

Political Dynamics and Challenges of Local Elections 2024 in Bulukumba Regency, Indonesia

Iqbal Noer Arfah¹, Junaedi², Nuryanti Mustari³

¹Department of Government Studies, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia

²Department of Government Studies, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia

³Master of Public Administration, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia

Corresponding author: iqbalnurarfah@gmail.com

Received: 20 May 2025; Revised: 29 June 2025; Accepted: 30 June 2025

ABSTRACT - This study analyzes political dynamics in Bulukumba Regency's 2024-2029 Simultaneous Regional Elections, examining candidate branding strategies, political party gatekeeping via B1-KWK recommendations (letter of mutual agreement), and comparative electoral patterns. A critical phenomenon emerged when party cadres were denied nominations by their own parties and defected to incumbent Andi Muhtar Ali Yusuf, revealing strategic loyalty fractures. Using a descriptive qualitative approach with in-depth interviews (N=25), direct observation, and document analysis, findings demonstrate: (1) incumbent dominance anchored by Muhtar's branding as "Indonesia's wealthiest regent" (LHKPN-reported assets: Rp 120 billion) and extensive patronage networks; (2) B1-KWK mechanisms enabling party fragmentation that nearly resulted in an uncontested election; and (3) intensified yet unequal competition after the last-minute registration of challengers Jamaluddin Samsir-Tomy Satria Yulianto (Golkar-NasDem-Hanura coalition). The research concludes that branding power, coalition engineering, and institutional gatekeeping converge to shape regional electoral outcomes, urging reforms to enhance political equity in Indonesia's local democracies.

Keywords: local election; democratic processes; party coalition

Copyright © 2025 by the Authors. Published by the Pusat Penelitian Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora Kontemporer, Indonesia. This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA Licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>).

How to Cite: Iqbal Noer Arfah, I. N., Junaedi. J., Mustari, N. (2025). Political Dynamics and Challenges of Local Elections 2024 in Bulukumba Regency, Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Local Politics*, 4(1), 117-128. <https://doi.org/10.46507/jclp.v4i1.710>

Permalink/DOI: <https://doi.org/10.46507/jclp.v4i1.710>

Introduction

The Bulukumba Regional Head Election (Pilkada) for the 2024–2029 period serves as a crucial focal point in the broader discourse on the development of local democracy in Indonesia. This electoral process is not merely a routine mechanism for leadership succession at the regional level but also represents a vital intersection between political engagement, institutional arrangements, and democratic participation. The implementation of simultaneous regional elections reflects the government's ongoing efforts to streamline and improve the efficiency of the electoral system, with the expectation of enhancing public involvement and reinforcing democratic legitimacy. As emphasized by Haryani (2023), the existence of an effective, transparent, and fair local election system has the potential to significantly strengthen citizens' democratic participation by providing a credible platform for political competition and leadership accountability. In this context, the simultaneous Pilkada initiative is designed not only to reduce administrative inefficiencies and political costs but also to mitigate voter fatigue by consolidating multiple electoral events into a single, coordinated process.

Moreover, in regions like Bulukumba, which are known for their diverse political support bases, high levels of community mobilization, and intense party competition, simplifying the election process is anticipated to expand political participation, especially among groups that have historically been excluded or discouraged due to the complicated procedures and significant financial burden of previous elections. As highlighted by Akbar et al. (2024), the extent to which simultaneous regional elections can successfully promote inclusive participation depends largely on the commitment of political institutions and relevant stakeholders to uphold principles of transparency, fairness, and public trust throughout the entire electoral process. In this regard, the 2024–2029 Bulukumba Pilkada serves as a critical moment to assess the practical outcomes of these electoral reforms, while also drawing attention to the persistent obstacles that must be resolved to ensure that local elections truly function as effective mechanisms for advancing democratic governance, promoting citizen engagement, and ensuring political accountability at the regional level.

In the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections, the political strategies implemented by the candidates reflect the pattern of power relations between political elites and parties (Syaidi et al., 2024). Based on the theory of political strategy put forward by Clausewitz in Schroder, political strategy is not just about planning victory, but also measuring resilience in facing opponents (Freedman, 2014). The Bulukumba Regional Elections are an arena for implementing this strategy, where candidates not only try to win votes, but also strengthen the power network at the local level.

Labolo & Hamka (2012) asserts that direct elections are the most realistic mechanism to bridge the aspirations of the people with the government. Meanwhile, Purwoko (2005) emphasizes that democracy in regional head elections provides space for direct participation for the community to determine the direction of government. Thus, Pilkada is not only a political competition, but also a reflection of mature local democratic practices.

Regional head elections in Indonesia ultimately serve not only as a political event for determining leadership at the local level but also as a reflection of the ongoing and dynamic relationship between politics and bureaucracy within the country (Wulandari et al., 2024). These elections are not merely a contest of candidates or political parties but also reveal deeper institutional patterns, particularly how bureaucratic structures interact with political interests

during the electoral process. The involvement of the bureaucracy, whether directly or indirectly, often shapes the fairness, effectiveness, and legitimacy of the elections themselves. Understanding the history of Indonesia's political development becomes crucial in this context because it provides insight into how the bureaucracy has evolved from being an instrument of centralized control during the New Order regime to becoming a more complex and sometimes politicized institution in the era of decentralization. This historical perspective allows observers to better analyze how bureaucratic actors engage with political elites, how administrative resources are mobilized in favor of certain candidates, and how institutional reforms have either succeeded or failed in reducing bureaucratic neutrality issues.

The implementation of this simultaneous Pilkada is designed to simplify election administration and is expected to increase voter participation, in line with the findings of Akbar et al. (2024) regarding the importance of voter education in strengthening local democracy. Based on KPU Regulation Number 10 of 2024, Bulukumba Regency only accepted two candidate pairs: the incumbent pair Andi Muhtar Ali Yusuf and Andi Edi Manaf who were supported by a large coalition of parties, and the pair Jamaluddin M. Samsir and Tomy Satria Yulianto who were supported by Golkar, NasDem, Hanura, and other parties. This shows a relationship between political fragmentation at the local level and public preference for the supporting party, as explained by Mahyudin (2024).

This phenomenon of the small number of candidate pairs is different from previous regional elections which involved more contestants (Sadiq & Diamantina, 2024; Subekti et al., 2021). This condition has raised speculation about the weak political regeneration in Bulukumba and the strong dominance of the incumbent in gaining party support. In fact, the discourse of an 'empty box' has emerged, which describes the difficulty of other candidates competing against the dominance of the incumbent (Rohman et al., 2022).

This political dynamic also shows the strong role of political parties in determining the direction of local democracy. The B1-KWK recommendations issued by the party are a crucial element in the nomination process. Party support not only determines administrative requirements, but also builds the candidate's political image in the community. In the context of local politics in Bulukumba, fragmentation of Islamic parties and strategic coalitions are the main determinants in gaining votes (Mahyudin, 2024). In addition, the use of social media by candidates is an important element in building closeness with constituents, as described by Candra et al. (2023) and Widiastuti et al. (2023), where digital engagement can significantly increase candidate visibility and voter awareness. Various literature on the dynamics of local politics shows that there is an interesting discussion on the simultaneous regional elections.

Although studies on regional elections and local political dynamics have been widely discussed, there are still research gaps in several important aspects. First, how political fragmentation at the local level affects political accessibility for non-incumbent candidates has not been explored in depth. Second, digital strategies in local political campaigns, especially in rural and semi-urban areas such as Bulukumba, still lack comprehensive empirical studies. Third, the dominance of incumbents in gaining party support and its implications for political regeneration have not been widely studied in a focused manner. This study attempts to fill this gap by analyzing digital engagement, the influence of political alliances, and the effectiveness of B1-KWK recommendations in the nomination process in the 2024 Bulukumba local election. Thus, this study is expected to provide a real contribution to understanding the dynamics of local politics in

Indonesia amidst changes in digital campaign strategies and increasingly strong political centralization (Candra et al., 2023; Widiastuti et al., 2023).

Thus, this study aims to analyze political strategies and the role of parties in the 2024-2029 Bulukumba Pilkada, as well as their impact on local democracy. The main focus of this study is to reveal how political branding, party support, and campaign strategies affect political competition at the regional level. In addition, this study will also examine the obstacles faced by non-incumbent candidates in accessing party recommendations, as well as the influence of economic power and political networks in winning the Pilkada contest.

Method

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach to analyze the political dynamics in the Bulukumba Regency Pilkada for the 2024-2029 period. This approach was chosen because it is able to describe political phenomena in depth, in accordance with the social and cultural context that underlies them. The main focus of the research is to reveal how political branding, the role of parties, and support for B1-KWK recommendations influence the course of local political contestation.

The descriptive qualitative approach is relevant to describe real conditions in the field in detail and depth. This study seeks to understand the perspectives of political actors, community leaders, and voters in Bulukumba Regency regarding the 2024-2029 Pilkada. The main focus is on political strategy, candidate branding, and political interaction with parties.

The data in this study were obtained through three main sources, namely in-depth interviews, direct observation, and official documentation. In-depth interviews were conducted with local political figures, party cadres, political party leaders, and communities directly involved in the Pilkada process. Direct observation was conducted by observing campaign activities, political declarations, and the registration process at the KPU. Meanwhile, official documentation includes data collection from official KPU documents, political party reports, meeting notes, and news archives related to the Bulukumba Pilkada.

The sampling technique in this study used the purposive sampling method, where informants were selected based on their involvement and knowledge in the Pilkada political process. The informant criteria included political figures who had influence in the Bulukumba Pilkada, political party leaders involved in the B1-KWK recommendation process, and local communities who were active in political and campaign activities.

The collected data were analyzed using a thematic analysis approach consisting of several stages: data collection, data coding, drawing conclusions, and validating findings. At the data collection stage, information was collected through interviews, observations, and documentation. Next, the coding process was carried out to identify themes and categories based on the informant's narrative. The results of this coding are then interpreted in the context of political theory and the local phenomena observed. To ensure the validity of the information, validation of findings was carried out through data triangulation techniques from various sources.

To maintain data validity and reliability, this study uses source triangulation techniques by comparing the results of interviews, observations, and documentation. In addition, member checking was also carried out by involving informants in verifying the findings so that their accuracy can be ensured.

Result and Discussion

The 2024–2029 Bulukumba Regency Pilkada illustrates complex political dynamics and reflects significant shifts in patterns of political competition at the local level. This regional election is conducted based on General Elections Commission (KPU) Regulation Number 10 of 2024 concerning the nomination of regional heads, and is further reinforced by Constitutional Court Decisions Number 60/PUU-XXI/2023 and Number 70/PUU-XXI/2023, which regulate the implementation of simultaneous regional elections across Indonesia. In Bulukumba Regency, the electoral contest is marked by the official registration of only two candidate pairs: the incumbent duo Andi Muhtar Ali Yusuf and Andi Edy Manaf, who promote the political tagline Harapan Baru (New Hope), and their challengers, Jamaluddin Samsir and Tomy Satria Yulianto, who campaign under the banner Jadimi (Dahliah, 2022; Sadiq & Diamantina, 2024). The limited number of candidates reflects a process of electoral simplification, as highlighted by Latifah et al. (2023), who argue that simultaneous regional elections are designed to reduce voter fatigue, streamline electoral administration, and minimize the excessive costs often associated with political campaigns.

A noteworthy phenomenon in this year's electoral process is the unusually low number of candidate pairs, which contrasts with previous Pilkada contests in the region that typically attracted more participants. The dominance of the incumbent is reinforced not only by his political experience but also by his status as one of the wealthiest regional heads in Indonesia, as documented in the State Officials' Wealth Report. Additionally, his extensive political networks further consolidate his influence within the local political arena. Beyond these formal factors, the involvement of political brokers in the electoral process poses significant challenges to electoral integrity. Previous studies have revealed that practices such as vote-buying, financial manipulation, and intimidation remain prevalent in Bulukumba, thus threatening democratic values and fair competition (Hidayaturrahman et al., 2022; Amiruddin & Ramadani, 2023).

The political landscape in Bulukumba is further complicated by unresolved allegations of electoral violations involving Andi Muhtar Ali Yusuf during the 2020 regional elections. Despite accusations of vote-buying and subsequent legal proceedings, the incumbent retained his position and was officially declared the winner. Analysts have attributed his electoral resilience to a combination of strong political alliances and stable financial resources, which collectively provide a significant advantage in local power struggles. These findings align with the research of Manuruki et al. (2023), who emphasize the critical role of independent supervision by the Election Supervisory Body (*Badan Pengawas Pemilu*) in ensuring neutrality and fairness throughout the electoral process.

In contrast, the challenger duo of Jamaluddin Samsir and Tomy Satria Yulianto enter the contest with the formal backing of three major political parties: Golkar, NasDem, and Hanura. Interestingly, Golkar's decision to endorse its own cadre, Jamaluddin, underscores evolving dynamics within the party structure. Meanwhile, Tomy Satria Yulianto, despite being a member of the National Awakening Party (PKB), faces an unusual political scenario wherein PKB has chosen to endorse the incumbent, Andi Muhtar Ali Yusuf. This situation has sparked public controversy and speculation regarding the consistency and credibility of party recommendations (surat B1-KWK), which remain a strategic instrument for shaping electoral competition.

Buoyed by consolidated support from these prominent parties, the Jamaluddin–Tomy pair has expressed optimism regarding their prospects of challenging the incumbent's dominance. Party endorsements not only confer political legitimacy but also enhance candidates' bargaining power in mobilizing grassroots support. At the same time, the significant presence of young voters constitutes a critical factor in this electoral contest. Previous studies indicate that digital political engagement strategies, particularly those targeting youth demographics, have proven effective in increasing voter participation and shaping public discourse (Kamil & Indah, 2022; Harsyaf & Khaerah, 2023).

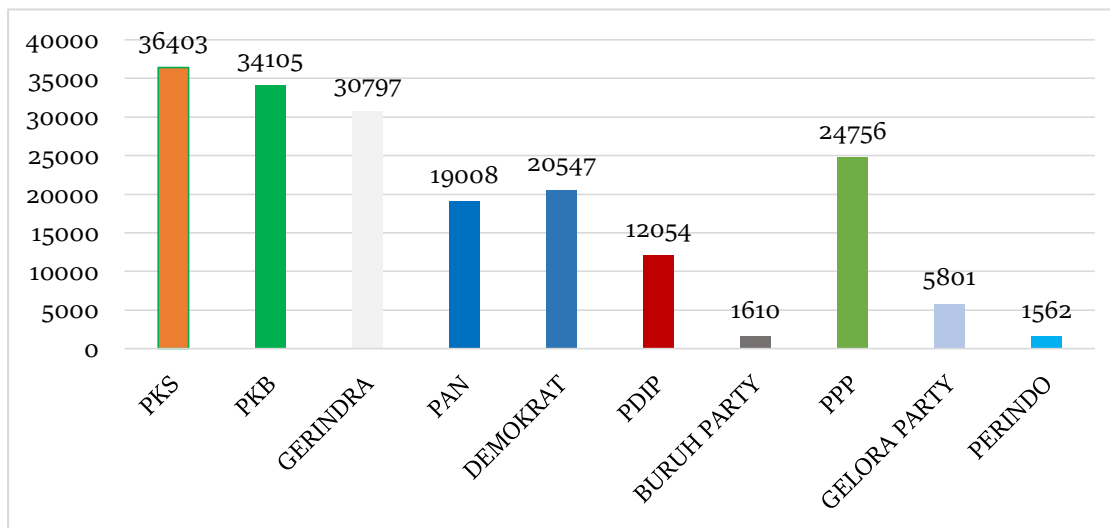


Figure 1. Andi Muhtar Ali Yusuf Party Coalition
Source : processed by author

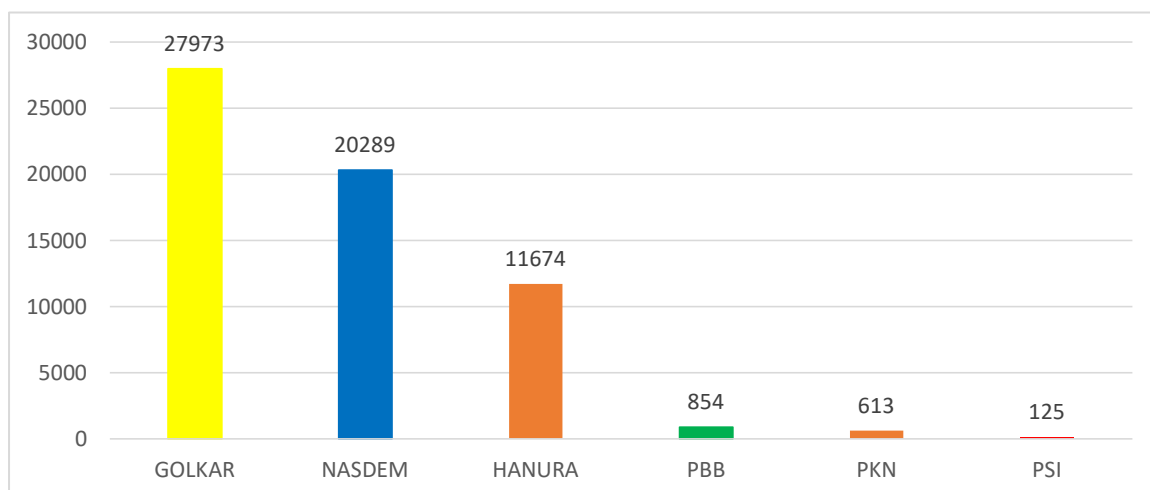


Figure 2. Jamaluddin M Syamsir Party Coalition
Source : processed by author

The Bulukumba Regency Pilkada for the 2024–2029 period reflects complex and significant political dynamics, particularly in relation to the shifting party power map that plays a crucial role in determining the direction of political movements and competition in the region. One of the most prominent issues emerging from this contestation is the political dominance meticulously constructed by the incumbent, Andi Muhtar Ali Yusuf, whose leadership and political

positioning appear to be firmly reinforced by broad-based support from nearly all major political parties operating in Bulukumba Regency. Notably, this support excludes only a few key parties, namely Golkar, NasDem, and Hanura, which have chosen to align with the opposition by supporting the candidacy of Jamaluddin Samsir and Tomy Satria Yulianto. The extensive political backing received by the incumbent underscores not only his strong electoral influence but also reflects the strategic alliances and negotiations that have likely occurred behind the scenes to consolidate his power ahead of the regional election.

One of the most interesting political phenomena that arose in this context involves the National Awakening Party (PKB), which historically possesses a solid political foundation and grassroots support in Bulukumba. Despite PKB's significant political presence and potential to promote its own cadres, the party opted not to grant its official recommendation to any of its members to contest the deputy regent position alongside Jamaluddin Samsir. Instead, PKB controversially directed its political endorsement toward the incumbent, Andi Muhtar Ali Yusuf, signaling a strategic political preference that prioritizes maintaining the incumbent's position and influence rather than advancing its own party cadres in the contest. This maneuver reflects broader patterns in Indonesian local politics, where party recommendations (commonly formalized through B1-KWK letters) often serve as instruments of political bargaining, influenced by considerations of power consolidation, alliance maintenance, and electoral pragmatism rather than purely ideological alignment or cadre development. Consequently, the political configuration emerging in the 2024–2029 Bulukumba Pilkada not only reveals the strength of the incumbent's political machinery but also exposes underlying tensions and compromises within party structures that directly impact the quality of electoral competition and democratic processes at the local level.

Within the dynamics of local politics, this phenomenon not only illustrates the strategic preferences of political parties but also reveals the influence of certain political actors, specifically political brokers, who play a significant role in shaping the candidate nomination process (Hidayaturrahman et al., 2022; Amiruddin & Ramadani, 2023). The involvement of these brokers reflects the presence of manipulative practices that are frequently accompanied by substantial financial expenditures, ultimately undermining the integrity and fairness of local democratic processes. In addition, Rizqiyati and Setiawan (2021) highlight that the political budget cycle is often exploited by incumbents as a tool to reinforce their power in the lead-up to elections, thereby exacerbating imbalances in the political competition landscape.

The political dynamics of the 2024–2029 Bulukumba Pilkada became even more complex with the emergence of internal tensions within the National Awakening Party (PKB), particularly concerning the candidacy of Tomi Satria Yulianto. Tomi, who previously held the position of Deputy Regent of Bulukumba during the 2019 period and currently serves as the Head of PKB's Election Campaign Body (*Badan Pemenangan Pemilu*/BAWASLU), did not receive formal support or a recommendation from his own party to run as a candidate for deputy regent in the upcoming election. This surprising political maneuver has triggered widespread discussion and speculation among the public, both in conventional forums and on various social media platforms. The public reaction is understandable, considering PKB's historically strong political influence and solid voter base in Bulukumba, which has long positioned the party as one of the key players in local politics. The party's decision to withhold support from its own cadre is perceived by many as part of a larger political strategy driven by the incumbent, Andi Muhtar Ali Yusuf, who has been actively building political solidarity and securing party recommendations across multiple factions to

consolidate his position and reduce the potential for significant electoral challengers. This scenario also sheds light on deeper structural issues within PKB, particularly regarding the limited opportunities for internal political regeneration and leadership development. The sidelining of Tomi Satria Yulianto, despite his strategic position within the party apparatus and his prior experience in regional governance, reflects a tendency within certain political parties to prioritize pragmatic alliances and incumbent protection over nurturing and promoting the next generation of political leaders. Such practices not only diminish the space for political innovation and cadre development but also risk eroding the party's credibility among its traditional support base, potentially affecting voter trust and long-term organizational sustainability.

The complexity of the political contestation in the 2024-2029 Bulukumba Pilkada deepened when the Chairman of the National Awakening Party (PKB) publicly acknowledged that the high political costs required to compete in regional elections had become a major barrier for party cadres seeking to advance as candidates. This statement not only confirmed long-standing concerns regarding the commercialization of the political process but also highlighted the structural obstacles faced by potential candidates, particularly those without substantial financial resources. The issue becomes even more pronounced when viewed alongside the dominant economic position of the incumbent, Andi Muhtar Ali Yusuf, whose vast wealth and extensive business networks have significantly influenced the configuration of local political power. As one of the wealthiest regents in Indonesia, Andi Muhtar possesses the financial capacity to mobilize large-scale political resources, including funding for campaign activities, political endorsements, and the consolidation of party support at various levels. His economic strength, combined with his established political alliances, has effectively narrowed the opportunities for other candidates to challenge his dominance, creating an electoral environment where competition is increasingly skewed in favor of financially powerful actors. The ability to leverage wealth not only strengthens an incumbent's bargaining position but also undermines the principles of equal opportunity and fair competition that are fundamental to democratic elections (Rizqiyati & Setiawan, 2021). The relationship between economic resources and political influence illustrates a broader trend within Indonesia's local political landscape, where financial capital plays a decisive role in determining a candidate's chances of success. This economic dominance significantly influences party decisions, often prioritizing candidates with substantial financial backing. As a result, opportunities for political regeneration are constrained, and the overall competitiveness of the electoral process is diminished, reinforcing patterns of elitism and limiting broader political participation (Hall, 2020; Sloam & Henn, 2019).

From the perspective of political theory, this phenomenon illustrates the practical realities of local political dynamics, where political parties tend to prioritize the maintenance of power and political stability rather than encouraging leadership regeneration (Leach & Wilson, 2002; Luhukay, 2024). Although, in principle, political parties are established as structured organizations aimed at competing for and attaining governmental authority, in practice, they frequently place greater emphasis on short-term political interests than on promoting the idealism and development of their internal cadres. The strong support that incumbents receive from major political parties reflects the party's reliance on influential individuals who possess substantial political influence and economic resources, positioning these figures as central to ensuring the party's strategic advantage in electoral contests (Prianto & Yusraini, 2024). In politics, the concept that there are no friends or enemies, only interests, is a common principle. Therefore, political

support can come from various directions, but excessive fanaticism should be avoided. In the world of politics, every movement and strategy is carefully designed and planned. Scott Thomas, design director in the Obama campaign, explained that the success of their campaign was achieved because design was placed as the main focus in all campaign activities, with the formation of a strong brand such as the "Obama 2008 Guidelines" (Todd & Gawiser, 2012).

The political dynamics surrounding the 2024-2029 Bulukumba Pilkada clearly demonstrate the significant influence of the party power map in shaping the direction of local politics and determining the competitiveness of the electoral contest. In practice, the distribution of party support, often formalized through recommendation letters (B1-KWK), has become a crucial determinant of a candidate's political legitimacy and viability. This condition is further compounded by the reality that competing in local elections requires substantial financial resources, making the high cost of politics a significant barrier for many prospective candidates, particularly those outside established political or economic elites.

The dominance of the incumbent, Andi Muhtar Ali Yusuf, whose extensive economic resources and strong business networks have enabled him to consolidate party support, reflects how economic capital and political alliances intersect to create significant advantages for certain candidates, while simultaneously narrowing the political space for new actors to emerge. Consequently, understanding these interconnected factors—namely, the strategic role of party recommendations, the financial burden associated with contesting elections, and the economic strength of incumbents—is essential for comprehensively analyzing how local political processes operate in Bulukumba. These elements also reveal the structural obstacles that hinder political regeneration and limit opportunities for new or independent candidates to enter the political arena. As noted by Wahyuni et al. (2023) and Anderson & Kuswanto (2021), the interplay between party dynamics, financial power, and electoral strategy contributes to a political environment where access to resources often outweighs merit or popular support, thereby perpetuating the dominance of political elites and constraining the democratic development of local governance.

Conclusion

Every electoral competition in Indonesia is inevitably accompanied by political dramas that color the journey of candidates throughout the process. Beyond the drama of achieving victory at the ballot box, another equally interesting spectacle is the struggle to obtain and await official recommendation letters from political parties. These party endorsements hold significant importance, as they are not only a symbol of political backing but also serve as an essential administrative requirement that candidates must fulfill to be officially recognized and registered with the General Elections Commission. Without such recommendations, a candidate's participation in the electoral contest is rendered invalid, highlighting the critical role of political party support in shaping the dynamics of elections.

The process of winning a political party recommendation letter is not easy, and many prospective candidates must demonstrate their abilities and skills to gain support. Party recommendations can be an important initial strategy in winning the election battle, because the issuance of recommendation letters is based on various considerations and is finally determined by the Intelligence, Communication and Security Agency with Special Authority (BIKWK) as a valid requirement for political party support.

BIKWK recommendation letters from political parties are often used as a tool to form political coalitions among candidates. The reason behind collecting recommendation letters in one political coalition is to create a situation where opponents become empty boxes, so that voters accommodated in the political party unite to support candidates according to the party agreement stated in the recommendation letter.

Thus, the political party recommendation strategy becomes one of the important keys in the political journey in Indonesia. The process of fighting for recommendations, forming political coalitions, and strategic design in campaigns become an integral part of the political dynamics that influence the direction of the election contest. Knowing and understanding the strategic role of party recommendations can be an added value in designing effective and impactful political steps in the Indonesian political arena.

References

- Akbar, M. F., Lingganingrum, L., Mareto, I., & Napitupulu, I. R. A. (2024). Educating Beginner Voters: Yogyakarta KPUD's Role, Criticisms, and Recommendations in 2024 Election. *Constitutionale*, 5(1), 13–24. <https://doi.org/10.25041/constitutionale.v5i1.3320>
- Amiruddin, A., & Ramadani, R. (2023). Judicial Activism in Regional Head Election Dispute: The Practice and Consistency of the Indonesian Constitutional Court. *Substantive Justice International Journal of Law*, 6(1), 56. <https://doi.org/10.56087/substantivejustice.v6i1.230>
- Anderson, I., & Kuswanto, K. (2021). The Influence of Political Awareness, Political Socialization, and Mass Media on Political Participation in Jambi Province. *Jurnal Studi Sosial Dan Politik*, 5(2), 203–216. <https://doi.org/10.19109/jssp.v5i2.8742>
- Candra, A., Fauzi, A., & Rahmadhani, M. L. (2023). Political Relations: Political Identity and Social Media in Elections in Indonesia. *Kybernology Journal of Government Studies*, 3(2), 111–128. <https://doi.org/10.26618/kjgs.v3i2.13054>
- Dahliah, D. (2022). BAWASLU Budgeting Mechanism on the Election of Regional Chiefs: Case Study of South Sulawesi. *Golden Ratio of Social Science and Education*, 2(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.52970/grsse.v2i1.136>
- Freedman, L. (2014). The Problem with Strategy. In *United Nations Conversation Series*. Oxford University Press. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oBeVKl4xnOw>
- Hall, P. A. (2020). The Electoral Politics of Growth Regimes. *Perspectives on Politics*, 18(1), 185–199. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592719001038>
- Harsyaf, N. F., & Khaerah, N. (2023). Understanding the Electoral Preferences of Beginner Voters in the 2020 Bulukumba Local Elections. *JCLP*, 2(2), 82–93. <https://doi.org/10.46507/jclp.v2i2.473>
- Haryani, R. (2023). The Implementation of Simultaneous Local Elections: An Overview of Constitutional Law and Its Impact on Democracy in Indonesia. *Sign Jurnal Hukum*, 5(1), 102–113. <https://doi.org/10.37276/sjh.v5i1.262>
- Hidayaturrahman, M., Sudarman, S., Hamhij, N. A., Sugiantiningsih, A. A. P., Ubaid, A. H., & Elazhari, E. (2022). Political Broker Giving Money and Intimidating in Regional Head Elections in Indonesia. *Jurnal Studi Sosial Dan Politik*, 6(2), 177–190. <https://doi.org/10.19109/jssp.v6i2.10102>

- Kamil, I., & Indah, D. (2022). Political Communication Education for Beginner Voters in Convenient Regional Head Elections in 2024. *Qalamuna Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial Dan Agama*, 14(2), 855–868. <https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v14i2.3767>
- Labolo, M., & Hamka, M. A. (2012). Reconsidering the indirect elections for the head of region, response towards the current direct democracation mechanism system in Indonesia. *Asian Social Science*, 8(13), 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v8n13p1>
- Latifah, E. S., Wisnaeni, F., & Pinilih, S. A. G. (2023). Supervision of the Implementation of the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections by the Semarang City General Election Supervisory Body. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Analysis*, 06(11). <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijmra/v6-i11-25>
- Leach, S., & Wilson, D. (2002). Rethinking local political leadership. *Public Administration*, 80(4), 665–689. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9299.00323>
- Luhukay, R. S. (2024). *Jurnal Legalitas Revitalizing The Regeneration System Of Political Parties In Building Pancasila Democracy*. 17(1). <https://doi.org/10.33756/jelta.v17i1.24897>
- Mahyudin, M. A. A. (2024). The Declining Role of Islamic Politics and the Jokowi's Factors in the 2024 Presidential Election: A Study of Contemporary Political Policies and Dynamics in Indonesia. *Religion and Policy Journal*, 2(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.15575/rpj.v2i1.746>
- Manuruki, F. A., Razak, A., Aspan, Z., & Rahayu, Y. (2023). Bawaslu's Authority to Handle Violations of Neutrality of State Civil Apparatus in Regional Head Elections. *Journal of Advanced Zoology*, 44(5), 163–166. <https://doi.org/10.17762/jaz.v44i5.2605>
- Prianto, A. L., & Yusraini, N. (2024). How Local Democratic Backsliding? Single Candidate, Pragmatism and Uncompetitive Local Head Election in Indonesia. *JWP (Jurnal Wacana Politik)*, 9(2), 177. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jwp.v9i2.53451>
- Purwoko, B. (2005). Isu-Isu Strategis Pilkada Langsung; Ekspresi Kedaulatan Untuk Kesejahteraan Rakyat. *Jurnal Ilmu Politik Dan Pembangunan*, 6(2), 14.
- Rizqiyati, C., & Setiawan, D. (2021). Political Budget Cycle on the Regional Elections in Indonesia. *Jurnal Aset (Akuntansi Riset)*, 13(1), 85–98. <https://doi.org/10.17509/jaset.v13i1.33879>
- Rohman, S., Napang, M., & Puspitasari, P. (2022). Degradation of democracy with the existence of a single candidate for regional head elections in Indonesia. *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan Dan Politik*, 35(2), 160–169. <https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.V35I22022.160-169>
- Sadiq, M. F., & Diamantina, A. (2024). Appointment of Members of the Indonesian National Army as Acting Regional Heads in the Face of Simultaneous Regional Elections in 2024. *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research*, 7(05). <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v7-i05-125>
- Sloam, J., & Henn, M. (2019). Rejuvenating Politics: Young Political Participation in a Changing World. In J. Sloam & M. Henn (Eds.), *Youthquake 2017* (pp. 17–42). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-97469-9_2
- Subekti, D., Suswanta, S., & Zaenuri, M. (2021). The Performance of Election Organizers in the Implementation of the 2020 Regional Elections During The COVID-19 Pandemic. *Journal of Governance*, 6(2). <https://doi.org/10.31506/jog.v6i2.11830>
- Syaidi, R., Hoesein, Z. A., & Redi, A. (2024). Resolution of Disputes Over The Regional Head Elections Post The Constitutional Court Decision Number 85/PUUXX/2022 Regarding The Implementation of Simultaneous Regional Elections in Indonesia. *Eduvest - Journal of Universal Studies*, 4(3), 1396–1412. <https://doi.org/10.59188/eduvest.v4i3.1132>

- Todd, C., & Gawiser, S. (2012). *How Barack Obama won: A state-by-state guide to the historic 2008 presidential election*. Vintage.
- Widiastuti, W., Firmansyah, M. A., Putra, D. E., & Martadireja, S. (2023). Silver Surfers vs Coffee Chats: A Dual Strategy to Engage Emak-Emak. *Journal of Madani Society*, 2(3), 166–175. <https://doi.org/10.56225/jmsc.v2i3.233>
- Wulandari, M., Fariha, N. F., Bintara, C. S., & . M. (2024). Public Opinion Before the Event of the 2024 General Election. *Jurnal Ilmiah LISKI (Lingkar Studi Komunikasi)*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.25124/liski.v10i1.7261>