

The Conflict of National Elites and Local Elites of PDI-P in the Candidacy Process of Regional Heads Eri Cahyadi and Gibran Rakabuming Raka in the 2020 Pilkada

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Abstract

This study discusses the conflict that occurred between the National Elites and Local Elites of PDI-P in the Candidacy Process of Regional Head Eri Cahyadi and Gibran Rakabuming Raka in the 2020 Pilkada. This research was conducted to explore the roots of the conflict that caused the conflict. This study was conducted in Solo and Surabaya. The data collection process was carried out with *in-depth* interviews. Data analysis used conflict theory reinforced with patron-client theory, political recruitment and political pragmatism. The nomination of external candidates as regional head candidates in local elections carried out by political parties can be said to be a reflection of the existence of political pragmatism that creates conflicts of interest among political elites of party administrators. This is because political parties will generally take various efforts or ways to realize their interests, such as in terms of *utility*, *glory*, and *power*. This tendency is then seen in the prevailing reality in the 2020 Surabaya city elections and the 2020 Solo city elections where when political parties already have potential candidates who can be nominated in the elections from within their ranks, they prefer to support external candidates who are considered more popular because they are considered to have a greater chance of winning the contestation. This can be seen at least in the reality of the 2020 Surabaya regional head election where both candidates who competed were recorded as non-party external candidates with the exception of Armudji. In fact, a number of political parties are recorded to have potential candidates who can be nominated. Meanwhile, in the Solo regional election, the same thing happened. Although the figure of Gibran Rakabuming Raka is recorded as having registered as a PDI-P cadre, his election as a Solo mayoral candidate from PDI-P actually reflects a tendency towards political pragmatism, considering that the DPC PDI-P Solo City has decided to support the Achmad Purnomo-Teguh Prakosa candidate as the candidate for mayor and deputy mayor of Solo for the 2021-2024 period. However, even though the reality in the two regional elections shows a tendency towards political pragmatism, the response of party administrators in the regions (DPC Solo and DPC Surabaya) to the decisions made by the DPP is different. This refers to the rejection of a number of cadres within the DPC of PDI-P Surabaya City against the DPP's decision to recommend support for the Eri Cahyadi - Armudji candidate. On the other hand, even though the decision taken by the DPP was different from that recommended by the DPC of PDI-P Solo, the DPC administrators in fact still chose to support the candidate pairs that had been recommended by the DPP. As a result, this reflects that there are differences in political preferences among party officials in the regions towards the DPP's decision, which can be said to be influenced by political rationalization. The political rationalization referred to in this context then relates to the extent of the benefits obtained from the political actions taken by each political elite in the regions in responding to what has been decided by the DPP, especially regarding support for external candidates as candidates for regional heads in the 2020 regional elections which are recruitment from external cadres. This is because, in the context of the Surabaya regional election in 2020, some party cadres in the regions felt that they did not benefit by supporting the Eri Cahyadi-Armudji candidate pair because Eri Cahyadi was considered an external candidate (although later Eri Cahyadi had registered as a PDI-P cadre). Meanwhile, in the context of the 2020 Solo regional election, party officials in the regions continue to support the candidate pairs recommended by the DPP because they see that there are still benefits obtained from these political actions. Moreover, the figure of Gibran Rakabuming Raka himself was recorded to have registered as a PDI-P cadre. Although on the other hand, this also cannot be separated from the status inherent in Gibran, who is the son of President Joko Widodo.

Abstract

Studi ini membahas tentang konflik yang terjadi antara Elit Nasional Dan Elit Lokal PDI-P dalam Proses Kandidasi Kepala Daerah Eri Cahyadi Dan Gibran Rakabuming Raka Pada Pilkada Tahun 2020. Penelitian ini dilakukan untuk mengeksplorasi akar konflik yang menjadi penyebab dari konflik tersebut. Studi ini dilakukan di Kota Solo dan Surabaya. Proses pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara mendalam. Analisis data menggunakan teori konflik diperkuat dengan teori patron-klien, rekrutmen politik dan pragmatisme politik. Pencalonan kandidat eksternal sebagai calon kepala daerah di pilkada yang dilakukan oleh partai politik dapat dikatakan merupakan cerminan dari adanya pragmatisme politik yang membuat konflik kepentingan diantara elit politik pengurus partai. Hal itu dikarenakan partai politik umumnya akan menempuh berbagai upaya atau cara untuk mewujudkan kepentingan-kepentingannya, seperti dalam hal manfaat (*utility*), kemenangan (*glory*), hingga kekuasaan (*power*). Kecenderungan ini yang kemudian terlihat dalam realitas yang berlaku di pilkada kota Surabaya tahun 2020 dan pilkada kota Solo tahun 2020 dimana di saat partai politik telah memiliki kandidat potensial yang dapat dicalonkan dalam pilkada yang berasal dari internalnya, namun justru lebih memilih untuk mendukung kandidat eksternal yang dianggap lebih populer karena dianggap memiliki peluang yang lebih besar untuk memenangkan kontestasi. Hal ini setidaknya terlihat dalam realitas di pilkada Surabaya tahun 2020 dimana kedua paslon yang berkompetisi tercatat merupakan kandidat eksternal non-partai dengan pengecualian pada sosok Armudji. Padahal, sejumlah partai politik tercatat memiliki kandidat-kandidat potensial yang dapat dicalonkan. Sedangkan di pilkada Solo, hal serupa juga terjadi demikian. Meskipun sosok Gibran Rakabuming Raka tercatat telah mendaftarkan diri sebagai kader PDI-P, namun keterpilihannya sebagai calon walikota Solo dari PDI-P justru mencerminkan adanya kecenderungan pragmatisme politik, mengingat DPC PDI-P Kota Solo telah memutuskan untuk mendukung paslon Achmad Purnomo-Teguh Prakosa sebagai calon walikota dan wakil walikota Solo periode 2021-2024. Akan tetapi, sekalipun realitas di kedua pilkada tersebut menunjukkan adanya kecenderungan pragmatisme politik, respon pengurus partai di daerah (DPC Solo dan DPC Surabaya) terhadap keputusan yang telah diambil oleh DPP justru mengalami perbedaan. Hal ini merujuk pada adanya penolakan dari sejumlah kader di lingkup DPC PDI-P Kota Surabaya terhadap keputusan DPP yang merekomendasikan dukungan kepada paslon Eri Cahyadi- Armudji. Sedangkan di sisi lain, sekalipun keputusan yang diambil oleh DPP berbeda dengan yang direkomendasikan oleh DPC PDI-P Kota Solo, para pengurus DPC tersebut nyatanya tetap memilih untuk mendukung paslon yang telah direkomendasikan oleh DPP. Alhasil, hal ini mencerminkan bahwa terdapat perbedaan preferensi politik di kalangan pengurus partai di daerah terhadap keputusan DPP dimana hal itu dapat dikatakan dipengaruhi oleh adanya rasionalisasi politik. Rasionalisasi politik yang dimaksud dalam konteks ini kemudian berkaitan dengan sejauh mana manfaat yang diperoleh dari tindakan politik yang diambil oleh masing-masing elit politik di daerah dalam merespon apa yang telah diputuskan oleh DPP khususnya mengenai dukungan terhadap kandidat eksternal sebagai calon kepala daerah di pemilukada tahun 2020 yang merupakan rekrutment dari kader eksternal. Peralnya, dalam konteks pilkada Surabaya tahun 2020, beberapa kader partai di daerah merasa bahwa mereka tidak memperoleh manfaat dengan mendukung paslon Eri Cahyadi-Armudji karena sosok Eri Cahyadi yang dianggap sebagai kandidat eksternal (meskipun belakangan Eri Cahyadi telah mendaftarkan diri sebagai kader PDI-P). Sedangkan dalam konteks pilkada Solo tahun 2020, para pengurus partai di daerah tetap mendukung paslon yang direkomendasikan oleh DPP karena melihat masih adanya manfaat yang diperoleh dari tindakan politik tersebut. Apalagi, sosok Gibran Rakabuming Raka sendiri tercatat telah terlebih dahulu mendaftarkan diri sebagai kader PDI-P. Meskipun di sisi lain, hal tersebut juga tidak dapat dipisahkan dari status yang melekat dalam diri Gibran yang merupakan putra dari Presiden Joko Widodo.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Broadly speaking, the participation of political parties in a regional head election (pilkada) basically has the main purpose and interest, namely to obtain or seize power (Miriam Budiardjo, 2008). In order to achieve victory in an election contest, political parties then tend to be able to take all means and efforts to realize this. One of them is through the use of pragmatic methods, which are often counterproductive to the principles and values of party ideology in general (Firman, 2014: 57).

The use of pragmatic methods carried out by political parties in reality also often injures the

prevailing cycle and regeneration process, one of which is marked by the tendency that encourages political parties to prefer to provide support to figures or candidates who are considered popular rather than their own cadres. This is because political parties only tend to be oriented towards achieving victory and ultimately gaining power through existing political positions or positions (Endah, 2019: 16). Especially in the context that applies in Indonesia in general, this tendency is relatively widespread in every context of regional elections that have taken place, especially since the Reformation (Miftah, 2018: 180).

Furthermore, the tendency to prefer popular figures over candidates who are cadres of a political party in the regional elections then reflects that in order to obtain victory, political parties can often be pragmatic (Muslim Mufti, 2020: 39). This is because the orientation of political parties in the regional elections is only aimed at supporting figures or candidates who are considered to have greater potential for victory than other candidates. Even on the other hand, the findings of the study

M. Faishal Aminuddin and Moh. Fajar Shodiq Ramadlan then showed that political pragmatism has a correlation with adaptive political party changes during and after elections and has contributed to the emergence of a new species of political party as a *match-all party* (Aminuddin and Ramadlan, 2015: 39).

Moreover, this is what, according to the context of this research, was alleged to have happened in the context of the Surabaya regional elections held on December 9, 2020. In that election, there were two candidate pairs (*paslon*) for mayor and deputy mayor who became participants because they managed to meet the minimum requirements for the support of political parties that have seats in the Surabaya City DPRD (the acquisition of seats for each political party can be seen in table 1 below). *First*, the Eri Cahyadi-Armudji candidate was nominated by PDI-Perjuangan and supported by PSI and five non-parliamentary political parties consisting of the UN, Hanura Party, Berkarya Party, PKPI and Garuda Party. The *second* candidate, Machfud Arifin-Mujiaman Sukirno, is backed by a coalition of eight parliamentary political parties, namely PKB, Gerindra, Golkar, Nasdem, Demokrat, PAN, PKS and PPP and is also supported by Perindo as a non-parliamentary political party.

As for the reality, what then becomes a *gap* in the context of the 2020 Surabaya city elections is at least shown through the fact that the figures of the two existing candidate pairs do not come from within the supporting political parties or their supporters, except for referring to the figure of Armudji who is listed as a cadre from PDI-Perjuangan. In fact, the political context that had emerged before the holding of the 2020 Surabaya city elections was then colored by the presence of several potential figures or figures from various political parties to be promoted. For example, such as Whisnu Sakti Buana (PDI-Perjuangan and also the incumbent deputy mayor), K.H. Zahrul Azhar As'ad or Gus Hans and Adies Kadir (Golkar), Fandi Utomo (PKB), Dhimas Anugrah (PSI), Vincent Awey (Nasdem), Usman Hakim (Berkarya), Samuel Teguh (Perindo), and so on (Kodenews.com, 2020).

However, what happened shows that political parties that have seats in the Surabaya City DPRD actually prefer to choose external figures such as Eri Cahyadi, Machfud Arifin and Mujiaman Sukirno as candidates for mayor and deputy mayor of Surabaya for the 2021-2024 period. As a result, this further strengthens the impression of pragmatism carried out by political parties, especially those with seats in the Surabaya City DPRD, because they prefer to carry or support external figures rather than potential cadres from within.

When referring to the reality that prevailed in the Surakarta city election in 2020, the same thing happened in the Surabaya city election in 2020. This is at least seen in the internal dynamics of the PDI-Perjuangan Branch Leadership Council (DPC) of Surakarta City, which initially decided to support Achmad Purnomo-Teguh Prakosa as the candidate for mayor and deputy mayor of Surakarta for the 2021-2024 period. However, the dynamics that followed were marked by the emergence of Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the eldest son of President Joko Widodo, who then expressed his desire to become a mayoral candidate in the 2020 Surakarta city election. However, Gibran's desire did not necessarily change the decision of the DPC PDI-Perjuangan Surakarta City,

which had made up its mind to support Achmad Purnomo-Teguh Prakosa. As a result, this then made Gibran finally make a political maneuver by registering himself through the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) of PDI-Perjuangan Central Java Province and the Central Leadership Council (DPP).

Meanwhile, the decision taken by the PDI-Perjuangan DPP was then marked by giving recommendations to Gibran Rakabuming Raka-Teguh Prakosa as a candidate for mayor and deputy mayor of Surakarta for the 2021-2024 period. However, although the DPP's decision contradicts what was recommended by the DPC of Surakarta City, the political dynamics that developed did not end in political conflict or factionalism as happened in the 2020 Surabaya city elections. This can be seen when the DPC PDI-Perjuangan Surakarta City then chose to support the Gibran Rakabuming Raka-Teguh Prakosa candidate pair as recommended by the DPP. For this reason, with reference to this, the author plans to conduct research on the conflict between the central elite and regional elites towards the nomination of external candidates as regional head candidates by referring to the comparison of cases that occurred in the Surabaya city election in 2020 with the Surakarta city election in 2020.

2. METHODS

This research method is descriptive research. The descriptive method can be interpreted as a problem-solving procedure investigated by describing the state of the subject or object in the study in the form of people, factual, society and others who are at the present time based on the facts that appear or what they are.

This research uses a qualitative approach. Qualitative research methods are research methods based on the philosophy of post positivism, used to research on natural object conditions, where the researcher is a key instrument, sampling of data sources is done purposively, data collection techniques are combined, data analysis is inductive / qualitative and qualitative research results.

Data collection techniques are used to collect data in accordance with the research procedures so that the required data is obtained. According to Sugiyono (2012, 224) data collection techniques are the most strategic step in research, because the main purpose of research is to collect data. The data collection techniques used in this study were adjusted to the focus and objectives of the study, so the data research techniques in this study are as follows: the *first* is Interview. Interviews are used as a data collection process to explore information about "Conflict between national political elites and local political elites of PDI-P in the candidacy process of Edi Cahyadi in Surabaya City and Gibran Rakabuming Raka in Surakarta as regional heads in 2020".

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

PDI-P Conflicts in Solo and Surabaya City in 2020 Regional Election

In 2020, simultaneous regional elections took place in Indonesia, including in Solo City and Surabaya City. This election was organized by the General Election Commission (KPU) of Surabaya City and Solo City which was held on December 9, 2020. In Surabaya, Tri Rismaharini because she has served as Mayor for two periods since September 28, 2010, will not run again. Meanwhile, in Solo, the incumbent Mayor, F.X. Hadi Rudyatmo, also cannot run again because he has served for two terms.

The 2020 Surabaya regional election was won by PDI-P. The victory by the Eri Cahyadi and Armuji pair went through the twists and turns of internal conflict in PDI-P. Megawati's political move as chairperson of PDI-P, which gave recommendations to non-party figures in the 2020 Surabaya regional head election, caused conflict within the bull party. The PDI-P DPP prefers to endorse bureaucrat Eri Cahyadi, who is a confidant of former Mayor Tri Rismaharini, as a candidate for Surabaya mayor, compared to its pure cadre, Whisnu Sakti Buana. A number of veteran PDI-P cadres and sympathizers who were disappointed with the decision then chose to defect. The cadres turned their backs on the decision by supporting Machfud Arifin-Mujiaman, who is Eri Cahyadi-Armuji's political opponent in the 2020 Surabaya City Election.

One of the PDI-P Surabaya figures who did not comply with the order was Mat Mochtar. In

the 2020 Surabaya Pilkada, Mat Mochtar decided not to support the Eri-Armuji pair. Mat Mochtar admitted that he was disappointed because PDI-P preferred to support people who were not cadres to become mayoral candidates. Mat Mochtar even invited other PDI-P cadres to join his ranks.

After Mat Mochtar, the next defiance came from hundreds of people who claimed to be cadres of *old* PDI-P sympathizers. They called themselves the *Banteng Ketaton* group. *Banteng Kekaton* promised 40 percent of Surabaya PDI-P votes to the Machfud-Mujjaman pair. One of the initiators of *Banteng Ketaton* Surabaya, Sunardi, said that this declaration of support was a form of disagreement with the decision of the PDI-P DPP to carry Eri-Armuji in the Surabaya regional head election.

Then, the sibling of Surabaya Deputy Mayor Whisnu Sakti Buana, Jagad Hariseno also expressed support for Machfud Arifin, who is also the Head of the Regional Campaign Team (TKD) for Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin in the 2019 presidential election. His attitude is clearly contrary to the PDI-P's decision to support Eri Cahyadi-Armuji. Even though Seno is a PDI-P cadre. This difference in political choice is not without reason. Seno said his attitude of supporting Machfud was a form of criticism of Tri Rismaharini. According to him, Risma no longer sees the history and ideology of the party. However, Seno emphasized that he did not resign from PDI-P despite supporting the Machfud-Mujjaman pair in the Surabaya regional head election.

Seno's younger brother, Whisnu Sakti Buana, is a pure PDI-P cadre who was eliminated from the PDI-P internal nomination market in the 2020 Surabaya Regional Head Election. Whisnu is one of the figures predicted to be the choice of PDI-P in the Surabaya regional head election. His name has been known as the Deputy Mayor of Surabaya for two periods accompanying Tri Rismaharini. The majority of PDI-P grassroots in Surabaya have even declared Whisnu as a candidate for Surabaya leader for a long time. When the recommendation was not given to Whisnu, a number of PDI-P cadres in Surabaya went berserk and were disappointed. Whisnu is the son of the late Soetjipto, a senior PDI-P cadre known to be close to Megawati Soekarnoputri. During his lifetime, he was trusted by Megawati to become Secretary General and Chairman of the PDI-P DPP. He also served as Deputy Chairman of the MPR RI and member of the DPR RI from the PDI-P faction (cnnindonesia.com, 2022).

Spokesperson for the Eri-Armuji pair and Secretary of the PDI-P Surabaya DPC, Baktiono, said it was difficult to embrace the defecting cadres, so the defecting cadres were fired and are no longer part of the party. The fired PDI-P cadres include Jagad Hariseno, Mat Mochtar, and hundreds of sympathizers and other old cadres who are members of *Banteng Ketaton*. Baktiono said that the cadres should submit and obey the decision of the General Chairperson, Megawati Soekarnoputri, who gave recommendations to Eri and Armuji to run in the Surabaya regional election. If not, then the sanction of dismissal is the threat. According to him, this is as recorded in the Articles of Association (AD ART).

What happened in Surabaya was different from what happened in Solo. The election in Solo was won by Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the eldest son of Indonesian President Joko Widodo (2014-2024), who also served as Mayor of Surakarta (2005-2012) and Governor of DKI Jakarta (2012-2014). In July 2019, based on survey results from Slamet Riyadi University, Gibran was considered as one of the potential candidates to run in the 2020 Surakarta Mayor election (The Jakarta Post, 2019). In September 2019, Gibran registered as a member of PDI-P, which is also his father's party. The purpose of joining the party was so that Gibran could run as a mayoral candidate (detik.com, 2019).

Gibran was initially considered ineligible because according to PDI-P rules, he must have been a member for a minimum of three years before he can be nominated as a candidate (bisnis.com, 2020). In addition, the DPC of PDI-P Surakarta City also initially supported the candidacy of the incumbent deputy mayor, Achmad Purnomo (cnnindonesia.com, 2020). However, based on recommendations from the PDI-P DPP, it officially supported Gibran as a candidate on July 17, 2020 with Teguh Prakosa as his deputy candidate (tempo.co, 2020). All parties that have seats in the Surakarta DPRD support Gibran except PKS, because PKS does not have enough seats to carry its own candidate (kumparan.com).

Gibran's advancement has caused conflict within PDI-P. Pros and cons occurred when Gibran registered himself as a candidate for mayor of Surakarta. Moreover, the path taken by Gibran is considered to violate regulations and ethics, especially among the PDI-P Surakarta DPC structure. The Chairman of the DPC PDI-P Surakarta, FX Hadi Rudyatmo, said that the PDI-P Surakarta cadres from the twig level and branch administrators (PAC) agreed to propose the names of mayoral candidate Achmad Purnomo and deputy mayoral candidate Teguh Prakoso (Interview with Mr. FX Hadi Rudyatmo, Chairman of the DPC PDI-P Solo City, Tuesday, April 4, 2023 at 09.45 WIB).

FX Hadi Rudyatmo explained that the process of selecting candidates conducted by the DPC PDI-P Surakarta was in accordance with regulation number 24 of 2017. Where the DPC that wins more than 25 percent of the votes, has the right to conduct an internal selection. While the Surakarta DPC in the last election successfully reaped more than 60 percent of the votes. The regulation, said FX Hadi Rudyatmo, became the guideline for the PDI-P Surakarta DPC to support Achmad Purnomo and Teguh Prakoso in the 2020 Surakarta Regional Election. The two figures were chosen by leaders at the branch level up to the DPC of PDI-P Surakarta City. In Surakarta, there are 5 PACs that proposed the two names to become a candidate pair. Achmad Purnomo and Teguh Prakoso officially registered themselves as candidates for mayor and deputy mayor of Surakarta to the PDI-P DPC on the first day.

Unlike the candidate pair Achmad Purnomo and Teguh Prakoso, Gibran registered himself as a candidate for Mayor of Surakarta to DPD Central Java. In front of his supporters, Gibran promised to bring Surakarta more advanced if given the opportunity as Mayor. Meanwhile, FX Hadi Rudyatmo said that in the process of selecting candidates for mayor and deputy mayor, too many parties intervened. Even though what was done in the screening by choosing the pair Achmad Purnomo and Teguh Prakoso was in accordance with party procedures. Rudy also flicked a number of cadres who were desperate to register as candidates for mayor and deputy mayor to the Central Java PDI-P DPD. He considered that the cadres did not respect the party's constituents. Meanwhile, Achmad Purnomo himself was not surprised if his rival, Gibran, would be listed on the recommendation letter from the PDI-P DPP, because of his status as Jokowi's son. According to Achmad Purnomo, Gibran's chances as a candidate for mayor of Surakarta are very high because the political reality in the country favors those who are related to big figures.

Gibran then received a recommendation from the PDI-P DPP. Then the opponent of Gibran in the Surakarta regional election in 2020 is Bagyo Wahyono who is a designer (sloops.com, 2020) and tailor of traditional Javanese clothing. He claimed to have designed clothes for a number of figures including Didi Kempot, Tia AFI, Waldjinah, Djudjuk Djuariah, Wawin Laura, former Wonogiri Regent Danar Rahmanto, and the coronation clothes of Pakubuwono XIII. Bagyo Wahyono ran as an independent candidate with F.X. Supardjo, a neighborhood leader. Bagyo Wahyono is a resident of RT 01/06, Penumping Village, Laweyan District, Surakarta. While F.X. Supardjo is a resident of RT 01/07, Karangturi Village, Pajang Village, Laweyan District, Surakarta. The Bagyo-Supardjo (Bagjo) pair is carried by the Tikus Pithi Foundation.

On August 21, 2020, the General Election Commission of Surakarta City decided that the Bagyo-Supardjo pair passed factual verification by collecting 38,831 supports, exceeding the minimum limit of 35,870 supports. Thus they have the right to register in the Pilkada on September 4-6, 2020 (liputan6.com). The Bagjo pair denied accusations that they were only a "puppet" to smooth Gibran's steps to win the 2020 Surakarta Pilkada (tirto.id).

According to Adiyoga Nusyirwan, conflict in the recruitment of regional head candidates is a natural thing to happen in the political process. In general, political parties will select and select regional head candidates who are considered to have the capacity, integrity, and public trust to lead the region. However, sometimes the choice of regional head candidates is not always in accordance with the wishes of some members of political parties or the community.

As a democracy-based political party, according to Adiyoga Nusyirwan, PDI-P also continues to strive to strengthen democratic values and produce leaders who are recognized and trusted by the community. Conflicts in the recruitment of regional head candidates can occur due to the

different interests of the candidates and the interests of the community or other political parties (Interview with Adiyoga Nusyirwan, Vice Chairman of DPD PDI Perjuangan, May 5, 2023 at: 10.12 WIB). In the context of democracy, the choices made by political parties must make the right decisions, for the better interests of society. Conflicts in the recruitment of regional head candidates will be resolved by dialog between all parties involved, continued Adiyoga Nusyirwan. In the dialog, each party can exchange ideas and understand each other's interests in order to reach an agreement that is taken by deliberation and consensus.

However, conflicts in the recruitment of regional head candidates can have a negative impact on political parties if not properly addressed. Conflicts can divide political parties, reduce the level of community support, and even damage the democratic process in society. Therefore, political parties must be fair and transparent in the recruitment process of regional head candidates, and ensure that the interests of the community and political parties are accommodated in the selection stage of regional head candidates.

In Solo City, for example, initially there were several names of PDI-P candidates, but then it was decided to endorse President Joko Widodo's eldest son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka as the PDI-P candidate for regional head. This triggered pros and cons among party members and the people of Solo. Some people welcomed the decision, but others saw it as undermining the principles of democracy and causing political conflict. Then, in Surabaya City, conflict arose when PDI-P decided to endorse Eri Cahyadi as a regional head candidate, which then led to the phenomenon of *Banteng Ketaton* supporting political opponents instead of candidates from political parties.

According to Faisal, the conflict reflects that PDI-P still faces challenges in running a democratic local election process that does not create divisions between party members and the community. It also shows the importance of fairness, integrity and transparency in running the local election process. As a major political party with an important role in Indonesian politics, the PDI-P must be able to maintain the principles of fairness and democracy in the recruitment process of candidates for regional heads in local elections and general elections. The party must ensure that the selection of candidates for regional heads is carried out in an open, transparent and accountable manner without giving privileges to one of the candidates. (Interview with Faisal, Political Observer/Director of Dignity Politica, May 20, 2023 at 15.35 WIB).

The conflict over the recruitment of PDI-P regional head candidates in Solo City and Surabaya City in the 2020 Pilkada reflects the challenges and problems still faced by political parties in carrying out a democratic recruitment process for regional head candidates. PDI-P must learn from these conflicts to improve the quality and transparency of recruitment of candidates for regional heads in the future.

Political Elites

The wheels of a political party organization will run if there is a small group that focuses on running a political party. This small group then rules in an oligarchic system, which then controls wealth or political power in society, this small group is commonly called the Political Elite.

DPC PDI-P Surabaya City also has several political elites who play an important role in party leadership and city government. Some of these political elites include: the *first* is Eri Cahyadi who is a regional head candidate carried by PDI-P in the 2020 Pilkada in Surabaya City. Previously, he served as Head of the Surabaya Consumer Protection and Environmental Protection Agency and Chairman of the PDI-P DPC in Surabaya City. Then the *second* is Armuji. Armuji is the Secretary of DPC PDI-P Surabaya City who is active in leading the party in Surabaya. Armuji also served as Vice Chairman of Commission A of the Surabaya City DPRD (Interview with Adiyoga Nusyirwan, Vice Chairman of DPD PDI-P, May 5, 2023 at 10.12 WIB).

The *third* is a PDI-P politician who is involved in various political and social party activities in Surabaya City, namely Wiwin Eprilia. Wiwin Eprilia is also active in education and social activities. The fourth is Tri Rismaharini. The two-term mayor of Surabaya once served as the Secretary of DPC PDI-P Surabaya. Although she is no longer directly involved in the political party, her name is still mentioned as one of the PDI-P political elites who is characterized and able

to lead the city well.

According to Adi Sutarwijoyo, what is meant by political elite among the internal PDI Perjuangan in Surabaya City is someone who is able to influence or give his opinion for the progress and victory of the Party by believing and educating the public through civilized political functions, especially in the city of Surabaya (Interview with Mr. Adi Sutarwijono, Chairman of the DPC PDI Perjuangan Surabaya City, Tuesday, March 21, 2023 at 20.00 WIB).

DPC PDI-P Solo also has several political elites who have important roles in party leadership and city government. Some of these political elites include: the *first* is Achmad Purnomo. Achmad Purnomo is the Chairman of the DPC PDI-P Solo City as well as the Deputy Mayor of Solo in the 2015-2020 period. Achmad Purnomo has also served as a member of the Central Java DPRD for the 2014-2015 period. Achmad Purnomo is also known as a politician who is active and involved in various social activities in Solo.

Then FX Hadi Rudyatmo. FX Hadi Rudyatmo is the Mayor of Solo who was elected in the 2020 Pilkada. Apart from serving as mayor, FX Hadi Rudyatmo is also an active PDI-P cadre. Before serving as mayor, Rudyatmo also served as Deputy Mayor of Solo. The *third* is Agus Santosa. Agus Santosa is the Secretary of the DPC PDI-P Solo City. Agus has also served as Chairman of Commission B of the Surakarta DPRD. He is also active in various social and educational activities in Solo. The *fourth* is Tri Harsono. Tri Harsono is the Chairman of the PDI-P faction in the Solo City DPRD.

The political elites of DPC PDI-P Surabaya City and Solo City have an important role in carrying out the duties and functions of political parties, as well as in leading the city. DPC PDI-P Surabaya City and Solo City always try to recruit the best political elites and are able to lead with sufficient capacity and integrity. DPC PDI-P Surabaya City and Solo City always need political elites with character and high dedication to lead the party and the region. Therefore, political parties always try to select and recruit the best political elites who are able to lead with adequate integrity, courage and capacity. (Interview with Adiyoga Nusyirwan, Vice Chairman of DPD PDI Perjuangan, May 5, 2023 at; 10.12 WIB).

Apart from that, political elites are also required to be able to listen to the aspirations of the community and carry out their duties with high responsibility and integrity. In addition, they must also play an active role in various activities and programs of political parties and the community in order to strengthen the position of political parties and their profile as political elites with character and trustworthiness.

Political Elites according to Verma (1987: 203) are divided into two, namely local political elites and local non-political elites. DPC PDI-P Solo has several local political and non-local political elites.

Local and non-local political elites in the PDI-P DPC of Surabaya City and Solo City have equally important roles and responsibilities in leading the party and serving the people of Surabaya and Solo. Local political elites usually understand and are more familiar with the conditions and needs of the Surabaya community, while non-local political elites can bring experiences, thoughts and perspectives from other cities or regions. Both groups of political elites in the DPC PDI-P of Surabaya City and Solo City are always expected to work together and collaborate to achieve common goals in providing the best service for the people of Surabaya and Solo. In addition, upholding democratic values, integrity, and good leadership are also demands and expectations for political elites in leading political parties and running city governments.

Local and non-local political elites in the PDI-P DPC of Solo and Surabaya City have different positions in the leadership of political parties and the governments of Solo and Surabaya City. Some of them have important positions or roles in political parties, such as DPC Chairman, DPC Secretary, DPC Deputy Chairman, and DPC Treasurer. Meanwhile, some local and non-local political elites from the DPC PDI-P of Solo and Surabaya City are also involved in matters related to social and political activities in the area.

To identify who is included in the political elite category, there are several methods according to Karl Marx (Syamsudin: 2010), including the following:

1. Positional Method. Political elites are those who occupy strategic positions or positions in the political system. Strategic positions are able to make decisions and policies and are expressed on behalf of the State.
2. Reputation method, political elites are determined based on their reputation and ability to process various problems and then formulate them into political decisions that have an impact on people's lives.
3. The method of influence, political elites are people who have influence at various levels of power. This person has the ability to control society according to their ability to influence, so that people spontaneously obey political elites. Therefore, people who are influential in society can be categorized as political elites.

The reputation of political elites in the DPC PDI-P of Solo City and Surabaya City within the DPD PDI-P at the provincial and national levels and in the eyes of the local community is generally positive. Most of them have sufficient experience and expertise in carrying out the functions and responsibilities of political parties and local governments. In addition, local and non-local political elites in the DPC PDI-P of Solo City and Surabaya City are also known as figures who have integrity and commitment in carrying out their duties and are able to carry out the interests of the party and the community well. The influence of local and non-local political elites in the PDI-P DPC of Solo and Surabaya City can be felt by the community and political party members in the city. They play a role in making important decisions within political parties and local governments, as well as in determining policy directions and strategies that are suitable for the social and economic conditions in Solo and Surabaya city. Overall, local and non-local political elites in the DPC PDI-P of Solo and Surabaya City are considered to play an important role in carrying out the functions and responsibilities of political parties, as well as assisting in making policies and leading Solo and Surabaya City towards a better direction.

In elite circulation according to Pareto, social change occurs when there is a change in the governing elite with a new elite. Pareto mentions two categories of elite circulation, the *first is* horizontal circulation, which is a change of elite that occurs between self-governing groups and the *second is* vertical circulation, which is a change of elite that occurs between elites and the rest of the population. In the DPC PDI-P of Surabaya city, based on the composition of the DPC PDIP Surabaya management for the 2019-2024 period, as follows:

1. There is a 30 percent allocation for female cadres, in accordance with the provisions of the PDI-P DPP. This shows that there is an effort to provide space for women to take part in the party.
2. There are opportunities for young cadres to occupy DPC management positions. This indicates regeneration and renewal within the party.
3. There are cadres from religious organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah in the DPC board. This shows the diversity and tolerance in the party.

From these three things, the elite circulation that occurs in the DPC PDI-P of Surabaya city tends to be horizontal, because there are no significant changes in the structure and ideology of the party.

Pareto divides elites into two categories, namely lion elites oriented towards conservatism and tradition, and fox elites oriented towards innovation and change. The elite circulation that occurs in the DPC PDI-P Surabaya City is an alternation between the elite and the masses. This is because there is a change in leadership from Tri Rismaharini who became Minister of Social Affairs to Whisnu Sakti Buana who is a member of the Surabaya DPRD. Tri Rismaharini can be said to be a fox elite who has an innovative and progressive development vision and mission, while Whisnu Sakti Buana can be said to be a lion elite who adheres more to party loyalty and local political traditions. Thus, elite circulation in the PDI-P DPC of Surabaya City shows a shift in political orientation from more reformist to more conservative.

In relation to the perspective of political elites, elite circulation in the DPC PDI-P Surabaya City is important in maintaining the dynamics of political parties and carrying out the functions and duties of political parties. Open and transparent elite circulation can help maintain good

political party performance and ensure that political parties remain relevant to the needs and desires of the people in the area.

Meanwhile, the elite circulation that occurs in the DPC PDI-P Solo City is an alternation between elites and other residents. This is because the DPC PDI-P Solo City has experienced several changes of chairmen from outside the party elite. For example, in 2015, the chairman of the DPC PDI-P Solo City was FX Hadi Rudyatmo, who was the Mayor of Solo at the time. In 2019, the chairman of the DPC PDI-P Solo City was Achmad Purnomo, who was the Deputy Mayor of Solo at the time. In 2021, the chairman of the Solo City PDI-P DPC is Gibran Rakabuming Raka, who is the son of President Joko Widodo and the current Mayor of Solo. From these examples, it can be seen that the Solo PDI-P DPC tends to choose chairmen from among public officials or the president's family, not from among party cadres who have long been involved in the party. This shows the circulation of elites between elites and other residents in the DPC PDI-P Solo City.

Patronage Around the Solo and Surabaya Elections

The practice of patronage around certain regional elections is common, including in the Surabaya and Solo regional elections in 2020. The practice of patronage is a form of political relationship that involves support, assistance, or influence from interested parties towards certain candidates. Patronage practices can have both positive and negative impacts on the democratic process and the welfare of society.

In the Surabaya regional election, for example, patronage practices were seen in the existence of a large coalition that supported the Machfud Arifin-Mujiaman pair supported by eight political parties, namely PKB, PPP, PAN, Golkar, Gerindra, PKS, Democrat and Nasdem Party. Patronage practices are also evident from the support of a number of national and regional figures such as former president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, former East Java governor Soekarwo, and former Surabaya mayor Bambang DH (Kompas.com, 2023). However, this patronage practice was not able to defeat the Eri Cahyadi-Armuji pair, which was carried by PDI-P and PSI, who won the election with 56.94 percent of the vote. In the solo election, patronage practices can be seen from the support of President Joko Widodo for the Gibran Rakabuming Raka-Teguh Prakosa pair, who are the son and son-in-law of the president. Patronage practices were also seen from the support of a number of political parties such as PDI-P, Golkar, Nasdem, Hanura, PKPI, PSI, and Perindo. This patronage practice succeeded in delivering the Gibran-Teguh pair to win the election with 86.6 percent of the vote.

Patronage practices can also be seen from several aspects, including: the *first* is the political aspect. Patronage practices can occur between party elites and party members or sympathizers. Party elites can provide facilities, assistance, or political support to party members or sympathizers who are loyal and obedient to them. Conversely, party members or sympathizers can provide votes, support, or political services to party elites. An example of this is the relationship between FX Hadi Rudyatmo as a patron and Gibran Rakabuming Raka as a client in Solo City. FX Hadi Rudyatmo provided political support to Gibran to become Mayor of Solo through PDI-P. Gibran reciprocated by following the directions and political policies of FX Hadi Rudyatmo as his patron (Kompas.com, 2023).

In the Surabaya regional election, the practice of patronage can be seen from the relationship between Megawati Soekarnoputri as a patron and Adi Sutarwijono as a client in Surabaya City. Megawati Soekarnoputri gave political support to Adi Sutarwijono to become the Chairman of the PDI-P Surabaya DPC and Chairman of the Surabaya DPRD. Adi Sutarwijono responded by following the directions and political policies of Megawati Soekarnoputri as his patron (Inews.id, 2023). The *second* aspect is the economic aspect. Patronage practices occur between entrepreneurs or capital owners and workers or the poor. Entrepreneurs or capital owners can provide employment, salaries, or social assistance to workers or the poor who depend on them. Conversely, workers or the poor can provide labor, loyalty, or social support to entrepreneurs or capital owners.

For example, in Solo, the relationship between Joko Widodo as a patron and street vendors

(PKL) as clients in Solo City. Joko Widodo provides facilities, protection, or social assistance to the street vendors who are the mass base of the PDI-P. The street vendors reciprocate by respecting, supporting, or defending Joko Widodo as their patron. This is also the same in Surabaya, the relationship between Tri Rismaharini as a patron and street vendors (PKL) as clients in Surabaya City. Tri Rismaharini provides facilities, protection, or social assistance to the street vendors who are the mass base of the PDI-P. The street vendors reciprocate by respecting, supporting, or defending Tri Rismaharini as their patron (detik.com, 2023).

Then the social aspect. Patronage practices can occur between community or religious leaders and their followers or congregations. Community or religious leaders may provide spiritual guidance, advice or protection to their followers or congregation. Conversely, the followers or congregation may give respect, donations, or social services to the community or religious leaders.

In Solo, the relationship between KH Ahmad Mustofa Bisri or Gus Mus as a patron and the santri or ulama as clients in Solo City. Gus Mus provides religious authority, recognition, or protection to the santri or ulama affiliated with NU. The santri or ulama reciprocate by serving, respecting, or supporting Gus Mus as their patron. In Surabaya, the relationship between KH Ma'ruf Amin as a patron and santri or ulama as clients in Surabaya City. KH Ma'ruf Amin provides religious authority, recognition, or protection to the santri or ulama affiliated with NU. The santri or ulama reciprocate by serving, respecting, or supporting KH Ma'ruf Amin as their patron (Sindonews.com, 2023).

Patrons usually have roles as national political elites and have influence in determining elite circulation.

According to Faisal, A.Md., S.Sos., M.I.Kom., several national political elites who still have influence on elite circulation in the PDI-P DPC in Solo city include FX Hadi Rudyatmodan and Megawati Soekarnoputri. While some national political elites who still influence the circulation of elites in the PDI-P DPC in the city of Surabaya are Adi Sutawidjono, Hasto Kristiyanto (Interview with Faisal, Political Observer / Director of Dignity Politica, May 20, 2023 at; 15.35 WIB).

Local political elites having close ties with patrons who are national political elites is a phenomenon that occurs in the dynamics of post-New Order local politics. Patrons who are national political elites are those who have power, influence or resources at the national level, such as the president, ministers, party leaders or national figures. The closeness between local political elites and national political elite patrons can be established through various means, such as family relationships, party affiliation, business networks, or exchange of services. This closeness can provide benefits to both parties, such as political support, access to resources, legal protection, or public legitimacy.

In his interview, FX Hadi Rudyatmo explained that anyone who sits in the party structure must have close ties with the national political elite.

In the context of Indonesian politics, national political elites are usually those with power, influence or resources at the national level, such as presidents, ministers, party leaders or national figures. National political elites are often used as patrons by regional head candidates. Patrons are parties who provide support, assistance, or protection to clients, namely parties who need or expect such support. As with the candidates for regional heads of Surabaya City and Solo City who patronize or have close ties with national political elites.

There are several reasons why regional head candidates such as those in Solo and Surabaya patronize national political elites. First, to gain political support from parties controlled by national political elites. In the regional head election system in Indonesia, candidates for regional heads must be nominated by a political party or a coalition of political parties that have seats in the local DPRD. Therefore, regional head candidates must establish good relations with national political elites who have control over these parties.

Second, to obtain the resources needed to contest the regional head elections. These resources include financial capital, human resources, infrastructure, mass media, and others. National political elites have access and extensive networks to provide these resources for regional head candidates who are their clients.

Third, to gain public legitimacy as a candidate for regional head. Public legitimacy is recognition and support from the community for candidates for regional heads. National political elites have popularity and a good image in the eyes of the public so that they can increase the electability of regional head candidates who patronize them. National political elites can also provide recommendations, testimonials, or endorsements to regional head candidates who are their clients.

Patron-client relationships between national political elites and regional head candidates can provide benefits for both parties. For national political elites, the benefits are expanding the reach of their power and influence in the regions, strengthening their party's support base in the regions, and gaining loyalty and services from elected regional head candidates. For regional head candidates, the benefits are increasing the chances of winning in regional head elections, obtaining the resources and public legitimacy needed to manage regional governments, and obtaining protection and assistance from national political elites if they face problems or challenges in the regions.

A patron-client relationship is a reciprocal relationship based on the exchange of services or benefits between a patron who is the party with power, influence, or resources and a client who is the party who needs or expects support from the patron. This exchange can be material or symbolic, formal or informal, direct or indirect. This exchange can also change according to the situation and conditions faced by the patron and client. Therefore, in every patron-client relationship there is always an exchange that occurs as the basis and purpose of the relationship.

Political Pragmatism and Conflict in Solo and Surabaya Elections

Political contestation arenas such as local elections will always involve various interests, views, and goals of political parties, regional head candidates, and the community. This will also lead to pragmatism and conflict. Pragmatism encourages political parties and regional head candidates to take decisions or actions that are beneficial to themselves or their groups, without considering democratic, ethical, or moral values. Conflict arises due to differences or conflicts between political parties and regional head candidates, both at the central and regional levels, which can cause friction, tension, or violence. Pragmatism and conflict can threaten the quality and integrity of local elections and harm the public interest in the regions.

According to Dhrendorf's Conflict theory, society consists of two faces, namely consensus and conflict. In the context of the 2020 Solo Regional Election, the nomination of someone to fill the position of regional head in Solo City has caused conflict in the DPC PDI-P Solo City. This conflict is manifest because it appears in the form of competition between candidates from the same party. The candidates are Gibran Rakabuming Raka (son of President Joko Widodo) and Achmad Purnomo (incumbent Deputy Mayor). Both are eyeing a ticket from PDI-P to run as a candidate for Mayor of Solo. This conflict was triggered by different or conflicting interests between the two candidates and also between the DPC PDI-P Solo City and the PDI-P DPP. The Solo PDI-P DPC initially supported Achmad Purnomo's candidacy because he was considered a loyal and experienced cadre. However, the PDI-P DPP eventually issued a recommendation for Gibran Rakabuming Raka on the pragmatic grounds that Gibran has high popularity and electability among the public. This led to disappointment and protests from some PDI-P cadres and sympathizers in Solo who felt that Gibran had not yet qualified as a candidate for Mayor because he only joined the party in September 2019.

This conflict also shows the imbalance of power between national and local political elites in the party. The national political elite has the authority to determine who will be promoted as a candidate for Mayor without considering the aspirations and dynamics of local politics. Local political elites must submit and obey the decisions of the national political elite even though it is not in accordance with their wishes. This can lead to disharmony and instability within the party.

This conflict can have both negative and positive impacts on the 2020 Solo elections. The negative impact is that it can reduce the image and credibility of PDI-P as the election-winning party in Solo. This can affect the loyalty and participation of PDI-P voters in choosing a candidate

for Mayor. In addition, this conflict can also trigger friction or hostility between supporters of the two candidates which can disrupt the public security situation in Solo. The positive impact is that it can increase public awareness and criticism in assessing the quality and capabilities of candidates for Mayor. This can encourage people to be more active and rational in exercising their right to vote.

In the context of the 2020 Surabaya Pilkada, there are several factors that can cause conflict in the DPC PDI-P Surabaya City. *First*, there are social relations involving various parties in the political system, such as parties, candidates, supporters, voters, and others. These social relations can lead to conflict if there is a difference or mismatch between the expectations, interests, or goals of each party. *Second*, there is a dominance of power that can influence the nomination and election process. The dominance of power is the ability of a person or group to impose their will on other people or groups. The dominance of power can lead to conflict if some parties feel dissatisfied, unappreciated or excluded from decision-making. *Third*, social change can trigger dynamics and transformation in society. Social change is the process of shifting or overhauling social structures or patterns that occur gradually or suddenly. Social change can lead to conflict if there are parties who feel threatened, excluded, or left behind by these changes.

Conflict and pragmatism in local elections have a mutually influencing relationship. Pragmatism can lead to conflict because political parties or candidates for regional heads who are pragmatic tend to ignore democratic, ethical, or moral values and are only concerned with their own or their group's interests. This can lead to dissatisfaction, disappointment, or anger from other political parties or candidates for regional heads who feel disadvantaged or disrespected. As was done by the PDI-P DPP on the recommendation given to the Solo City PDI-P DPC who preferred Gibran, who had only been a cadre for 3 years, to Achmad Purnomo, who was an old cadre. Likewise with the Surabaya City DPC, the PDI-P DPP prefers Eri to the incumbent deputy mayor.

These recommendations result in conflict. Conflict can strengthen pragmatism because political parties or regional head candidates involved in conflict tend to look for ways to overcome or resolve conflicts in ways that are beneficial to themselves or their groups. This can lead to compromises, coalitions or reconciliations based on the exchange of services or benefits without considering democratic, ethical or moral values. Pragmatism in the local elections of Solo City and Surabaya City can be seen in the way political parties support candidates who are considered to have a great chance of winning the elections, without considering the quality, competence, or aspirations of the people in the area. Pragmatism can also be seen in the way regional head candidates coalition with political parties or other regional head candidates who are considered to have the resources, public legitimacy, or protection needed to participate in the elections, without paying attention to party ideology or a vision and mission that is in accordance with the public interests in the area. Pragmatism in local elections can threaten the quality and integrity of elections and harm the public interest in the regions.

In every local election, national political elites will always participate in the circulation of local elites. However, in general, there are several factors that may influence the interests or pragmatism of political elites in this regard. For example, *first*, in the Surabaya regional election, Surabaya is a strategic big city and has great economic potential. Therefore, support for mayoral candidates can be a long-term political and economic investment for the national political elite. In this case, national political elites can see opportunities to strengthen their networks and expand their political influence through support for certain mayoral candidates.

Second, support for mayoral candidates can also be considered as a form of local cadre development for political parties. Support for candidates from certain political parties can help boost the political careers of these party cadres and strengthen the party's political interests in the area. *Third*, support for mayoral candidates can be a strategy for political parties to win Pilkada or other general elections. Regardless of the ideology or policy platform of the political party, political parties will try to win the election by seeking support from local and national political elites to be able to win the candidate supported by the political party.

This does not mean that elite circulation in the nomination of the Mayor of Surabaya takes

place solely based on pragmatism alone. There are also other factors that can influence the decision of political elites to support certain mayoral candidates, such as loyalty, personal closeness, and so on.

In the context of the candidacy for Mayor of Solo in the 2020 Pilkada, the interests and pragmatism that encourage national political elites to participate in the circulation of local elites can be caused by the following factors: *first, the* political support base. Solo is one of the important cities in Indonesia, with a strong political support base. National political elites may see the potential in expanding their support base by getting involved in the Solo election. By supporting or nominating a popular local candidate, they can strengthen their political ties with local voters and expand their political influence in the area.

Second, the potential for political influence. Gaining control or influence over the Mayor of Solo provides significant political advantages for national political elites. In this position, they can influence local policy, gain access to resources, and increase their political visibility at the national level. Success in winning the Solo election can also provide valuable political capital for future candidacies at the national level. *Third,* strengthening the position of political parties. The Solo election can be considered as an arena to strengthen the position of political parties at the national level. The support and candidacy of national political elites at the local level can provide a boost to the relevant political parties. By winning the election and gaining strategic positions in Solo, these political parties can increase their appeal to voters and strengthen their image as a strong political force.

Fourth, control over resources. Solo has significant economic and infrastructure potential. National political elites involved in local elections can secure control or influence over these resources. This can give them economic and political advantages, as well as increase their attractiveness to businesses and other interests.

These factors encouraged national political elites to participate in the Solo local election and join the local elite circulation. However, individual motivations may vary, and the precise reasons may differ between individuals.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Conclusion

The 2020 simultaneous regional elections is one of the important democratic agendas for Indonesia. Pilkada is a regional head recruitment process carried out directly by the people in their respective regions. Pilkada is expected to produce qualified, competent, and accountable regional heads who can realize welfare and justice for the people in the regions. However, in practice, regional elections are often colored by various political problems and phenomena that can threaten the quality and integrity of the elections themselves. One of the interesting political problems and phenomena to study is the role of political elites, patronage, and political pragmatism in the regional elections, more specifically examining how to see the conflict between national political elites and local political elites of PDI-P in the candidacy process of regional heads Eri Cahyadi and Gibran Rakabuming Raka in the 2020 regional elections.

The Surabaya and Solo elections in 2020 are examples of cases that can illustrate the role of political elites, patronage, and political pragmatism in regional elections. The Surabaya elections were followed by two pairs of candidates for mayor and deputy mayor, namely Eri Cahyadi-Armuji, who was carried by PDI-P and PSI, and Machfud Arifin-Mujiaman Sukirno, who was carried by PKB and Gerindra. The solo election was followed by one pair of candidates for mayor and deputy mayor, namely Gibran Rakabuming Raka-Teguh Prakosa who was carried by PDI-P, Golkar, NasDem, PPP, Hanura, and PBB. In these two elections, the role of national political elites in supporting or determining regional head candidates to be promoted by national political parties is visible. For example, President Joko Widodo, who is a PDI-P cadre, gave his support to Gibran as Solo mayoral candidate and Eri as Surabaya mayoral candidate. Like Joko Widodo, the PDI-P DPP as a national elite gave recommendations to the two mayoral candidates, even though the Solo PDI-P DPC gave recommendations to their old cadre, Achmad Purnomo.

In these two elections, patronage relationships between national political elites and local political elites as well as national political elites and regional head candidates were also visible. This patronage relationship is based on the exchange of services or benefits between patrons and clients. For example, national political elites, in this case Joko Widodo and recommendations from the PDI-P DPP, provide political support, resources, public legitimacy, or protection to local political elites or regional head candidates who are their clients, namely Eri Cahyadi and Gibran. Conversely, local political elites or regional head candidates Eri Cahyadi and Gibran provide loyalty, services, or votes to the national political elites who are their patrons.

These patronage relationships can have both positive and negative impacts on the process and outcome of local elections. The positive impact is that patronage relationships can facilitate coordination and communication between national and local political elites and between national political elites and regional head candidates. The negative impact is that patronage relationships can reduce the autonomy and accountability of local political elites or regional head candidates to the people in the regions.

In both of these elections, there was also a pragmatic attitude or way of thinking from political parties or regional head candidates in the elections. This pragmatic attitude or way of thinking is based on practicality, reality, or profit rather than idealism, principles, or morals in the elections. For example, political parties support regional head candidates who are considered to have high electability or popularity, without considering the quality, competence, or aspirations of the people in the area. For example, PDI-P endorsed Gibran as a candidate for mayor of Solo and Eri as a candidate for mayor of Surabaya, even though both had no previous political experience and their political track records were still untested. Similarly, PKB endorsed Machfud as Surabaya mayoral candidate, even though Machfud is not a party cadre. This pragmatic attitude or way of thinking can have both positive and negative impacts on the election process and results. The positive impact is that a pragmatic attitude or way of thinking can increase the chances of winning regional head candidates nominated by political parties. The negative impact is that a pragmatic attitude or way of thinking can ignore democratic values, ethics, or morals in the elections.

Political elites, patronage, and political pragmatism play an important role in the Surabaya and Solo regional elections in 2020. Political elites have a role in determining the direction and outcome of elections through various means. Patronage has a role in influencing the process and outcome of elections through the exchange of services or benefits between patrons and clients. Pragmatism has a role in influencing the process and outcome of elections through attitudes or ways of thinking that prioritize practicality, reality, or profit over idealism, principles, or morals in elections. The role of political elites, patronage, and political pragmatism can have both positive and negative impacts on the process and outcome of elections and on the quality and integrity of the elections themselves.

Advice

Suggestions that can be given in this study are as follows:

1. There needs to be strict supervision from the General Election Commission (KPU), Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), civil society, mass media, and the general public on the process and results of the elections to prevent violations or fraud that can harm the public interest in the regions.
2. There is a need to increase the capacity and independence of regional political parties in recruiting qualified, competent, and accountable regional head candidates who are in accordance with party ideology and the aspirations of the people in the regions.
3. There is a need to increase public awareness and political participation in the elections to elect regional head candidates who have a clear and realistic vision and mission to realize welfare and justice for the people in the regions.

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