional elections are different from the three events held in previous years. This is because in 2020, regional elections were held amid the coronavirus or *Covid-19* outbreak that has hit the world, and Indonesia is no exception. The presence of *this coronavirus* then paralyzes all public activities from various sectors, ranging from education and business to politics. The implementation of the regional elections is certainly inseparable from mass mobilization. The preparation of voter lists, matching voter data, determining candidates, campaigning, voting, and counting votes is a series of schedules in the implementation of regional elections, which on the one hand, collide with government regulations during the pandemic. *covid-19* to implement *social* and *physical distancing* to Large-Scale Social Restrictions (LSSR). The government then took steps to postpone holding simultaneous regional elections by issuing Perpuu Number 2 of 2020, so that the regional elections that were originally going to be held on September 23, 2020 must be postponed until the 9th of December 2020.

However, even though the government has taken steps to postpone the holding of elections, the pros and cons still appear in public. Those who support the conduct of regional elections reason that the urgency of holding regional elections is to maintain domestic political stability and to maintain democracy and the continuity of governance in the regions. This is based on an argument to avoid uncertainty in regional leadership, which can result in regional development and community welfare constraints.

Then, on the one hand, who refuses to hold elections, the health and safety reasons for the implementation of elections, be it participants, organizers, and voters, must be paid more attention to; the technical qualities of democracy; and other matters related to the technical implementation of the Pilksimultaneously in the midst of the *Covid-19* pandemic. ¹⁰ Therefore, continuing elections can have the opportunity to make elections a less inclusive electoral process.

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⁸ Pious, & Mujahhidin, M. (2020). "Challenges and Opportunities for Community Empowerment Practices in Indonesia during the Covid-19 Pandemic through Strengthening the Role of Higher Education", *BIRCI-Journal: Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.3 No.2, 2020, Pp. 1105- 1113.

⁹ Putu Sekarwangi Saraswati, "Policy Law Towards Handlersn Pandemic Covid-19 in Indonesia", *Journal Kertha Wicaksana*, Vol. 14 No. 2, 2020), hLm. 148.

¹⁰ Sri Nuryati, Op. Cit.

¹¹ Conducting elections while the pandemic is still ongoing is also considered to be able to give rise to new clusters of *covid-19 spread*. ¹²

The continued holding of regional head elections amid the Covid-19 pandemic is still spreading in Indonesia, encouraging some candidates' behavior or political attitudes for regional head spouses to step down in the contestation of simultaneous local elections in 2020. For example, the candidate for mayor of Banjarbaru, HM Aditya Mufti Ariffin, stated that he withdrew from the 2020 simultaneous regional elections because he disagreed that the elections were held when the *covid-19* pandemic still has not decreased graphically and even continues to increase¹³. According to him, it is a big risk if the regional elections are still held during the pandemic and the safety of the people above all else. For this reason, he stated that he would withdraw if the regional elections were still held on December 9, 2020. ¹⁴

Furthermore, one of the election organizing committees overseeing the holding of elections (including regional elections), namely the General Election Polling Agency (Bawaslu), also, in several regions, withdrew Self due to the holding of regional elections during the *Covid-19* pandemic still ongoing. For example, two members of the sub-district level election supervisor in the context of the 2020 Bantul Regent and Deputy Regent Elections resigned from the ad hoc supervisory membership on health grounds If the regional elections are still held during the pandemic.¹⁵

The Issue of Political Dynasties in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections

Political dynasties and dynastic politics are also things that often color the content of elections both at the national and local levels in Indonesia. According to Yoes C. Kenawas in his study, dynastic politics is defined as an elected public official with a familial or kinship relationship with the incumbent at the same, lower, or higher level. ¹⁶ Dynastic politics is an oligarchic political strategy to be able to perpetuate its power. Meanwhile, political dynasties are family members who occupy either sequentially the same position or simultaneously in various positions. ¹⁷

So strong is the political power of the dynasty by the elites in the regions that makes political dynasties unavoidable in the simultaneous regional elections in 2020. This politics then minimizes the opportunity for middle and small-class people to participate as regional leaders because political dynasties often dominate almost every nomination sector. The pros and cons then occur related to the candidacy of candidates with an affinity for the elite. The 2020 simultaneous regional elections also did not escape the existence of massive political dynasties in campaigns in several regions. But what needs to be underlined is that the superiority of members of political

¹¹ James T. & Garnett H., *Introduction: The Caser for Inclusive Voting Practices Introducton*, 2019, Policy Studies Pp. 7.

¹² Arnon Affect., Et. al., "Upholding Democracy In A Global Pandemic: The Israeli Elections Experience." *Journal of Travel Medicine*, Vol.27 No. 7, 2020, Pp. 8.

¹³ Hilman, H., & Utami, P. (2023). Public Information Openness Strategy in Maintaining Quality and Accountability of 2024 Elections in Banten Province. International Journal of Social Service and Research, 3(1), 236-243

¹⁴ M. Risanta, 2020, "Reject Elections in the Future Pandemic, Aditya Mufti Retreat Pilwalkot Banjarbaru", Accessed from page https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5054422/tolak-pilkada-di-masa-pandemi-aditya-mufti-mundur-pilwalkot-banjarbaru at date April 12, 2022, Hit 18:30.

¹⁵ Fikri Faqih, 2020, "Worried Covid-19, Two Member Panwaslu District Elections Bantul Resigned Self", Accessed from page https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/khawatir-covid-19-dua-anggota-panwaslu-kecamatan-pilkada-bantul-mengundurkan-diri.html at date April 12, 2022, Hit 19:00.

¹⁶ Y.C. Kenawas, "The Rise of Political Dynasties in a Democratic Society", *EDGS Working Paper: Arryman Fellow*, Vol. 22, 2015, Pp. 1–58.

¹⁷ Ronald U. Mendoza, et. Al., "Political Dynasties and Poverty: Measurement and Evidence Of Linkages In The Philippines", Oxford Development Studies, Vol. 44 No. 2, 2016, Pp. 189–201.

dynasties, namely the resources, gives them a substantial electoral advantage over other candidates. 18

Dynastic politics at the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections showed a significant increase. The Nagara Institute Research Institute noted that 124 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections candidates were affiliated with political dynasties. Furthermore, out of the total 124 candidates, the number of female candidates was 57, and 29 were istri from the previous regional head. The details of the 124 candidates in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections affiliated with political dynasties are as follows:¹⁹

- 1. 5 candidates for Gubernur and 4 candidates for deputy governor;
- 2. 57 candidates for regent and 30 candidates for deputy regent; and
- 3. 20 candidates for mayor and 8 candidates for deputy mayor.

One of the most phenomenal candidates in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections is the candidacy and victory of President Joko Widodo's son and son-in-law. Gibran Rakabuming Raka is the biological son of Joko Widodo, who participated in the Surakarta City Election, and Bobby Nasution was Joko Widodo's son-in-law in the Medan City Election. This phenomenon is the first thing that has happened in Indonesia, a President who is in office has a son and a son-in-law who is the elected Regional Head. Public arguments are disturbed by the monotonous regeneration of power by the families of the political elite alone. This is because the political behavior of President Joko's son, who decided to enter politics, is considered ambitious because Gibran's political background is considered premature. The politics of kinship, which had long been rife at the local level where premature candidates were followed by political experience, developed due to the strong support of familism and kinship. Although this provides a political advantage, on the one hand, it certainly affects the general public group who also want to lead both at the local and national levels.²⁰

The political behavior of candidates affiliated with kinship politics then caused negative responses from various parties because it was considered to be a negative side of Indonesian democracy during the now. Some of the factors that influence the political behavior of candidates affiliated with kinship politics are the non-implementation of the process of institutionalization and regeneration of political parties in a well. The phenomenon of kinship arises because the promotion of candidates by political parties only sees strong economic, political, and social capital, even if the candidate does not originate or is not a carrying party member.

Another factor that facilitates the emergence of candidates affiliated with kinship politics is the wide range of opportunities to take advantage of *brand name advantage* and *name recognition*. ²¹ Most voters are more familiar with political families and incumbents than newcomer candidates and then perpetuate kinship politics to grow and develop in regional political posts. Although, this reference can be a boomerang when the performance of its predecessor is viewed poorly by objective voters and considers the accountability aspect. ²²

The next factor that facilitates the emergence of candidates affiliated with kinship politics is the absence of rules or regulations governing prohibit dynastic politics from growing in Indonesia. The continuation of kinship politics in Indonesia can reduce the quality of representation because kinship politics has weak accountability and hinders the emergence of other, more candidate's quality.

¹⁸ B.D. Feinstein, "The dynasty advantage: Family ties in congressional elections", *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 35 No.4, 2010, Pp. 571–598.

¹⁹ Mudiyati Rahmatunnisa, "Questioning Kinship Politics in Indonesia in the Implementation of the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections", *Journal Academia Praja*, Vol. 4 No. 2, 2021, Pp. 296.

²⁰ Aunil Ukhra, "Issues Politics Identity And Dynasty Politics Deep Campaign Elections Synchronously Year 2020" *Journal Scientific Pancasila Education and Citizenship*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2021, Pp. 358.

²¹ Ernesto Dal Bó, Pedro Dal Bó and Snyder, J., "Political Dynasties", *Review of Economic Studies*, Vol. 76 No. 1, 2009, Pp. 115–142

²² Bingyong Zheng, et al., "An Electoral Model of Political Dynasties", SSRN Electronic Journal, 2016.



Later elections cannot serve as an accountability mechanism to replace underperforming incumbents when political leadership is transmitted to relatives. The existence of political dynasties also often does not provide an alternative candidate choice for voters due to the unfair process of recruiting candidates and providing pre-collegiate to relatives of incumbents.²³

Money Politics and the Issue of Misuse of Social Assistance in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections

The attention of election organizing institutions such as the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) is still focused on *money politics* in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections. Bawaslu seeks to minimize electoral violations, such as the practice of money politics by using mapping election insecurity. From mapping the results of the IKP (Election Insecurity Index) Update for the 2020 Regional Elections, Bawaslu puts money politics as one of the most highlighted vulnerabilities, especially during the campaign stage because the *Covid-19* Pandemic is still ongoing. IKP Bawaslu in 2020 stated that a number of 19 districts/cities were included in the list of high vulnerability in the aspect of *money politics*, 26 regions were included in medium vulnerability, and 261 patents/cities were included in the low category. ²⁴ Based on data compiled by the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), as many as 104 cases of alleged money politics have occurred. They are spread across 19 provinces, namely Lampung, West Java, East Java, and South Sulawesi. Then Southeast Sulawesi, East Kalimantan, North Sumatra, Central Java, South Kalimantan, North Kalimantan. Then West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), West Sumatra, Jambi, Bengkulu, Banten, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), Babel, Central Kalimantan and Riau. ²⁵

The issue of politicizing social assistance for regional head candidates in the 2020 simultaneous regional elections also emerged before the December 2020 regional elections were held. This came out to the public because civil society considered that the incumbent had the potential to politicize social assistance. It was based on the fact that at the central level, there had been misuse of social assistance. This condition makes civil society think there is a need to postpone the implementation of regional elections because, in a pandemic that slows down the national economy, incumbents and candidates with large funds certainly have the potential to win in the regional elections 2020. ²⁶ Covid-19 has caused the community's economic slump due to the huge wave of layoffs (terminations) and sectors of the people's economy that have fallen so that they are increasingly opening up The gap in money political insecurity is getting higher, and higher. Certain individuals use *covid-19* handling assistance to influence voters to vote for certain candidates with indications of money politics. The social guidance actually given by the government from the APBD and APBN is then manipulated as if the assistance came from a certain candidate to gain the sympathy of voters.

Such political behavior of candidates for regional heads certainly threatens a healthy democratic process. Moreover, this seems to have become a culture in every election, both at the national and local levels. On the one hand, money politics is considered the fairest way for voters for their distrust of political parties that often-spread promises during later campaign periods when elected are not pro- towards the people.

²³ Benny Geys and Daniel M. Smith, "Political Dynasties in Democracies: Causes, Consequences and Remaining Puzzles", *Economic Journal*, Vol. 127 No. 605, 2017, Pp. 446–454.

²⁴ Agus Aan Hermawan and Yana Suharyana, "Implementation Building Democratization At Province Banten (Study Practice Politics Money On Elections Synchronously Year 2018 – 2020 at Province Banten)", *Journal Policy Regional Development*, Vol.5, No.2, 2021, Pp. 80.

²⁵ Sania Mashabi, 2020, "Bawaslu Tangi 104 Case Politics money in Elections 2020", Accessed from page https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/12/15/17282731/bawaslu-tangani-104-kasus-dugaan-politik-uang-di-pilkada-2020, on April 13, 2022, Hit 15:00.

²⁶ Asmi Septanti Kurniawati & Sri Budi Eco Wardani, "Process Politics Assignment Schedule Election Head Area Synchronously Time Pandemic Covid-19 Year 2020", *Journal Science Politics and Government*, Vol. 7 No. 2, 2021, Pp. 10.

R Assessing Law Enforcement for the Implementation of Simultaneous Pegianal Flortion

B. Assessing Law Enforcement for the Implementation of Simultaneous Regional Elections 2020

Authority of the Constituency Court to Resolve Disputes over the Results of Regional Elections With the establishment of regulations related to the implementation of elections, it then presents consequences, including those who have the authority to resolve disputes over the results of the regional elections. Before the Elections are incorporated into the Electoral regime, the resolution of disputes over the results of the Elections may be carried out by the Supreme Court. However, the inclusion of the Regional Elections into the electoral regime made the Supreme Court unable to resolve cases of disputes over the results of the regional elections. The authority was then devolved to The Constituency Court as a follow-up to revising the local government law and regulating the handling of disputes over the results of the regional elections. It was transferred from the Supreme Court to the Supreme Court. ²⁷ Constitutionally, the authority of the Constitutional Court to resolve disputes over the results of elections is contained in Article 24C paragraph (1) of the 1945 NR I Constitution. Formal legitimation, which mentions the authority of the Constitutional Court in regional election disputes, is then explicitly stated in Article 236C of Law No. 12 of 2008 concerning the second amendment to Law Number 32 of 2004.

In Law Number 10 of 2016, the idea was then raised to establish a Special Judicial Agency as an institution that would resolve disputes over the results of regional elections. Still, before the special judicial body was formed, disputes over the results were resolved at the Mahkamah Konstitusi (authority transitional), which contained in Article 157 paragraphs (1) to (4) of Law Number 10 of 2016. The transitional authority of Mahkamah Kontitusi is an implication of the interpretation of Mahkamah Konstitution related to the settlement of election disputes in Decision No. 97/PUUXI/2013, which underwent construction changes. In the said judgment, the authority of the Mahkamah Kontitusi in resolving disputes over the results of the elections was revoked. The interpretation of the Constitutional Court, which feels that it is no longer authorized to resolve disputes over the election results, seems to depart from too many cases entering the Constitutional Court as long as such authority is first granted. However, on the one hand, the lack of a special judicial body to handle disputes over the results of the regional elections has made the Constitutional Court still the authorized institution to resolve disputes, such as the creation of provisions related to the threshold for requests for disputes over election results to reduce the number of election disputes in the Constitutional Court.

Dispute over the Results of the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections (PHPU) at the Constituency Court

The number of cases of disputes over the results of the 2020 simultaneous regional elections registered in the Constituency Court was 132 cases. From February 15 to 17, 2021, the Constitutional Court (MK) decided 100 cases of disputes over the 202 Regional Elections. Data compiled from the General Election Commission (KPU) said the 100 cases would not proceed to the evidentiary stage. If further detailed, as many as 90 cases were declared inadmissible by the Constituency Court, 6 applications were withdrawn, 2 applications were dropped, and 2 cases stated that the Constituency Court was not authorized to adjudicate. Thus, as many as 32 cases proceeded to the evidentiary stage. ²⁸

Furthermore, after 32 cases of disputes over the results of the 2020 regional elections (PHPU) have been resolved by the Constituency Court, the Constitutional Court in the decision of the PHPU Pilkada 2020 ordered the KPU to conduct re-voting (PSU) in the districts or provinces that held the 2020 Regional Elections. Mahkamah Kontitusi also required establishing an ad hoc body of election

²⁷ Nurush Shobahah and Much. Anam Rifai, "Governor, Regent/Mayor After Constitutional Court Decision No. 55/PUU-XVII/2019", *Legacy: Journal Law and Legislation*, Vol. 1 No. 1, 2021, Pp. 28

²⁸ Sania Mashabi, 2021, "100 Case Dispute Elections 2020 Ran aground in MK", Accessed on the page https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2021/02/18/09240181/100-perkara-sengketa-pilkada-2020-kandas-di-mk, at April 13, 2022, Hit 17:00.

organizers in the regions to ensure the organizers at the local level. The PSU will not be implemented simultaneously but follows the PSU period given by the Constitutional Court for each region, 30, 45, 60 and 90 working days after the Constitutional Court Decision is read.²⁹

This Re-vote (PSU) is regulated in Article 112 of Law No. 1 of 2015 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors as amended by Law No. 8 of 2015, Law No. 10 of 2016, and Law No. 6 of 2020 (Law on Pilkada). However, this PSU implementation then has the potential to cause problems. This includes different budget conditions in each region organizing the re-vote. Then related to PSUs that include many *stakeholders*, which certainly have the potential for interinstitution miscoordination and overlapping authority.³⁰

PSU also has the potential to be sued because, in the Constitutional Court ruling, there is no obligation for the KPU to report the PSU results to the Constitutional Court for ratification. This is because of the phrase "without having to report to the Court" in the decision of the Constituency Court. The KPU in the regions that organize the PSU can then practically make a new decision regarding the determination of the results of the PSU votes that are included with the results of the votes that the Constitutional Court did not cancel in the previous decree during the 2020 Regional Elections. This then gave rise to a polemic because the latest decision by the KPU could actually be an object of an application for disputes over the results of the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections because it is not It is impossible for any more disputes to occur after the re-election.

CONCLUSION

The continued holding of regional head elections in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic still spreading in Indonesia has encouraged the behavior or political attitudes of some candidates for regional head spouses to withdraw in the contestation of the 2020 simultaneous regional elections. For example, banjarbaru mayoral candidate HM Aditya Mufti Ariffin said he withdrew from the 2020 regional elections because he disagreed with the elections being held while the covid-19 pandemic was still ongoing. This attitude also came from the election organizing committee, namely the General Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu), which in some regions also resigned due to the holding of regional elections during the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic. For example, two members of the Bantul Regency Bawaslu who resigned on health grounds.

Several political behaviors can then be analyzed from implementing the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections, including political dynasties that cannot be avoided at the 2020 simultaneous regional elections. In addition, the many indications of manipulative money politics and social assistance amid the covid-19 pandemic also colored the 2020 elections to win voter sympathy. In fact, such a dirty political precession of candidates for regional heads certainly threatens a healthy democratic process.

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²⁹ Shanti Dual Kartika, "Ballots Voice Repeat Pilakada 2020", Center Research Body Skill Secretary-general DPR RI, Vol. V, 2021, Pp. 2.

³⁰ Ibid.

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