

## Patronage Network for the 2020 Bohar Village Head Election (PILKADES)

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**Abstract.** This study describes the Implementation of the Bohar Village Head Election Patronage Network that supports the success of the victory of the elected Village Head which is understood through patronage theory that is built and developed through knowledge and skills resources, private property resources and public ownership resources. To understand this, researchers formulated two research questions. How is the patronage network built by the elected village head to win power? How does the Bohar village's political patronage network impact public services? Through a qualitative method approach with a case method approach, this study found that the victory of the power of the elected Village Head was built on personal strength, patronage relations and patrimonial politics. Local cultural values are exploited as resources for imaging the victory of the power of the Elected Village Head. The patronage network that underpinned the victory of power of the elected village head in Bohar Village which had implications for the weakening of the Village Institution. Village democracy has become hijacked under the guise of the welfare of villagers.

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**Keywords:** *Patrimonial Politics; Patronage Network; Political Culture*

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### INTRODUCTION

Indonesia A country that refers to a democratic state in accordance with the preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 that the independence of the Indonesian nationality in a Constitution of the State of Indonesia in the form of the composition of the Republic of Indonesia which is accompanied by the people, the State of Indonesia is prepared based on the Republic of Indonesia. Characteristics of a republican state periodic change of power the leader of the State is elected directly or indirectly by the people (Asshiddiqie et al., 2006).

The people hold the sovereignty of the State. The characteristics of a democratic state are that leaders come from the people elected

by the people and for the people. In the Republican Government that the involvement of the people, both directly and indirectly, is marked by elections both the election of people's representatives in the legislature and executive (Busran et al., n.d.). Legislative elections elect both legislative and executive candidates in a process of gradual replacement of leaders according to the Law. Political participation is the activity of citizens in influencing the process of making and general policy and participating in determining the ruler in government (Surbakti, 2010).

The lowest system of government in a Republic is the Village. The Village Head is an elite village figure who works day and night, in serving the village community not only

during working hours (Darto, 2016), also outside of night working hours still taking care of the interests of its residents, Kapala Desa in addition to being a role model figure in his village also has the task of advancing his village in the form of road infrastructure development, both wide roads and roads in village alleys, Construction of waterways on the roadside both the main road of the village and the road in the alley of the village, irrigation canals of agricultural rice fields, public facilities of village Polindes, Construction of Kindergarten Building owned by Dharma Wanita and helping the construction of places of worship Mushola, Mosques in the Village environment.

In the election of the village head, many activities and participation of the village community involve the activities and participation of the village community, villagers are given the flexibility in choosing candidates for village head without feeling sensitive in choosing their leaders without being burdened by guilt. In its journey, the Village Head Election became an indicator of democracy in Indonesia with democracy providing great opportunities for the community to be elected as candidates for village heads or the community as voters for the candidates to be elected (Sholikin, 2019). Looking at the long term of the journey of democracy that can function well if the community is very enthusiastic in exercising their voting rights without any citizen

participation in the election of village heads will not work well.

In the election of Village Heads is the application of democracy in Indonesia, especially the implementation of democracy at the village level in the form of Village Head Elections. This study sought to understand the use of patronage networks (J. C. Scott, 1972) which are built and developed through knowledge and skills resources, private property resources, and public resource-based ownership resources. Resources that sustain patronage (Komar, 2013) this is contrasted with the findings of the use of Javanese leadership value resources as a reinforcement of patronage relations (K. Nugroho, 2021) to win the Bohar Election. Village political elites are the main actors in patronage networks and personal power in village head election, Personal strength itself is a promotion that can be done by candidates for Village Head whose promotion is through their Success Teams to obtain and win competitions in winning the competition for village Head election. In the election of village heads, patronage relations by the community are considered very reasonable and ordinary, community members think that patronage relations are very reasonable because so far the rice harvest has been (Syukri et al., 2013) from the land Ganjaran is only handled by the village head himself, through the village head election agenda, the village head candidate can share fortune with the community.

In the state system, the lowest executive government is the Village. The village head is the most prominent person and has a very important role in serving the interests of his community (Averus & Alfina, 2020) and also to fight to advance his village and the welfare of his people. Democracy that can be seen Village Head Election, which can foster the participation of community members to elect leaders in their villages.

In the course of democracy and long-term community involvement in the democratic arena is very necessary (B. K. Putra & Sihidi, 2022), democracy will improve if there is citizen participation without the participation of democratic citizens running empty. The journey of Pilkades has been running since the era before independence (Adnan, 2019). Pilkades is a form of implementing democracy, village elites have their own role of patronage and power relations, paronage relations themselves are an alternative way to obtain the position of village head (Anggoro, 2023) in a way that is not prohibited in the rules, with patronage relations considered reasonable and commonplace (Parulian, 2023) by the people of the village and it has been running for years. Patronage relations are carried out by prospective village heads not directly but through their success teams (Cameliawati, 2020) or people trusted in running patronage relations.

The next phase in the Bohar village head election establishes an elected list conducted by the Bohar village head election committee of 3,965 registered community members. After the determination of the voter list, the committee allows prospective village head candidates to read and check the selected list that has been done by the committee to obtain signatures from prospective village head candidates for approval. After obtaining the signatures of the prospective village head candidates, the committee socialized them to the residents of Bohar Village, Taman District.

Who is eligible to vote in the village head election which was held on April 19, 2020. There are 2 (two) candidates for village head who are eligible to be elected, namely: Mistur and Abd. Hamid, SH as for the results of the vote as follows: Mistur received 1,724 votes, Abd. Hamid, SH received 787 votes, the number of valid votes 2511 votes, the number of invalid votes 136 votes and the number of valid and invalid ballots used 2647.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

In the research method, qualitative method with a case study approach in the election of the Bohar Village Head, the analysis used in this study is descriptive analytic (Umairroh, 2014). Data collection techniques position researchers as research instruments.

The data collection steps are carried out through secondary data (N. Martono, 2010)

namely written data, documents in the form of existing photographs, observation data to the field, interview data with informants, informants selected by people who have known, mastered, elected the head of Bohar Village for community members and have time to be interviewed. In the early ground of research in the field self-introduction and approach with informants, subsequent data collection is in-depth, focused and directed and highly specialized. Next, the check stage, namely the results of interviews with informants, reports are made and as material for discussion with informants, there may be data that has not been entered and take care that the data is. In careful research, cross-checks are needed or the data is read repeatedly so that the information obtained is very valid and accurate.

Next, analyze with the initial stage, namely coding (Mahpur, 2017) That is, the information data obtained from observations and interviews with informants in the field are given topic and sub-topic codes. Next, records are carried out in the field, the next data reduction is the process of selecting data (Rijali, 2019), Deep focus, simplification of abstraction and transformation of raw data are carried out at the time of preparation of the field at the time in the field. Next, the data obtained from the field is compiled in the form of a description, In qualitative research data collection and data analysis are carried out simultaneously (Noor, 2011), Verification of

the results of data processing has been discussed with informants in order to avoid misinterpretation, discussions with information are always repeated if it is felt that there is still unclear information. Next, providing conclusions is the conclusion of the research and answers to problems in the study.

## DISCUSSION

### **Bohar Pilkades Contestation: Adu Botoh Contestation**

The Bohar Pilkades contestation is essentially a battle between Village Head candidates (Cakades) through a dynamic patron-client relationship based on resource exchange. Cakades' abundant resources were not enough to win the Bohar elections. Cakades must be able to process resources with the right strategy to achieve victory. The dynamic patron-client relationship was reflected in the Bohar regional elections. The patron-client relationship can be described through the Botoh network (Agung, 2022) layered organized by the Pilkades Success Team. Botoh here is not a network of gamblers but a voluntary network of Pilkades supporters. Botoh acts as an intermediary and can be called a volunteer who won the Pilkades. Botoh network structure (Hartati et al., 2019) can be seen in the diagram as follows:

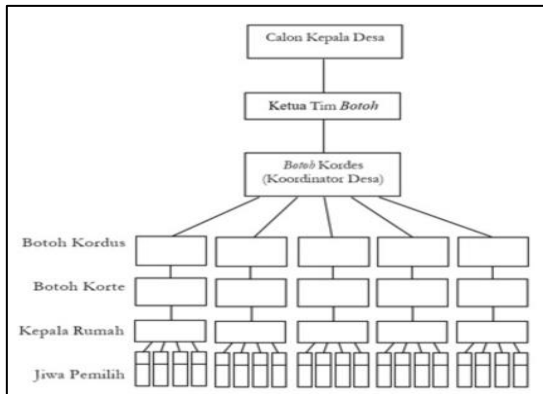


Figure 1 Botoh Network Structure in Bohar Pilkades

Botoh develops social networks (Hergianasari, 2016) to serve as one link. This network is necessary to achieve the maximum possible sound. Botoh utilizes the network through institutions in Bohar Village. The network can use the administrative area of the Village. Botoh-botoh spread in every Hamlet, RT and Head of Household. In Bohar Village, the majority of Botoh are not from the village elite but their role is very important for the victory of the Pilkades. The Emergence of Botoh (Hartati et al., 2019) cannot be separated from the socio-cultural state of Bohar citizens.

Researchers found botoh orientation (Akbar, 2019) not only related to the search for material benefits but also to show legitimacy in the 2020 Pilkades. The Cakades-Botoh relationship has equal strength. Cakades fills the seat of government that is fully responsible for the village if elected later and botoh positions himself as the owner of power and influence in the next election. This finding is based on the reality of insufficient availability of patronage resources (Nurchayono, 2016) in

the Village government arena. The Village Budget (APBDes) is not sufficiently available as a patronage resource (Arditama, 2015) and the fading of the profit sharing system of rice field management (*crooked*) shifted to a system of rent and wages.

Botoh defense is looking for a new patron. The new patron is Mistur, who is the new elite of the Village because the Billboard business he started since 1996 is growing rapidly. The Mistur family is widely known to the residents of Bohar Village because of the profits from the Billboard business and agriculture by employing a relatively large number of villagers. The Mistur family is known to be very generous and likes to help villagers who are struggling financially.

The Village Chief's defense still has high popularity and electability. The progress of misture on the insistence of village leaders due to the leadership crisis. The village leaders are village officials, religious leaders, heads of yasin and tahlil groups, heads of farmer groups, and community leaders in each hamlet. At that time no one dared to fight Abdul Hamid. In the 1994 election, Abdul Hamid defeated 1 Cakades. Abdul Hamid is the grandson of a prominent man in Bohar Village.

In the 2020 Bohar election, there were only 2 candidates for Village Head, namely Abdul Hamid against Mistur. Botoh played two-legged, although Abdul Hamid's defensive cakades botoh was disappointed with him. His disappointment can be well

concealed. Botoh Cakades Defense Abdul Hamid continued to express his support for Abdul Hamid through his Success Team Leader Bukhori who is also Abdul Hamid's cousin. Here are excerpts from the interview with Bukhori:

No need to experience as my experience as Abdul Hamid Success Team Leader. If I remember that event, I am hurt until now, *saestu*. Kulo parani kulo *taker*, kulo omongi, if you come with me yes, yes no-no, but the botoh claims yes. Many parts of the Botoh team came to me on their own and expressed support for me, but on the day of the election they turned right. Money from the opposite party was distributed, money from me was kept for the personal benefit of botoh.

Mistur's Javanese leadership used for society was the determining factor in Mistur's victory. This is in line with the values of the village community who are looking for a kind leader.

Sort Number	Cakades	Ballot		Proporse	Comparing
		Saw	Unauthenticated		
1	Abdul Hamid	787	136	31 %	2647
2	Mistur	1724		68 %	

Figure 2 Results of Village Head Candidate Selection Calculation

Unlike the findings of previous studies, the success of the Pilkades was determined by Cakades' success in organizing and mobilizing its network of clineticism. The findings of this

patronage study differ from the opinion that patron-client relations are usually associated with unequal control of resources, personal relationships, and the principle of reciprocal mutualism (J. Scott, 1972) And the relationship between the two is impossible to betray each other. Patron-client relationship (Imaniar & Brata, 2020) in Bohar Village is not solely built by the power of capital. Patron-client relations develop on the basis of ideological similarities, alumni similarity, mutual trust, elements of local culture. Botoh's adherence to Cakades cannot be separated from the social investment that has long been invested.

Botoh's role is to hegemonize society through giving (Sugihartati, 2017) and to avoid the entanglement and sanction of Pilkades regulations related to money politics. Botoh moves individually (Erinanda, 2019) In addition to being tied to the policy direction of the success team. The winning strategy carried out by Botoh is the result of collaborative thinking carried out with the winning team, but during practice in the field. Botoh performs actions based on his own initiation (Budiono, 2022). Based on this, the winning strategy carried out by Botoh in the Pilkades in Bohar Village has different characteristics or characters. These characters come from the use of local characteristics (Mahardika, 2017) What has been attached is then processed in such a way as to become a winning strategy on a local basis.

Indirectly, Botoh became an agent and was involved in increasing voter turnout. Botoh's main task is to ensure voters choose the Cakades they carry. Finding in Bohar Village, one Botoh person has the duty and responsibility of inviting at least ten close people. This rule is a control so that Botoh can focus on selectors near his environment (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019).

Another finding, Botoh often went out of the direction of successful teams and used his own strategies to win Pilkades. Botoh does this so that the winning goal matches the voter orientation. Orientation in accordance with the views of Parson and Shils political culture contains 3 (three) dimensions (Y. Martono et al., 2016), namely: (1) the cognitive dimension in the form of trust and knowledge, (2) the affective dimension, everything related to attitudes, dispositions, behaviors, emotions, interests, and values contained in individuals and (3) the dimension of evaluation, decisions and opinions of voters about political objects based on standards of values and information obtained by voters. Botoh as a political actor reflects the concept of habitus (Hidayat, 2017) from Bourdieu in the strategy of winning the Pilkades. Voters are influenced by the structure of voters' cultural identities and personal experiences.

In the context of Bohar Village, when the community feels that they have been treated unfairly, the power of the Village leader will decline so that during the election

of the Village Head, whatever material resources the defense candidate spends to buy votes for the people of Bohar Village will not have a significant effect on winning the political contestation of the Village. Based on information from informants, Suratno sold out his grandfather's land on the side of the Ngawi-Solo road as a forward capital for the 1998 Pilkades and patronized with his grandfather's network landlord in collaboration with businessman Ijon.

The character of leaders who can fulfill campaign promises that are the basis for the Bohar Village voting community to vote. At the beginning of his reign, Mistur immediately carried out his political contract to build Paving on Jalan Gang-gang in all three Dukuhan (Dukuh Bohar Timur-Kuwung, Dukuh Bohar Selatan-Bohar Utara and Dukuh Balun-Housing). The lack of the APBDes budget at that time was not an obstacle to Mistur. Through Mistur's leadership, Paving Road in Gang-gang was successfully built through self-help budget after meeting the leaders of the three Hamlets. The construction process of Paving Road in the alleys is carried out in a mutual cooperation manner with the help of artisan fees from mistur personal money. To realize his promise to eradicate poverty, Mistur started the construction of a connecting paving road in East Bohar-Kuwung hamlet using APBDes.

Through *nurturing leadership* (Supeni, 2014), *ngayemi* and *nyucupi*, Mistur is

considered successful in fulfilling campaign promises. Ngoyomi leadership is realized Mistur always holds consultations on policies to be implemented to village leaders, village officials and BPD. These figures were both during the Pilkades. Ngayemi is carried out by Mistur in the form of its presence in every problem of residents and nyukupi is carried out through development based on community self-help.

The successful development of Bohar Village made Mistur as Cakades managed to win his power. Mistur could not be defeated by his challenger in the 2020 elections. Mistur won a landslide victory over his opponent Cakades Abdul Hamid with 68% of the vote. Abdul Hamid is a Cakades representation of landlords an. middlemen and Building Contractors,

Mistur, who is known as the Village Head who can *Ngayomi*, *Ngayemi* and *Nyucupi*, portrays himself as a Patron for victory in the 2020 Bohar Elections. In addition, Mistur has also strengthened Javanese leadership by always maintaining Javanese rituals. This was done by Mistur to gain legitimacy from the botohs who had been supporting Mistur. These Javanese rituals were carried out by Mistur to convince the residents of Bohar Village, that he was the only recipient of *pulung*.

The experience of fighting botoh in the Bohar Regional Election in the 2020 Bohar Regional Election. Money politics (Muhtadi,

2019) The more widespread the Pilkades, but the Pilkades was still won by Cakades who were believed by villagers to be able to build Bohar well. Abd Hamid suffered one defeat against Mistur even though in the 2020 Pilkades, Abdul Hamid mobilized capital forces from outside Bohar Village. Similarly, in the 2020 elections, Mistur fought with Abdul Hamid for his power in the Bohar Village Government. Mistur had to deal with a fairly formidable opponent Abdul Hamid. Abdul Hamid was the contractor of building construction when he advanced as Cakades Bohar 2020. Learning from the experience of the last Pilkades, Abdul Hamid strictly recruited botoh who would be part of his successful team. Abd. Hamid himself admitted that there were parties from outside the village who helped win but still lost to Mistur.

### **Impact of Bohar Village Government**

The impact of Bohar Village Government can be analyzed from the Village planning process and the realization of the Village Budget (APBDesa). APBDesa is a useful tool to see the course of government (Adeliya, 2017) Bohar village and development implementation. The running of the Bohar Village Government can be measured from the process of preparing and accountability of the Regional Budget. Understand the process at all stages of APBDesa management (preparation, implementation, accountability) (Liando et al.,



2017) gives meaning to the model of village governance itself.

The budget is prepared and managed based on the principles of participation, transparency, and accountability (Hanifah & Praptoyo, 2015). Villagers must be spoken to before the budget is formulated, determined and spent. APBDesa can be used for the welfare of villagers in a broad, inclusive manner. The budget is formulated and determined based on the following diagram:

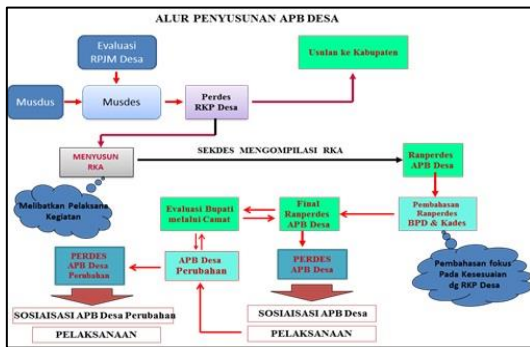


Figure 3 Flow of APBDesa Preparation

In its implementation, the process of planning and determining the Bohar Regional Budget is formulated in a participatory, but participatory manner that is not inclusive. APBDesa planning process (Indrianasari, 2017) begins with the Dusun Deliberation (Musdus). Musdus is one of the planning stages that must be passed in the process of formulating the APBDesa. Musdus aims to explore the potential and problems of Hamlets (K. W. Putra & Mursyidah, 2023), which covers areas that are the affairs of the Village. These affairs are the Field of Village Development Implementation, the Field of Community Development, and the Field of

Village Community Empowerment. Musdus is always carried out at Bohar Village Hall through Musdus scheduling for each Hamlet. Musdus is not directly facilitated by the Head of the Hamlet in their respective Hamlets and the invited participants are only from the Head of the Hamlet. This information is known from interviews with residents, the majority of Bohar residents do not know when and where Musdus is held. The implementation of Musdus only took 2 hours and was held with the method of seminars, monologues and no dialogue. Musdus is carried out only as a procedure that has passed for the process of preparing the APBDesa. Musdus is carried out with the principles of participation, transparency, and accountability, only for certain stakhoder (Village Head People and Hamlet Heads) not Village residents at large.

From a series of planning processes carried out procedurally, the Regional Budget is prepared based on the administrative structure based on Law No. 6 of 2014 Article 73 consisting of income, expenditure and village financing. This APBDesa data was obtained by the author in the form of shabby sheets from the APBDesa Realization Report table. The author failed to request APBD documents, APBDesa implementation report documents as a whole and other documents related to the formulation and implementation of the APBDesa. When the author persuasively asked for other documents related to the formulation and implementation of the

Regional Budget, Village Head Bohar Mistur flatly refused. Here's an excerpt: "sorry for the APBDesa document is part of the Village Financial Information System, so it cannot be accessed. Meanwhile, the APBDesa implementation document is also part of the Village Government secrets".

The strength of the Bohar Regional Budget in 2022 is 2.7 billion. Bohar Village's income has increased every year with an average growth of 0.13%. The increase in village income is more due to the increase in transfer funds from the supra-village government, especially in the Sidoarjo Regency APBD Financial Aid revenue post. Village original income (PADesa) fluctuates and tends to increase by 10% every year. PADesa is generated from Village market levies, stall rentals, land rentals and deposits from Village land sales.

The contribution to the increase in Bohar Village income comes from the Sidoarjo Regency Regional Budget Financial Assistance which in 2022 is 300,000,000.00. The budget post derived from the transfer funds of the Sidoarjo Regency Government is determined politically with an unequal distribution formula in each village in Sidoarjo. Compared to other villages, Bohar Village gets the largest transfer budget from this post every year. This is because the Bohar Village Head established a patronage relationship with the political elite of Taman District.

The transfer budget post originating from the Sidoarjo Regency APBD Financial Aid post is different from the Village Fund (DD) transfer budget post and Village fund allocation (ADD). DD is a transfer fund from the Central Government that has a fixed proportion of calculations and is distributed to each village with a proportion that is not too different. The Village Fund Budget (ADD) is a transfer fund from the government (Lalira et al., 2018) district/city from the calculation of 10% of the total general allocation fund of the city district (Obligations of the Local Government Law). The proportion of calculations also has the same pattern as Village Funds (DD). The amount received by the village in Sidoarjo in ADD is relatively the same.

From the realization of the above expenditure, it can be known the fiscal space of the Bohar Village Government. Fiscal space is defined as total village revenue minus expenditure (S. Widodo & Paramita, 2018) which is binding, although transfer funds from both DD, ADD and Financial Aid of Sidoarjo Regency are not bound to use. From the identification of shopping posts, it was found that only the Village Government Administration Field was budget bound. This budget is related to salaries, salaries and welfare benefits for village bureaucratic civil servants.

From the calculation of fiscal space, it was found that the fiscal space of APB Bohar

Village amounted to 2.1 billion or 60% of the total available revenue. Bohar Village has high fiscal space even though the independence ratio of the low budget is only 10% with PADesa 2022 of 174,000,000.00 and Village Income in 2022 of 2,114,661,025.00

Large fiscal space means that the Bohar Village Government and its stakeholders have the freedom to determine the budget for the development of their village. A low independence ratio means that fiscal space is largely determined by transfer funds from supra-village governments.

The amount of fiscal space is not used for the development needs of Bohar Village at large. From observations, infrastructure development in Bohar Village has not been evenly distributed. Infrastructure is only built in locations that used to support the Kades victory. Village development programs are more directed at the populist programs of Kades. A populist program to care for Kades constituents and aim to win the next Bohar election.

The program is reflected in the Direct Cash Transfer (BLT) budget post budgeted by the APBDesa. The budget item has increased on average every year by 1.29%. In 2020 it is budgeted at 386,570,440.00 and in 2022 it is budgeted at 384,452,500.00. The BLT budget is based on the basis of the Ministry of Social Affairs regulations to overcome the impact of the Covid 19 Pandemic. From the fund transfer

budget, the Village is required to budget 25-30% for BLT. Since 2021, BLT DD has been distributed to 50 beneficiary families (KPM) and handed over every month during the Covid 19 pandemic. This budget has increased significantly with a fixed KPM. Unfortunately, the author did not manage to obtain KPM data and the amount of funds received. The determination of KPM is usually determined through the Bohar Perbekel Regulation. The distribution of BLT from the Ministry of Social Affairs is distributed regularly by the Head of the Village Assistants and Assistants from the Ministry of Social Affairs at the Bohar Village Hall. In December 2022, the BLT of the Ministry of Social Affairs was distributed to 63 KPM. Unfortunately, there is no report on BLT funds from the APBDesa on the number of poor families who receive.

Village leadership has not succeeded in growing and developing Village-owned enterprises (BUMDesa). This is reflected in the small financing receipts of 3,500,000 each year. The leadership of the Village Head has not been able to foster entrepreneurship that can improve the welfare of the village community. Leadership has also not been able to create participatory, transparent, and accountable village leadership. Participatory and accountability are only limited to Kades support groups, Kades has not been able to create transparency because data on planning, development and implementation of village development that should be freely accessible

to the public has never been given openly by Kades.

Personal Power and Patronage Relations and Patrimonial Politics. The political characteristics of Bohar Village Government are built on personal strength, patronage relations and patrimonial politics. Personal power is built from the search for populist figures by village elites consisting of village bureaucratic civil servants and village figures. The populist figure is Mistur who is known to citizens as a Philanthropist figure and has high popularity. The village elite built a political contract with Mistur to be nominated as Village Head (Cakades) in the constellation of the 2020 Bohar Village Head Election (Pilkades). The political contract was the beginning of the Patronage relationship (Agustino & Fahrul, 2018) which was used against the incumbent village chief Abdul Hamid who ran for the 2020 elections. The village elite had previously established patronage relations with the village chief Abdul Hamid.

This shift in support was due to the decline in trust of the residents of Bohar Village and Abdul Hamid was considered no longer able to protect the interests of the village elite, in addition to the docking of the village elite network to Mistur due to the exchange of crooked land rolls in Bohar Village which was not transparent and did not go through procedures under the Abdul Hamid regime.

Patronage networks were formed to build a political machine (Pratama, 2017). Pilkades is different from Regional Head elections (Pilkada) which have political party machine instruments. The patronage relationship between Cakades and the Village Civil Service developed a patronage network by recruiting botoh. Botoh serves as a leg to distribute patron resources (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019) In the form of money politics and serves to avoid administrative sanctions from violations of money politics. The elite of the village oligarchy who had a large mass tried to make the botoh network as the winning leg of the Pilkades. Layered Botoh network (J. Scott, 1972) organized in the Pilkades Success Team Structure. Botoh acted as an intermediary between the oligarchic elite and voters and at the same time as a volunteer to win the elections.

A patronage network with the same pattern was also formed Cakades (Hidayat, 2017) Other. The difference lies in the composition of its patronage network, although in the case of the 1998 Pilkades, the elite of the Village Civil Service played two legs with the defensive Cakades. His political contract with the Cakades (Political Dynasty) can be well hidden. The financial strength between Cakades is also balanced. The difference is that political dynasty Cakades have independent financial power, while other Cakades patronize with a network of landlords and middlemen to win the Pilkades.

The Pilkades Arena is the main attraction for the botoh of Bohar Village. The botoh rame-rame approached community leaders who had been on good terms with Cakades. Botoh applied to be part of the Cakades Success Team. Pilkades became Botoh's means to make money seasonally (Akbar, 2019). Many botoh play two-legged, even though they already have a siding with certain Cakades. Botoh's alignment is determined by the value of the voter who is the botoh's client. Bohar Village has its own value to choose Cakades. Botoh cannot force choices to avoid conflict because botoh has a personal affinity with voters. The defeat of the Suratno Defense Chief in the 1998 Elections was because villagers considered Abdul Hamid unable to fulfill his political promises and rarely appeared to accompany when residents faced problems.

This study found that in the context of the Bohar Village Election, it turns out that material resources are not always effective in winning the Village Head election. Based on the development of power resources used in the Pilkades are not always material resources. This can cause non-material resources to be dominant in the Village Head election due to the intensity of personal relationships or social capital between Village Head candidates and Village voters tend not to be dominant. If the relationship is good, there is no need for money instruments to get the votes of Village voters. Cakades who managed to win the

election that could combine material resources and package Cakades figures based on the values adopted by the community. The cultural values commodified by the botoh to image the Cakades are indeed Javanese leaders who deserve to be chosen. On the other hand, Pilkades leaves a factionation of non-formal village figures because the character of Pilkades is built from patronage patterns (Gerald, 2017) It is zero sum. This fraction is illustrated by the proportion of Pilkades votes, the Cakades votes that lost were quite large, namely more than 40%. Factionation is also illustrated by the struggle between the same patronage network from the 4 Pilkades Periods.

Patrimonial politics runs and functions in the village's electoral democratization regime (Ikmal & Arifin, 2020). The politics of patrimonialism has implications for the hijacking of the Bohar Village Government. The village oligarchic elite can stay in power by relying on political dynastic figures. The oligarchic elite of Bohar Village can determine the draft distributive policies that fund the village's finances. The design of distributive policies operates in the fine print of financial management rules legalized to benefit the patrimonial regime. Informal social control networks hijack government institutions on the basis of systemic patronage (Nurcholis, 2016).

The piracy of the Bohar Village government is reflected in the sectarian and populist village development work program.

The sectarian program is reflected in the uneven development of village infrastructure, limited infrastructure development prioritizing locations that are the voting pockets of the winners of the Pilkades (Supriyadi, 2015). Infrastructure development using self-management methods. The implementers of this infrastructure development are the elite of the village oligarchy (Hidayat, 2017) who became a client at Pilkades. The populist program is oriented towards winning the next election. This populist program is manifested in the form of direct cash transfers, providing incentives to regional heads within the village. In addition, another populist program by improving the welfare of village bureaucratic civil servants through increasing salaries (I. Widodo, 2017) and welfare benefits that increase every year.

The leadership of the Village dynasty has not succeeded in growing and developing Village-owned enterprises (BUMDesa). This is reflected in the small financing receipts of 13.3 million each year. The dynastic leadership has not been able to cultivate entrepreneurship (Jamrizal, 2022) which can improve the welfare of the village community. The dynastic leadership has also not been able to create participatory, transparent, and accountable village leadership. Participatory and accountability are limited only to Kades support groups (Kartika, 2012), Kades has not been able to create transparency because data on planning, development and implementation

of village development that should be freely accessible to the public has never been given openly by Kades.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the research that has been done, the author can conclude through some of the statements below which include:

1. The patronage network as a support for the Government is the relationship between the Village Head Patronage and the Village elite as patronage resource supporters. The village oligarchic elite contributes to securing votes in every Bohar election. The Village Head provides protection to the village orligarki elite to be distributed to strategic positions within the Village Government. This strategic position serves as a means of distributing Village resources from the results of the formulation of Village Head policies stipulated in Village regulations.

Village government supported by the political pattern of patrimonialism produces distributive and extractive behavior of political elites. Village government gets teloransi both in terms of formal and non-formal rules. Patrimonial politics runs and functions in the village electoral democratic regime. The politics of patrimonialism has implications for the hijacking of the Bohar Village Government. Village elites can stay in power by relying on political dynastic figures. The oligarchic elite of Bohar Village can determine

the draft distributive policies that fund the village's finances. Distributive policy design operates in the fine print of legalized financial management rules to benefit patrimonial regimes. Informal social control networks hijack government institutions on the basis of systemic patronage.

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