

Post-Electoral Political Exclusion Following the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB)

Rifai, Haeril

Universitas Mbojo Bima, JL. Piere Tendean Mande II Sadia, Kabupaten Bima

Corresponding Author: stisiprifai@gmail.com

Keyword:

Post-electoral
exclusion;
Elite reconfiguration;
Regional election.

Abstract:

This study critically investigates the contours of post-electoral political exclusion in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) following Indonesia's 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections, situating the phenomenon within broader democratic deficits in representation and deliberation. Anchored in the theoretical intersection of elite domination and bureaucratic politicization, the research explores how exclusionary practices are institutionally embedded through strategic civil service reshuffling and symbolic power consolidation by victorious political coalitions. Employing a qualitative, critical case study approach, the study draws on in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and document analysis to construct a nuanced understanding of exclusion mechanisms. Key findings reveal that the electoral triumph of the KIM PLUS coalition catalyzed a reconfiguration of local power alliances, marginalizing opposition actors and transforming bureaucratic appointments into instruments of political reward. The post-election vacuum in over ten strategic governmental roles became an arena for political capitalization, wherein meritocratic procedures were eclipsed by informal networks, loyalty politics, and clientelism. Furthermore, the mutation of educational leadership positions, under the pretext of pedagogical reform, demonstrated the infiltration of partisan logic into ostensibly neutral institutions. These dynamics erode institutional integrity, compromise administrative neutrality, and precipitate a broader crisis of democratic legitimacy. The research concludes that post-electoral exclusion in NTB functions not merely as a residual anomaly of electoral cycles, but as a systemic manifestation of symbolic domination, structurally reproducing elite control while hollowing out spaces for genuine participation. This phenomenon poses a critical threat to democratic resilience and necessitates urgent normative and institutional reforms to safeguard inclusive governance.

INTRODUCTION

Political exclusion constitutes a systemic manifestation of marginalization that obstructs access to political decision-making for ethnic, gender-based, and socioeconomically disadvantaged groups (Beall & Piron, 2005); (Boelens et al., 2016); (Bauhr et al., 2019); (Choi & Piazza, 2016). This phenomenon not only reflects entrenched structural asymmetries but also serves as a primary causal mechanism in precipitating horizontal conflicts, collective violence, and, ultimately, national disintegration (Helsper, 2012); (Haider, 2022).

A paradigmatic example can be observed in Nigeria's 2015 general election, wherein inflammatory rhetoric and ethnic polarization exacerbated identity fragmentation, culminating in the systematic exclusion of opposition groups (Mbah et al., 2019). Rather than meritocratic principles, appointments to political office were governed by primordial loyalties, thereby deepening interethnic distrust and entrenching political segregation. A similar pattern of exclusion emerged in the context of digital populism, as illustrated by Podemos' 2016 campaign in Spain, which framed political discourse in binary terms pitting the 'pure people' against the 'corrupt elites'. In such cases, political exclusion is cloaked in populist narratives that erode democratic consensus and undermine the legitimacy of dissent within the political system (Casero-Ripollés et al., 2017).

Political exclusion also possesses marked spatial and class-based dimensions, as evidenced in the aftermath of the 2019 UK general election. The sociopolitical rift between highly educated metropolitan regions and pro-Brexit working-class communities revealed stark representational disparities. The narrative marginalization of progressive factions further exacerbated political alienation among younger generations, amplifying the potential for class- and ideology-based horizontal conflict (Cutts et al., 2020).

In Southeast Asia, prolonged political exclusion in Malaysia under the six-decade hegemony of Barisan Nasional marginalized the aspirations of urban constituencies and youth demographics, which ultimately erupted in the form of political disruption during the watershed 2018 general election (GE14). The subsequent transfer of power catalyzed a dualistic contestation between conservative forces and reformist agendas vying for control over a reconstituted democratic order, thereby engendering a volatile political landscape (Nadzri, 2018).

Furthermore, the ethno-political exclusion prevalent across African contexts underscores the dynamics of collective antagonism rooted in representational inequities. When marginalized groups coexist within power structures dominated by hegemonic ethnicities, the resultant asymmetry engenders what social psychologists term 'invidious comparison' a psychologically potent, albeit irrational, perception of existential threat that effectively galvanizes violent mobilization (Kinowska-Mazaraki, 2021).

Geopolitically, regions in Eastern Europe such as Georgia, Moldova, and Armenia have witnessed entrenched forms of political exclusion targeting ethnic minorities, refugees, and internally displaced persons (IDPs), thereby exacerbating socio-political tensions. The systemic inability of these marginalized groups to engage in formal political processes has fostered a retaliatory political ethos, manifesting in clientelism, endemic corruption, and the latent threat of separatist power grabs (Haider, 2022).

A compelling parallel can be found in the case of Ghana's Zongo communities, which despite their instrumental role in electoral mobilization remain persistently excluded from meaningful power-sharing in post-electoral governance. Symbolic gestures such as the establishment of a dedicated ministry have proven insufficient to guarantee substantive inclusion, further reinforcing disparities in access to political decision-making structures (L. Cederman et al., 2013).

Beyond generating social fragmentation, political exclusion also amplifies the propensity for political revenge. When power transitions occur, historically marginalized groups often respond by dismantling entrenched patronage networks, frequently through disruptive and destabilizing means. Such political recalibrations are rarely benign and tend to aggravate systemic instability (Choi & Piazza, 2016).

Longitudinal data from the Ethnic Power Relations dataset (1950–2010) underscores that ethnic political exclusion significantly heightens the risk of state fragility particularly in resource-rich territories such as those abundant in oil. The intersection of exclusion and resource wealth generates a brutal incentive structure for zero-sum power struggles, wherein control over extractive assets translates not only to economic gain but also to hegemonic political dominance (L. Cederman et al., 2013).

A comparative study spanning 130 countries from 1981 to 2012, employing negative binomial regression, reveals that ethnic political exclusion exerts a more pronounced effect on the incidence of domestic terrorism than either general political repression or economic discrimination. This finding suggests that representational injustice is not merely a flaw in procedural democracy, but a profound threat to internal national security. As marginalized actors become systematically delegitimized within formal institutions, they are increasingly driven to pursue extrajudicial avenues of expression often through violence, insurgency, or terrorism (Choi & Piazza, 2016).

In another dimension, political exclusion also operates through gender-based inequities. Structural disparities within electoral systems have historically undermined women's participation in political life, compounded by restricted access to information and

pervasive gender-based violence both online and offline particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic. In the absence of affirmative interventions, such as gender quotas and digital protection frameworks, these exclusions will continue to erode the legitimacy of democratic governance (Brechenmacher & Hubbard, 2020).

The global architecture of political exclusion reveals a phenomenon far more insidious than mere majority domination over minority groups. It represents a complex and institutionalized system of inequality one that intensifies ethnic conflict, perpetuates gender and class injustices, delegitimizes democratic systems, and cultivates enduring socio-political volatility (Boelens et al., 2016); (Asal et al., 2016); (Choi & Piazza, 2016); (Casero-Ripollés et al., 2017).

The following encapsulates the key terminologies characterizing the manifestations of political exclusion across diverse geopolitical contexts, spanning Asia, Africa, and Europe;

Table 1. Typologies and Structural Characteristics of Political Exclusion

No.	Region	Forms and Structural Dynamics of Political Exclusion
1.	Asia	Exclusion of Ethnic Groups, Restricted Political Access, Disparities in Political Representation, Tensions Between Reform Agendas and the Status Quo, Marginalization of Minority Group Participation, Polarization of Socio-Political Values, Disparities in Center-Periphery Relations and Marginalized Communities, Institutional Disintegration Due to Political Distrust, Structural Barriers to Information Access and Political Participation, Gender-Based Violence as a Tool for Delegitimizing Democracy, Gender Imbalance in Electoral Institutions.
2.	Africa	Ethnic Power Relations, Conflict in Resource-Rich Territories, Structural Disparities in Nation-State Dynamics, Triggers of Domestic Terrorism, Marginalization of Ethnic Power, Ethnic Identity Polarization, Primordial Political Segregation, Crisis of Intergroup Trust, Socio-Political Antagonism, Collective Violence Based on Representation, Political Mobilization Without Representation, Ethnic Structural Inequality, Masculine Clientelist Network Dominance.
3.	Europe	Delegitimization of Political Opponents, Erosion of Democratic Consensus, Fragmentation of Electoral Loyalties, Polarization of Class and Education, Disparities in Electoral Representation, Displacement of Established Power Structures, Ethnically-Based Institutional Segregation, Political Mobilization Without Access to Power, Symbolic and Non-Inclusive Policies, Ethnic Institutional Segregation, Structural Inequality in Political Representation, Populist Antagonistic Narratives.

Source: Processed from secondary data.

In Indonesia, two distinct characteristics of political exclusion generally emerge, which ontologically reflect the paradox of electoral democracy procedural in nature yet substantively deficient (Abdallat et al., 2020); (Amalia Yunia Rahmawati, 2020); (Andika et al., 2022). First, exclusion occurs through the disarticulation of political parties' roles as representative institutions. In an electoral logic increasingly prioritizing individuals over ideas, parties experience a reduction in function to mere administrative instruments for candidate nomination (Fauzi et al., 2019); (Paskarina, 2016); (Ekström et al., 2023). This transformation gives rise to transactional actors such as campaign teams and party elites, who focus more on short-term electoral investments rather than democratic consolidation. Post-election, exclusion manifests in the form of political retribution: the removal of opposition, the severing of access to power resources, and the politicization of bureaucracy through the dismissal of non-loyal civil servants. Second, structured exclusion takes place via the politicization of power through the reshuffling of civil servant positions. In this configuration, elected local leaders, along with their winning networks and local oligarchies, instrumentalize the administrative mechanisms of fit and proper tests and open selections to restore power based on political loyalty, rather than capability. This normalizes patronage practices, creating a duality of power: threats to opposition civil servants and promotions based on political compensation. Such phenomena obscure the boundary

between the neutral bureaucracy domain and electoral logic, reducing deliberative democracy to an exclusive elitist technocracy laden with partisan interests (Pratama et al., 2023); (Fifo, 2023).

To direct the focus of this study, the following research questions are proposed: How do the dynamics of political exclusion post-2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections in the Province of West Nusa Tenggara shape the crisis of representation and the decline of deliberation in the local democratic space, and to what extent do these phenomena influence power configurations, the subordination of opposition groups, and the erosion of democratic institutional legitimacy?

The urgency of this research, in examining the characteristics of local exclusion within a global comparative framework, is critical for mapping patterns of political exclusion as a threat to democratic stability and social reconciliation in NTB.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study is conducted using a qualitative approach based on a critical case study, which allows for an in-depth exploration of the dynamics of political exclusion in the context of the post-2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections in the Province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB). This approach was chosen to construct a complex and contextual understanding of the socio-political phenomena that are multidimensional, particularly in relation to power relations, representation configurations, and the deliberative crisis within the local democratic space (Dianti, 2017).

The qualitative approach based on critical case studies is oriented toward uncovering the meaning of actions, experiences, and relational structures experienced by social subjects in a political space undergoing contestation or fragmentation (Wajdi et al., 2024). Through this approach, the study seeks to dissect political exclusion practices not only as a consequence of electoral procedures but also as a product of discourse configurations, structures of domination, and the performativity of political actors in the post-election landscape of NTB's local democracy.

Data collection is carried out through intensive participatory observation and in-depth interviews with key informants who hold strategic positions or have significant experience in local political processes, including political party actors, election organizers, successful and unsuccessful candidates, as well as civil society figures active in local democratic discourse. Informant selection is performed using purposive sampling techniques, considering their capacity to represent the diversity of experiences and viewpoints on the phenomenon of political exclusion.

To ensure the depth and validity of the data, this study applies the principle of data saturation, which entails halting data collection when the information obtained reaches a point of saturation and no longer produces significant new findings. This entire process is combined with a source triangulation method, utilizing data from interviews, direct observations, and secondary documentation, including academic literature, official reports, election regulations, media archives, and relevant local policy documents.

The collected data is analyzed through qualitative thematic analysis methods. The analysis stages include: (1) transcription and organization of raw data; (2) identification of meaningful units and initial categorization based on dominant or discursive narratives; (3) development of interpretive themes reflecting the dynamics of exclusion and political resistance; and (4) articulation of findings into an analytical narrative that reflects the complexities of power structures and subordination within NTB's local democracy.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The change of regional leadership in the Province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) following the 2024 Regional Head Election marks a significant shift in the configuration of regional political power, which not only alters the electoral landscape but also unveils the potential for new forms of political exclusion. The election results, which led to the victory of the non-incumbent pair, Muhamad Iqbal and Indah Dhamayanti Putri, through the KIM PLUS coalition with 41.15% of the vote, underscore the emergence of electoral polarization and the disarticulation of previously hegemonic political alliances.

In the context of post-constitutional court rulings (Constitutional Court Decisions No. 60/PUU-XXII/2024 and No. 70/PUU-XXII/2024), which opened nomination channels for regional head candidates from non-parliamentary political parties (those without seats in the Regional People's Representative Council, DPRD), provided they meet the 8.5% threshold of valid votes, a more fluid competitive spectrum has emerged. However, this also makes the electoral contest susceptible to imbalance, with institutional asymmetry. This phenomenon signals a transition from a political oligarchy based on parliamentary seats to an electoral competition arena determined by the mass accumulation of votes. This shift may marginalize local political actors who lack large-scale electoral support, despite having a strong cultural and historical constituency.

The victory of KIM PLUS and the defeat of incumbents such as Zulkieflimansyah, as well as other traditional local elites, reflect not only the cyclical nature of democracy but also signal the reconstruction of power alliances that may generate new polarization based on political representation, local identity, and socio-economic bases. In this context, political exclusion may manifest in the marginalization of groups that were previously within the orbit of power but no longer have access to either representative or participatory roles in the new government (Fauzi et al., 2019); (Fauziyah Aulia Rishanti, Puguh Santoso, 2022); .

This situation is exacerbated by the formation of an exclusive government oriented toward political rewards for the winning groups, leaving residues of exclusion for minority parties or local elites who have been sidelined. In the long term, the imbalance of access to resources and decision-making power may lead to political instability, erosion of trust in local democracy, and an increase in clientelism as an informal form of compensation for formal marginalization (Amalia Yunia Rahmawati, 2020); (Rifai et al., 2024). Thus, the post-election dynamics in NTB not only reflect the electoral democratization process but also become a new arena for the reproduction of inequality in representation and political participation, veiled in nature (Tauhid Tauhid & Gufran Gufran, 2019); (Kurniawa & Usman, 2020); (Kurniawa & Usman, 2020);.

The Degree of Political Elite Power Domination over Access and Decision-Making Processes at the Local Level

The phenomenon of political exclusion is not only present in the form of direct limitations on access to formal spaces of representation but is also manifested through mechanisms of elite power domination over access and public decision-making processes (Cutts et al., 2020). In the Province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), the dynamics following the inauguration of the newly elected regional heads, Muhamad Iqbal and Indah Dhamayanti Putri, supported by the KIM PLUS coalition, serve as an empirical case that highlights how political power relations shape the configuration of policies and the appointment of strategic positions within local government. Indirectly, this creates a more subtle yet systemic contour of political exclusion (Rifai & Haeril, 2024).

One of the main indicators of the degree of political elite power dominance in NTB after the 2024 Regional Election contest is the widespread vacancies in strategic positions, which then become an arena for articulating political interests following the victory. No fewer than ten strategic positions within the provincial government (Pemprov) of NTB experienced vacancies, either due to the retirement of previous officials or their promotion to higher levels at the national level. These positions include critical roles such as the Head of the Department of Environment and Forestry (DLHK), the Department of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM), Public Works and Spatial Planning (PUPR), and the Investment and One-Stop Integrated Service Agency (DPMPTSP), as well as technocratic positions such as the Head of BPKAD, the Inspectorate, and the Head of the Regional Research and Innovation Agency (Brida) NTB.

In this context, these vacancies are not merely administrative but serve as symbolic spaces for the execution of political power. The process of filling positions, whether through rotation, promotion, or mutation, is often laden with political calculations. This can be seen in how the transition period following the election is used to reorganize the bureaucratic architecture in accordance with the winning coalition's interests. This is a concrete manifestation of what Pierre Bourdieu terms "symbolic reproduction of domination," where control over the bureaucratic structure becomes an effective instrument for legitimizing and consolidating power.

Furthermore, the dynamics of the appointment of school principals and supervisory positions at the provincial level in NTB also show a pattern of politicizing meritocracy. A total of 34 school principal positions were subject to mutation, including three special education schools (SLB), 21 senior high schools (SMA), and 10 vocational high schools (SMK). Simultaneously, the appointment of "guru penggerak" (teacher motivators) as principals took place, with only 23 of 289 ASN teacher motivators (PPPK and PNS) and 117 teachers from honorary and private sectors being appointed to structural positions.

This policy narrative, which seemingly encourages professionalism and educational transformation through a merit-based selection approach, in reality, has not fully detached itself from political interests. The selection and appointment of potential "guru penggerak" are highly susceptible to informal selection arenas, where political loyalty, social network affiliations, or patron-client relationships play as significant a role as academic or pedagogical credentials. The inequality in the distribution of these positions indirectly creates a pattern of political exclusion based on accessibility to power centers.

Elite dominance is also reflected in the way decision-making authority is distributed, which is not proportionally spread among various institutional actors or social groups. Instead, decision-making is centralized among key figures within the new power circle. This creates both epistemic and normative inequalities: who is considered entitled to speak and who is excluded from deliberative spaces. In the context of public position appointments or institutional repositioning, aspirations from the grassroots bureaucracy or civil society tend to be decontextualized from formal decision-making processes.

When regional heads and their political elites monopolize the interpretive rights regarding the necessity of positions or the direction of regional development, political exclusion occurs not only against opposition groups but also against non-coalition actors who do not align with the ideological or institutional orbit of the dominant power. In this context, exclusion is not merely about absence but rather a form of non-participation that is systematically produced through structural and symbolic mechanisms (Moore, 2009); (Wodak, 2015); (Nyberg, 2021).

This situation ontologically blurs the boundaries between professional bureaucracy and partisan bureaucracy (Nadzri, 2018); (Bauhr et al., 2019); (L. E. Cederman et al., 2011). When public positions are determined through transactional logic, local democracy in NTB risks experiencing substantive depoliticization, which entails the detachment of democracy from the principles of representative justice and participatory inclusion. Democracy is then reduced to an electoral procedure that ensures elite circulation but does not necessarily guarantee the redistribution of power or the opening of access to marginalized groups.

The consequences of this dominance also extend to long-term dimensions, specifically the institutionalization of inequality in the form of norms and practices that tolerate political exclusion (Beall & Piron, 2005); (Engelhart & Moughamian, 1968); (L. Cederman et al., 2013). For example, policies of placing officials within government structures based on political loyalty could potentially degrade public service quality, weaken institutional performance, and create negative incentives for civil servants to develop competencies rooted in professionalism. Conversely, the incentive would shift toward the ability to adapt to the political will of the ruler.

Thus, elite domination over local decision-making processes in NTB should not be understood merely as an expression of administrative authority. It is an integral part of the architecture of political exclusion that operates in a subtle and systemic manner. Exclusion, in this sense, is not the absence of numerical representation but the exclusion of access to influence in policy making, participation in public discourse, and the opportunity to determine development direction on equal terms.

If not addressed with affirmative policies, transparent governance, and the institutionalization of objective meritocracy, this situation could become a source of broader socio-political disintegration (Wimmer et al., 2009); (Dotson, 2014); (Van Deth, 2014); (Boelens et al., 2016). Political elites who are overly dominant without mechanisms of control and genuine participation will distance governance practices from the principles of deliberative democracy. In the context of NTB, such exclusion would not only marginalize certain groups from public office but also nullify the diversity of ideas and actors in strategic decision-making, which ultimately could hinder the growth of democratic institutions at the local level.

The Level of Marginal Actors' Involvement in the Deliberative Process and Political Representation Post-Election

In the post-regional election dynamics in the Province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), discussions regarding political inclusion and the deliberative participation of marginalized groups have emerged as a substantive issue within the discourse of local democratic development. The level of involvement of marginal actors in formal policy forums such as development deliberations, public agenda formulation, and their representation within institutional structures serves as a crucial indicator in assessing the functionality of democratic and responsive governance. In the context of NTB, this dynamic cannot be detached from the socio-political structure that historically places Lombok as the central hub of development, while Sumbawa and Bima remain in peripheral positions, systematically experiencing policy marginalization.

Marginal actors within the NTB context include indigenous communities, minority ethnic groups, rural women, youth outside the patronage political circles, and non-coalition civil society entities. From the perspective of world-systems theory and dependency theory, the marginalization of these actors is a structural product of the power imbalance between the core (Lombok) and the periphery (Sumbawa and Bima), where the core accumulates resources, political authority, and the primary locus of development, while the periphery suffers from subordination in the distribution of development benefits and decision-making processes.

Despite the 2024 gubernatorial candidate M. Iqbal's normative promises regarding equitable development and cultural preservation outside of Lombok, empirical reality shows that these intentions have not yet been fully institutionalized within the policy architecture or participatory mechanisms. The involvement of marginalized communities in policy formulation, for example, remains largely symbolic and procedural, without yielding substantial influence over the direction and content of public decisions.

Normatively, deliberative forums such as Musrenbang (Development Planning Deliberation), public consultation forums, and regional representative bodies should serve as platforms for absorbing community aspirations, including those of marginalized groups (Hooker, 2005); (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007); (Johnson et al., 2011); (Baynton, 2013); (Mangare et al., 2023). However, in practice, the representation of non-elite groups in these forums is extremely limited, both quantitatively (in terms of participation) and qualitatively (in terms of influence on decisions). This disparity in access is further reinforced by bureaucratic logic that remains subordinated to political patronage and the dominance of powerful groups, resulting in the delegitimization or even obscuring of peripheral voices in the provincial development narrative.

The three regions of Lombok, Sumbawa, and Bima have distinct historical, cultural, and structural backgrounds in their power relations. Lombok, as the birthplace of the new governor, has historically enjoyed infrastructure development privileges, the concentration of provincial bureaucracy, and greater access to public services. Meanwhile, Sumbawa and Bima, despite contributing significantly to sectors such as agriculture, livestock, and natural resources, often find themselves sidelined in strategic development agendas.

In the governor's post-election priority programs, efforts are visible to enhance infrastructure in the Sekongkang area (West Sumbawa), as well as strengthen the agricultural and livestock sectors (corn and cattle) as major commodities in Sumbawa and Bima. However, this sectoral and technocratic approach to development does not adequately address the crucial problem of political exclusion, as it lacks a focus on strengthening the local community's political representation capacity in policy formulation and monitoring.

M. Iqbal, in his post-inauguration speech, expressed a commitment to treat Sumbawa as he treats his homeland, Lombok. While this statement is symbolically strong, it has not yet materialized into affirmative policies capable of reconstructing the power imbalances between regions in NTB. The ongoing development programs remain centered on infrastructure and output-oriented approaches, with minimal substantive deliberative space for local communities to shape priorities and implementation instruments.

Moreover, in the realm of local cultural preservation, the role of indigenous communities and local leaders in determining the direction of preservation policies remains marginal. There is no evidence of ethnoregional-based policy designs that acknowledge the distinct cultural values and local aspirations as the foundation for participatory development.

This indicates that political inclusivity has yet to become a primary paradigm and remains merely a normative slogan within an elitist development framework.

According to the literature on dependency/world-system theory, the peripheral region's dependency on external resources (from both the national center and foreign capital) correlates with political exclusion and even the intensity of repression against opposition. In the NTB context, although no brutal repression has occurred, political exclusion is institutionalized through more subtle mechanisms: neglect of non-coalition actors' aspirations, appointments of bureaucrats based on political affiliation, and limitations on public participation in strategic forums (Chow, 1974); (Pitofsky, 1979); (Weaver & Lerman, 2010); (*Sportsme*, 2011); (Radcliffe & Webb, 2016).

Data indicates that the economic-political dependency on the central power tends to result in low non-elite participation in formal political processes. In NTB, this is reflected in the dominance of political elites from the regional power center in Lombok, while figures from Sumbawa and Bima only have limited space within the provincial government structure. Consequently, the advocacy capacity of marginalized communities weakens, and resistance space only develops in the form of cultural narratives and local practices that are isolated from the mainstream political flow.

To create an inclusive and deliberative democracy in NTB, a reconstruction of the development and political representation paradigm is necessary, one that is no longer centered solely on the Lombok elite. Policy formulation processes must be based on the principle of genuine representation, involving local leaders, indigenous figures, civil society organizations, and the youth from Sumbawa and Bima in strategic forums.

Furthermore, a decentralization of the deliberative process is necessary to prevent it from being solely concentrated in the provincial capital. Strengthening village deliberation forums, revitalizing an ethnoregionally inclusive Regional Research Council, and establishing community-based policy monitoring mechanisms can serve as the initial steps towards reversing structural exclusion (L. E. Cederman et al., 2010); (MacDonald, 2008); (Fan & Wong, 2011); (Faccio & Lafayette, 2011); (Adhikari et al., 2006).

Thus, the level of involvement of marginalized actors in post-election political representation in NTB is not merely a matter of the quantity of participation, but of the extent to which they possess the transformative power to help determine the direction of development and regional governance. Without such structural reform, the promises of equity and cultural preservation will remain mere rhetorical fragments in the narrative of power that continues to be centralized (Pitofsky, 1979); (Weaver & Lerman, 2010)(Wodak, 2015).

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of political exclusion in the province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) following the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections reflects a paradoxical reality in which procedural electoral democracy inadvertently reproduces substantive exclusion of opposition groups and non-coalition actors. This form of exclusion is primarily manifested through the co-optation of local democratic institutions, where political contestation culminates in the restructuring of power relations that delegitimizes alternative aspirations beyond the hegemony of the victors. Exclusionary practices materialize in the control over access to state resources, the closure of vertical mobility opportunities within the public bureaucracy through politically affiliated selection processes, and the marginalization of critical actors from decision-making arenas. Furthermore, political exclusion in NTB takes on a symbolic dimension, where dominant post-contest narratives aim to delegitimize the opposition through stigmatization, labeling, and the normalization of political subjugation as a prerequisite for participation in development discourse. In this context, political exclusion is not merely a formal barrier to access to power but also an imagined limitation on the articulation of alternative voices that would enrich deliberative democracy. This dynamic affirms that local democracy in NTB is increasingly ensnared in the oligarchization of electoral politics, where the mere availability of democratic procedures does not guarantee substantive openness but rather deepens power stratification based on electoral loyalty and political patronage. Therefore, political exclusion in

NTB should be read not as a democratic anomaly but as a manifestation of the consolidation of power in an exclusive manner, interwoven with neopatrimonial practices that erode the essence of egalitarian and inclusive political representation.

Strengthening local checks and balances mechanisms, improving meritocratic recruitment systems for civil servants, and building inclusive public deliberation spaces are imperative. Bureaucratic reforms must minimize politicization, while critical political education needs to be enhanced to foster collective awareness of the importance of equality in political representation. Strengthening local democracy must encompass practical measures that prioritize not only electoral proceduralism but also fairness in the distribution of power.

REFERENCES

- Abdallat, Y., Suifan, T., Oklah, K., Sweis, G., & Sweis, R. (2020). The impact of human resource management practices on organizational performance in construction companies in Jordan. *International Journal of Business Innovation and Research*, 1(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.1504/ijbir.2020.10025591>
- Adhikari, A., Derashid, C., & Zhang, H. (2006). Public policy, political connections, and effective tax rates: Longitudinal evidence from Malaysia. *Journal of Accounting and Public Policy*, 25(5), 574–595. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaccpubpol.2006.07.001>
- Amalia Yunia Rahmawati. (2020). *Disertasi - Patron*. July, 1–23.
- Andika, R., Putera, R. E., & Indraddin. (2022). Analisis Pengisian Jabatan Esselon IV Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kota Padang. In *Jurnal Niara* (Vol. 15, Issue 2). <https://doi.org/10.31849/niara.v15i2.8839>
- Asal, V., Findley, M., Piazza, J. A., & Walsh, J. I. (2016). Political Exclusion, Oil, and Ethnic Armed Conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 60(8), 1343–1367. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002714567948>
- Bauhr, M., Charron, N., & Wängnerud, L. (2019). Exclusion or interests? Why females in elected office reduce petty and grand corruption. *European Journal of Political Research*, 58(4), 1043–1065. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12300>
- Baynton, D. C. (2013). The New Disability History: American Perspectives: Disability and Justification of Inequality in American History. *The Disability Studies Reader*, 17–33. http://www.uua.org/sites/live-new.uua.org/files/documents/bayntondouglas/justification_inequality.pdf
- Beall, J., & Piron, L.-H. (2005). DFID Social Exclusion Review. *The London School of Economics and Political Science & Overseas Development Institute*, January 2005, 71. <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/2301.pdf>
- Boelens, R., Hoogesteger, J., Swyngedouw, E., Vos, J., & Wester, P. (2016). Hydrosocial territories: a political ecology perspective. *Water International*, 41(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508060.2016.1134898>
- Brechenmacher, S., & Hubbard, C. (2020). How the coronavirus risks exacerbating women's political exclusion. *Blog Post at the Carnegie Endowment for ...*, November, 1–8. https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Brechenmacher_Hubbard_Women_Exclusion.pdf
- Casero-Ripollés, A., Sintés-Olivella, M., & Franch, P. (2017). The Populist Political Communication Style in Action: Podemos's Issues and Functions on Twitter During the 2016 Spanish General Election. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 61(9), 986–1001. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764217707624>
- Cederman, L. E., Weidmann, N. B., & Gleditsch, K. S. (2011). Horizontal inequalities and ethnonationalist civil war: A global comparison. *American Political Science Review*, 105(3), 478–495. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055411000207>
- Cederman, L. E., Wimmer, A., & Min, B. (2010). Why do Ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis. *World Politics*, 62(1), 87–119. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887109990219>
- Cederman, L., Gleditsch, K. S., & Buhaug, H. (2013). *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War*. September, 1–46.

- Choi, S. W., & Piazza, J. A. (2016). Ethnic groups, political exclusion and domestic terrorism. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 27(1), 37–63. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10242694.2014.987579>
- Chow, P. N. P. (1974). An improved toluene/Triton-based liquid scintillation system for counting ¹⁴C-labeled compounds at ambient temperature. *Analytical Biochemistry*, 60(1), 322–328. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0003-2697\(74\)90161-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0003-2697(74)90161-4)
- Citizens & Sportsmen: Fútbol & Politics in 20*. (2011). September 1973.
- Cutts, D., Goodwin, M., Heath, O., & Surridge, P. (2020). Brexit, the 2019 General Election and the Realignment of British Politics. *Political Quarterly*, 91(1), 7–23. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12815>
- Dianti, Y. (2017). Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif. In *Angewandte Chemie International Edition*, 6(11), 951–952. [http://repo.iain-tulungagung.ac.id/5510/5/BAB 2.pdf](http://repo.iain-tulungagung.ac.id/5510/5/BAB%202.pdf)
- Dotson, K. (2014). Conceptualizing Epistemic Oppression. *Social Epistemology*, 28(2), 115–138. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02691728.2013.782585>
- Ekström, H., Krzyżanowski, M., & Johnson, D. (2023). Saying ‘Criminality’, meaning ‘immigration’? Proxy discourses and public implicatures in the normalisation of the politics of exclusion. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 22(2), 183–209. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2023.2282506>
- Engelhart, M. D., & Moughamian, H. (1968). Book Reviews : Book Reviews. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 28(3), 951–951. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001316446802800332>
- Faccio, M., & Lafayette, W. (n.d.). *D - : a*.
- Fan, J. P. H., & Wong, T. J. (2011). Politically-Connected CEOs, Corporate Governance and Post-IPO Performance of China’s Partially Privatized Firms. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, December. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.642441>
- Fauzi, L. M., Asmara, M. G., & Zunnuraeni. (2019). Pengangkatan Jabatan Pimpinan Tinggi Pratama Sekretaris Daerah Kabupaten Lombok Barat. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum De’Jure: Kajian Ilmiah Hukum*, 4(1), 63–83.
- Fauziyah Aulia Rishanti, Puguh Santoso, A. P. U. (2022). Penyelesaian Konflik Sosial Di Sumbawa Berdasarkan Undang-Undang No 7 Tahun 2012 Mengenai Penanganan Konflik Sosial (Studi Kasus : Konflik Antara Suku Samawa Dengan Suku Bali Tahun 2013. *Tarombo*, 3(1), 1–12.
- Haider, H. (2022). *Addressing political exclusion of ethnic minorities , IDP ’ s , and refugees in the Eastern Neighbourhood*.
- Helsper, E. J. (2012). A Corresponding Fields Model for the Links Between Social and Digital Exclusion. *Communication Theory*, 22(4), 403–426. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2012.01416.x>
- Hooker, J. (2005). Indigenous inclusion/black exclusion: Race, ethnicity and multicultural citizenship in Latin America. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 37(2), 285–310. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X05009016>
- Jagers, J., & Walgrave, S. (2007). Populism as political communication style: An empirical study of political parties’ discourse in Belgium. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(3), 319–345. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00690.x>
- Johnson, C., Jones, R., Paasi, A., Amore, L., Mountz, A., Salter, M., & Rumford, C. (2011). Interventions on rethinking “the border” in border studies. *Political Geography*, 30(2), 61–69. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2011.01.002>
- Kinowska-Mazaraki, Z. (2021). The polish paradox: From a fight for democracy to the political radicalization and social exclusion. *Social Sciences*, 10(3). <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10030112>
- Kurniawa, A., & Usman, &. (2020). *Studi Diagnostik Pembelajaran Pendidikan Dasar di Kabupaten Lombok Tengah, Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat*.
- MacDonald, R. (2008). Disconnected Youth? Social Exclusion, the ‘Underclass’ & Economic Marginality. *Social Work & Society*, 6(2), 236–248. <https://ejournals.bib.uni->

- wuppertal.de/index.php/sws/article/view/45/358%0Ahttps://ejournals.bib.uni-wuppertal.de/index.php/sws/article/view/45
- Mangare, R. C. W., Dotulong, L. O. H., Walangitan, M. D., Jabatan, P. P., Dan, M., Terhadap, K., Kerja, S., Pada, P., Kesatuan, B., Dan, B., Mangare, R. C. W., Dotulong, L. O. H., & Walangitan, M. D. (2023). *KOTA MANADO THE EFFECT OF JOB PROMOTION , MUTATION AND COMPENSATION ON EMPLOYEE MORALE AT THE NATIONAL AND POLITICAL UNITY AGENCY OF MANADO CITY Jurnal EMBA Vol . 11 No . 4 November 2023 , Hal . 1522-1531. 11(4), 1522-1531.*
- Mbah, P. O., Nwangwu, C., & Ugwu, S. C. (2019). Contentious elections, political exclusion, and challenges of national integration in Nigeria. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 5(1), 1-21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2019.1565615>
- Rifai, & Haeril (2024). *Dilema Etis dan Imparsialitas Birokrasi pada Pilkada Serentak Kota Bima 2024. 293-303.*
- Moore, F. J. W. (2009). *Book Review – POPULATION REVIEW. 48(1), 135-137.*
- Nadzri, M. M. N. (2018). The 14th General Election, the Fall of Barisan Nasional, and Political Development in Malaysia, 1957-2018. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 37(3), 139-171. <https://doi.org/10.1177/186810341803700307>
- Nyberg, D. (2021). Corporations, Politics, and Democracy: Corporate political activities as political corruption. *Organization Theory*, 2(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2631787720982618>
- Paskarina, C. (2016). Pilkada Serentak, Eksklusi Partai Politik, dan Masa Depan Politik Representasi. *The Politics*, 2(1), 24-38.
- Penerapan, D., & Fifo, M. (2023). 1*, 2 1,2. 1992, 17-23.
- Pitofsky, R. (1979). Political Content of Antitrust. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 127(4), 1051-1075.
- Pratama, D. H., Wibowo, G. D., & Purnomo, C. E. (2023). Implementasi Penyetaraan Jabatan Administrasi ke Dalam Jabatan Fungsional pada Pemerintah Daerah (Studi di Pemerintah Daerah Provinsi NTB). *Indonesia Berdaya*, 4(3), 931-942. <https://doi.org/10.47679/ib.2023507>
- Radcliffe, S., & Webb, A. (2016). Mapuche youth between exclusion and the future: protest, civic society and participation in Chile. *Children's Geographies*, 14(1), 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2014.964667>
- Rifai, R., Kamaluddin, K., & Hidayat, R. (2024). Exploring the roots and solutions of maladministration, power abuse, or corruption in contemporary Indonesian villages. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 32(3), 1115-1140. <http://www.pertanika.upm.edu.my/>
- Tauhid Tauhid, & Gufran Gufran. (2019). Intervensi Politik Dalam Mutasi Pejabat Birokrasi Pemerintah Kota Bima. *Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi Negara*, 16(1), 36-45. <https://doi.org/10.59050/jian.v16i1.15>
- Van Deth, J. W. (2014). A conceptual map of political participation. *Acta Politica*, 49(3), 349-367. <https://doi.org/10.1057/ap.2014.6>
- Wajdi, F., Seplyana, D., Juliastuti, Rumahlewang, E., Fatchiatuzahro, Halisa, N. N., Rusmalinda, S., Kristiana, R., Niam, M. F., Purwanti, E. W., Melinasari, S., & Kusumaningrum, R. (2024). Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif. In *Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan* (Vol. 7, Issue 2).
- Weaver, V. M., & Lerman, A. E. (2010). Political consequences of the carceral state. *American Political Science Review*, 104(4), 817-833. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055410000456>
- Wimmer, A., Cederman, L., & Min, B. (2009). Andreas Wimmer, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Brian Min Ethnic politics and armed conflict. A configurational analysis of a new global dataset. Published in the. *American Sociological Review*, 74(2).
- Wodak, R. (2015). *The_Politics_of_Fear_What_Right_Wing. 0-24.*