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# Mizan

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In The Dimensions of State Political Thought**

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*Yono*



Fakultas Agama Islam  
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# Mizan

**Journal of Islamic Law**

Menyambut baik kontribusi dari para ilmuwan, sarjana, profesional, dan peneliti dalam disiplin ilmu hukum untuk dipublikasi dan disebarluaskan setelah melalui mekanisme seleksi naskah, telaah mitra bebestari, dan proses penyuntingan yang ketat.

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## **Election Practices Based on Money Politics In the Dimensions of State Political Thought\***

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### **Abstract:**

Organizing elections that are clean from money politics is still becomes a complicated problem in this country. Some laws and regulations have been made to provide criminal and civil sanctions for perpetrators of money politics, even the rules of religion themselves have explicitly prohibited them. However, money politics seems to have been mushrooming in the lower middle class. Moreover, there is a slogan that develops in the community that the people will not vote if they not received money. This is also becomes the driving force for this money crime. In fact, there is an assumption that without the down payment then serving in a certain political office becomes impossible. This research tries to analyze the adverse effects if this money political crime is still left behind.

**Keywords:** Money Politics, Election, State Political Thought

### **Abstrak:**

Keterlibatan masyarakat dalam pesta demokrasi merupakan hal penting dan harus ada, karena ia merupakan perwujudan demokrasi yang sebenarnya. Warga negara terlibat langsung dalam proses pembuatan keputusan, melaksanakan keputusan, mempengaruhi proses pengambilan keputusan, mempengaruhi kebijakan pemerintah, termasuk berkaitan dengan keterlibatan aktif maupun keterlibatan pasif setiap individu dalam hierarki sistem politik pemerintahan. Semua keterlibatan ini dikenal sebagai bentuk partisipasi politik. Penelitian ini ingin membangun kembali partisipasi politik sebagai teori dasar dalam pemikiran politik negara. Sehingga dengannya dapat ditarik benang merah antara peran partisipasi politik masyarakat dengan kesuksesan demokrasi itu sendiri.

**Kata Kunci:** Partisipasi, Politik, Demokrasi

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## Introduction

The general election event is a democratic party to fill state power. However, this is often tainted by politicians by practicing money politics, known as Money Politics. So this becomes a problem which is considered as a common thing in the party celebrations in this republic. Weak supervision and legal firmness also triggered the practice of this money political crime.

General elections in Indonesia are held every five years, both to elect people's representatives who sit in the legislative and to elect the president and vice president. Currently eleven elections have been carried out, namely in 1955, 1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, and which will be held nearest to this are legislative elections and, presidential and vice presidential elections in 2019.

In each election has its own historical record which becomes democratic learning in this country. As in the 2004, 2009 and 2014 elections which were democratic elections in the history of the Indonesian Nation, because they directly elected their representatives through a ballot paper containing photos of candidates who would sit in parliament, including presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Although some election observers still think that elections with this pattern are still complicated elections, because they carry out the stages of elections that must be passed, such as electing members of the House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Representative Council (DPD), Provincial DPRD, and Regency DPRD/City which then only conducts presidential and vice presidential elections. So that with this many processes provides an opportunity for the practice of money politics which certainly broke the legitimacy of this democratic party.

Money and politics are an inseparable entity, especially in political contestation in Indonesia. In order to achieve a political position costs are not small. As the results of Ari Dwipayana's research compile nine types of expenses needed in general elections, such as:

- 1). Cost of a successful team (campaign team);
- 2) Survey's cost and political consultants;
- 3) Costs for procuring campaign attributes;
- 4) Costs for organizing open-closed campaigns including mass mobilization;
- 5) Campaign costs in print and electronic media;
- 6) Costs for giving donations to the pocket of voters;
- 7) Costs for buying votes (vote buying);
- 8) Costs for paying witnesses in the voting process;
- 9) Other campaign costs.<sup>4</sup>

Money in the economic logic is generally interpreted as a medium of exchange or a tool widely used to show something as a payment for goods or used in various other trades. Besides money, it is also interpreted as a store of

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<sup>4</sup> AAGN Ari Dwipayana, *"Globalism: pergulatan Politik Representasi Atas Bali,"* (Denpasar: Uluangkep Press, 2010), p.3.

value or a measure of the source of one's wealth.<sup>5</sup> In other words, money is understood as a resource that is inherent in one's individual, to be used as fulfillment of necessity and to achieve various things and objectives related to transactions.

Likewise with political activity, without money, then politics will not be able to run and work properly. This means that money is the driving capital of political activity. Jakobson emphasizes this by saying:

“Money is not sufficient, but it is necessary for successful campaign. Money is necessary because campaign do have impact on election result and a campaign cannot be run without it”<sup>6</sup>

The bad implication is that money politics is initially intended for financing which then continues with the wicked actions of money politics to fill the pockets of voice by buying voters' votes. This crime is likened to '*jaelangkung*,' coming uninvited and leaving no goodbye, making it difficult to trace. Although various electoral monitoring institutions have been deployed, supervisors have been deployed to the village level, but fraud through this money politics still occurs.

### Definition of Money Politics

Money politics can be interpreted as bribery. Bribes in the Indonesian Dictionary are interpreted as gratification.<sup>7</sup> It is carried out as a form of giving or promising to buy off someone with goods or money so the person at the time of the general election does not exercise his right to choose or exercise his rights in certain ways to choose certain.<sup>8</sup>

According to the University of Indonesia Constitutional Law expert, Yusril Ihza Mahendra, the definition of money politics is an effort to influence the mass of elections in return for material. So that in the case of money politics if proven, it can be snared with an article of ordinary crime, namely bribery.<sup>9</sup>

With money politics, transactions occur in the form of giving money or certain goods or facilities, and promises that will be given by prospective voters

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<sup>5</sup> Komaruddin, *Uang Di Negara Sedang Berkembang*, (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 1991), p.396.

<sup>6</sup> Ibrahim Fahmi Badoh, *Memantau Korupsi Pemilu*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Tifa, 2009), p.5.

<sup>7</sup> Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, Edisi kedua, 1994), p.965.

<sup>8</sup> Siti Malaiha Dewi, “*Sikap Dan Pemaknaan Perempuan Marginal Terhadap Politik Uang: Studi Kasus Pemilu Tahun 2014 di Kabupaten Kudus*,” *Jurnal ADDIN*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Februari 2015, p.205-228

<sup>9</sup> Indra Ismawan, *Money Politics Pengaruh Uang Dalam Pemilu*, (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Media Presindo, 1999), p.4.



to vote or vote for money givers.<sup>10</sup> So that it can be said that there has been a practice of money politics if an action has occurred which contains several elements as follows: First, intentionally promising money or other material to the voters, and secondly, deliberately giving money or other material to the voters. Both of these elements are carried out with the aim that the recipient of money or other material is to choose a particular candidate, or use his voting rights in a certain way, so that his voice mail becomes invalid.<sup>11</sup>

Topo Santoso expanded the definition of money politics by giving an explanation of what is included in this category of money politics. According to him; Money politics aside from the problem of bribery with the aim of winning one of the candidates in the election, it can also be linked to all kinds of violations involving funds in a political context, including party and election issues. In addition, money politics can also be in the form of trying to get funds from illicit sources and not reporting the existence of illegal funds.<sup>12</sup>

The practice of money politics certainly involves actors who come from candidate pairs of candidates or candidates, as well as successful teams, business people, and certain groups who have interests, both political interests and economic interests.<sup>13</sup> The practice of money politics is inseparable from the establishment of patron-client relations in society.

Academics provide diverse responses and arguments in defining this money politics. Such as:

First; Didik Supriyanto, an activist and was once the Coordinator of Election Supervisory Committee Monitoring. He said that money politics is the exchange of money with positions or policies or political decisions that are in the name of the interests of the people, but are actually for personal or group or party interests.<sup>14</sup>

Second; Tjahjo Kumolo, politician of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. He said that money politics is an attempt to influence other people or the wider community by using material rewards, or it can also be interpreted as buying and selling votes in the political process and power and the act of

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<sup>10</sup> Fitriyah, *Cara Kerja Politik Uang (Studi Kasus Pilkada dan Pilkades di Kabupaten Pati)*, POLITIKA, Vol. 6, No. 2, Oktober 2015, h.101-111. Indra Ismawan, *Money Politics Pengaruh Uang Dalam Pemilu*, (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Media Presindo, 1999), p.4.

<sup>11</sup> Syamsul Hadi, *Kriteria Money Politik Dalam Pemilu Perspektif Hukum Islam*, (UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta: Fakultas Syariah dan Hukum, 2012), p.82.

<sup>12</sup> Topo Santoso, *Hukum dan Proses Demokrasi: Problematika Sekitar pemilu dan Pilkada*, (Jakarta: Kemitraan, 2007), p.63.

<sup>13</sup> Fitriyah, "Cara Kerja Politik Uang (Studi Kasus Pilkada Dan Pilkades Di Kabupaten Pati)," *Politika*, Vol. 6, No.2, Oktober 2015, p.101-111.

<sup>14</sup> Didik Supriyanto, Koordinator Pengawasan Panwas Pemilu, <http://www.Panwaslu, Jum'at>.

distributing money, whether private or party property to influence voters' votes.<sup>15</sup>

Third; Indra Ismawan, the author of the book "The Effect of Money in Elections" says that Political Money is defined as an effort to influence the behavior of others by using certain rewards. It is an act of buying and selling votes in the political process and power. Such actions can occur in a wide range, from village head elections to a country's general election.<sup>16</sup>

From the definition above it can be concluded that money politics can occur if there is intentional action by a person or group by giving or promising money or other material to someone, in order to use their voting rights in a certain way or not exercising their right to choose certain candidates or deliberately accepting or giving campaign funds from or to certain parties. Money politics is generally carried out for the purpose of attracting sympathy from voters in determining their voting rights in general elections.

### Forms of Money Politics

There are two forms of money politics that are often found in democratic parties in Indonesia. First, bribe with cash; second, by bribing with other public facilities.<sup>17</sup>

*First; In the form of cash (Cash Money).* Money is the twin brother of power. Not surprisingly, in society, including religious communities, money is recognized as a powerful political weapon that is very strategic to conquer power. With money, a person's personal will be able to be boosted, while controlling strategic discourse to embrace a political and power interest. With money, a person can freely influence and impose personal and group interests on others.<sup>18</sup>

The political world is inseparable from the existence of a campaign which is an arena to introduce ourselves to the wider community about the identity of prospective people's representatives or prospective leaders. Doing a campaign certainly requires capital, especially money. There is no politics without a campaign, and there is no campaign without money. So the conclusion, there is no politics without money or no money capital. No wonder if later there are

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<sup>15</sup> Tjahjo Kumolo, *Politik Hukum Pilkada Serentak* (Bandung: PT Mizan Publika, 2015), p.155.

<sup>16</sup> Indra Ismawan, *Pengaruh Uang Dalam Pemilu* (Yogyakarta: Media Pressindo, 1999), p.5.

<sup>17</sup> Ahmad Khoirul Umam, *Kiai dan Budaya Korupsi di Indonesia* (Semarang: Rasail, 2006), p.24.

<sup>18</sup> Heru Nugroho, *Uang, Rentenir, dan Hutang Piutang di Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka pelajar, 2001), p.95.

those who say that money is the main instrument for capturing as many people as possible in the election.<sup>19</sup>

*Second; Shaped public facilities.* The provision of public facilities can also be used as another form of money politics. The basic motive is politics of imaging or other languages spreading charm. This is commonly done by candidates to attract sympathy from the community in their constituencies. This behavior certainly benefits the people personally, in addition to public facilities and facilities, they receive a "blessing". The politics of imaging through the provision of public facilities is not only done by new candidates, but also carried out by incumbents who want to return to becoming candidates in their constituencies. This seasonal goodness is often concerned with the term "political jariah" or politicized jariah charity. Not surprisingly, then a lot of cement, sand, iron, free stones were donated in the construction of mosques, prayer rooms, schools, small streets, some even donated free electric poles.

### **Shifting Mode in Money Political Crime**

There are a variety of ways that money politics crime actors do during regional elections, both directly and indirectly. Directly this is done by way of cash payments from the success team from certain candidates to potential constituents, giving donations from prospective candidates to political parties that support them, or making compulsory contributions that have been required by certain political parties to cadres of political parties or prospective candidates who will forward running for regional head. While giving indirectly can be done by distributing prizes or door prizes, distributing basic necessities to constituents, providing assistance with building materials, and so forth. Many expenses and costs must be incurred by prospective candidates, both in the form of compulsory contributions to parties, gifts, banners, membership administration fees, paying witnesses and other administrative needs.

This phenomenon as Fitriyah stated in her journal said that there were several modes or patterns of money practices during general elections. Among others, such as buying hundreds of sound cards which were allegedly supporting other candidates to the organizing committee at a high price, paying a successful team sent directly to the community to distribute money, carry out the dawn attack, and sporadically pouring out massive money by parties outside the candidate camp village head, namely bookie / gambling player, and so on.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Dendy Lukmajati, *Praktek Politik Uang Dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2014 (Studi Kasus di Kabupaten Blora)*, POLITIKA, Vol. 7, No.1, April 2016, p.88.

<sup>20</sup> Fitriyah, *Cara Kerja Politik Uang (Studi Kasus Pilkada dan Pilkadaes di Kabupaten Pati)*, POLITIKA, Vol. 6, No.2, Oktober 2015, p.101-111.

Another shifting mode carried out in the crime of money politics is by indirectly giving money as a substitute for transportation after asking for help from the community to distribute brochures or installing campaign facilities. Can also be done by giving donations in the form of goods or money to party cadres, cheerleaders, or to certain groups and groups.<sup>21</sup> Assistance in the form of basic necessities can also be provided from certain candidates to the people whose economies are low in the form of rice, instant noodles, oil, sugar or other basic food ingredients. So that this kindness makes the hearts of the people who accept feel indebted, and certainly will cast their votes on the perpetrators.<sup>22</sup>

### Money Politics Strategy

After carrying out in-depth observations of the modes taken in the actions of money politics, then we can describe the existence of money politics strategies, as follows:<sup>23</sup>

#### a. Dawn attack

This term is known in the wider community because it was carried out in the morning precisely at dawn before the voting. Activities are carried out, namely by buying votes by one or several people to win candidates who will occupy political leadership positions. This dawn attack targets the middle to lower classes.

#### b. Mass mobilization

Mass mobilization commonly happens through the campaign involving mass rising by money tantalizing to liven up the campaign of political parties. The money uses are for transportation fee, reward, and meal allowance by hoping every person comes to the campaign to elect them in the election. In this case, some phenomenon of purchasing allowance usually happens by using the power of a public figure that was arranged as a vote getter to influence the elector in accordance of the order of the candidate. It could not be denied that the society today is not willing to join the campaign for free. Some of them ask meal allowance and fee to join the campaign. Whereas, in law Number 10, 2012 in terms of campaign implementation, it is written that it is not allowed to promise or give money or any other thing as a reward for the participants of the campaign directly or indirectly.

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<sup>21</sup> L. Sumartini, *Money Politics dalam Pemilu* (Jakarta: Badan Kehakiman Hukum Nasional Departemen Kehakiman dan Hak Asasi Manusia, 2004), p.148-149.

<sup>22</sup> Wikipedia, "*Politik Uang*" [http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politik\\_uang](http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politik_uang) (20 Maret 2016)

<sup>23</sup> Dedi Irawan, "*Studi Tentang Politik Uang (Money Politic) Dalam Pemilu Legislatif Tahun 2014: Studi Kasus Di Kelurahan Sempaja Selatan*", *Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan* (Maret, 2015), p.3-4.

### Prohibition of Money Politics in Indonesian Positive Law and Islamic Law

The prohibition of money based politics is written on article 3 paragraph 4 of Indonesian law Number 3, 1999 about politic parties, which is:

Whoever holds the election according to this law with giving or promising, bribing someone, so that it does not exercise his right to choose or to exercise his rights in a certain way, is punished with a maximum prison sentence of 3 (three) years. The punishment is also imposed on voters who accept bribes in the form of giving or promising to do something.

Although there are many strict rules about prohibiting the practice of money based politics, but to enforce the provisions of the law is not an easy work to do, even though they were clearly threatened by criminal and civil sentences. As it is written on the electon law Number 32, article 117, 2014:

"Everyone who intentionally gives or promises money or other material to someone so that they do not exercise their right to vote, or choose a particular candidate pair, or use their right to vote in a certain way, so that the ballot is invalid, threatened with imprisonment of at least 2 (two ) month and/or fine of at least Rp. one million rupiah (1,000,000). "

Islam prohibits acts of money politics and puts it in acts of *risywah* or bribery. Etymologically, *risywah* is everything done in any way to achieve a desired goal or purpose. According to the dictionary of the *Nihayah* by Ibn Kasir the emphasis is on the element of *risywah* itself, namely "*rasyi*" which gives something to someone with the aim of supporting sleaze, "*raisy*" which is a mediator or someone who mediates between the recipient and bribe, and "*al-murtasyi* "or the second party is the recipient of bribes, while *risywah* itself is taken from the word "*rosya* "which means the rope is used to take water in wells or rope.<sup>24</sup> While Abdullah bin Abd. Muhsin stated that there were 3 elements of the *risywah*, namely "people who accept bribes, people who give bribes, and the practice of bribery.<sup>25</sup>

Rasulullah SAW forbids even cursing the action of bribe or *risywah*. Rasulullah SAW blasted three people who have connection with bribe or *risywah*, they are (1) *Ar- Rasyi* or the giver of the bribe, (2) *Al- Murtasyi* or the recipient of the bribe, (3) *Ar- Raisy* or the mediatory between the recipient and the giver of the bribe. Those three components are even cursed by Allah and His prophet.

Both money politics and the bribe are forbidden even in the perspective of positive law and Islamic law. But both of them are distinguished to three things, those are (1) the institutes of both are different, the bribe based on the law of Allah while the money politics is based on the law made by human, (2) The law implementation between both are different, the people with bad morals will get

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<sup>24</sup> Ibn Kasir, *Kamus An-Nihayah*, jilid 1, Tahun 1963, p.266

<sup>25</sup> Abdullah bin Abd. Muhsin, *Suap dalam Pandangan Islam* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2001), p.11.

the sin as well as the bribe, the consequences is in the afterlife, while the money politics is temporary, when the punishment is over, the criminal is free, and (3) Islamic law is an absolute law, which could not be contested, while the positive law experiences changes and improvements or relative.<sup>26</sup>

### Sociological Politics Aspects of Money Politics Crime

Money politics creates pragmatism pattern which is aimed to the political interest of the certain side.<sup>27</sup> Political science is classified into two stages; those are political science and political philosophy. In the stage of political science, it is formulating terms and theorem to make people easier to understand the happening process and providing the alternative strategy which has the same goals, political quasi, relations, and each interaction. Meanwhile, in the political philosophy includes the political ethics and meta- science. This stage does not learn the practical political reality, but more into scientical reality which is more specific.<sup>28</sup> Pragmaticism of politic is baed on the principles of benefit, so that in the pragmatism of money politic is the benefit that is accepted by somebody or some certain groups which aims to gain the power through money or any other things.<sup>29</sup>

A benefit, based on the point of view of human is subjective and conditional, depending on the individual or groups. A benefit is also conditional, could be changed depending on the situation and conditions. What is currently seen as a benefit and could be used, might be anything useless in the other day and is left. It is different from the concept of *maslahat* in Islam which teaches that the benefit could be got for the good of humans and the achievement of *Maqasid*

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<sup>26</sup> Moh Mahfudhi, *Money Plitic: Perspektif Hukum Islam dan Hukum Positif*, (UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta: Fakultas Perbandingan Mazhab dan Hukum), p.96.

<sup>27</sup> Political pragmatism is formed from two words; "Pragmatism" and "Politic". Pragmatism, based on the popular scientific Dictionary is a philosophy school which is emphasized, practice, investigation with experience, and the truth that has satisfying consequences. Pragmatism came from a Greek word "Pragma", means use. The meaning of Pragmatism is a flow that teaches the truth is whatever which could prove themselves as the right side with the useful consequences. Means, everything could be accepted as long as it is useful for life. This trust is emphasizing on the practice in holding proof of justification of something which could be seen from the practical action or from the benefit. While politic means proficiency; gathering strength; watching over and using the power to achieve certain goals in a country or any other institute. [See: Anas Azwar, "Kiai, Money Politic dan Pragmatisme Politik dalam Perspektif Siyasa Syar'iyah: Studi Kasus Pilkadaes Plosorejo Tahun 2013", dalam IN RIGHT; Jurnal Agama dan Hak Azazi Manusia Vol. 5, No. 2, Mei 2016, p.226-255].

<sup>28</sup> Indonesian Law Number 3, 1999 about Politic parties paragraph 73 article 4

<sup>29</sup> Anas Azwar, "Kiai, Money Politic dan Pragmatisme Politik dalam Perspektif Siyasa Syar'iyah: Studi Kasus Pilkadaes Plosorejo Tahun 2013", dalam IN RIGHT; Jurnal Agama dan Hak Azazi Manusia Vol. 5, No. 2, Mei 2016, p.226-255.

*Syariah* or the goals of *syariah*.<sup>30</sup> If anything which happens is harming some people and profitable for some other people, it could not be considered as a benefit or *maslahat*, but it is considered as a cheat and crime.

Pragmatism only raises unstable character, so if it is done in politic, it should be a danger because its final goal is a power and benefit of individual or certain groups. Politicians who adhere to pragmatism politic will established a coalition with anyone who support them, don not care about the goals and no matter friends or enemies as long as the goals are achieved. So, it is fine if it is said *"No such free lunch"* in politics due to pragmatism politic of the politicians.

The conditions which is already explained above is getting worse by the action of the people who supports the action of this money politic, even offering their vote to be bought. Some of them are volunteered as the mediatory of selling other people's vote in a big amount of money.

As it is stated on the Journal of Siti Malaiha Dewi;

*"I do not want to vote if there is no moneys given to me, coming here is wasting my fuel. If there is no money for that, it is too lazy to be done. If he is elected, he will gain much money"*.<sup>31</sup>

It means, the crime of money politic would not happen if there is no support and response from the people who are the object of this money politic. If what happens is a common people's response, then it is confirmed that it is very difficult to take care of it.

People in general could also vote to a voice holder in a relationship as stated by Scott (1972) as a Patron-Client relationship. In this case, people who owed the kindness of somebody will pay it in the form of their vote. So, the patron- client relationship happens between both of them. The citizens become the clients, while the person with the power as a patron.

According to Scott, Patron- client relationship is a special case between two sides (dyadic) concerning friendship, where a person with the higher social status (patron) uses the influence power to give the protection and benefits to the person who is in the lower status (client). Then, the client will pay it by giving the support and helps, as well as the private service to the patron.

Scott stated that:

*"a special case of dyadic (two person) ties, involving alargely instrumental friendship in which an individual of higher socioeconomics status (patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits or both, for*

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<sup>30</sup> Ahmad Mukri Aji, *Urgensi Maslahat Mursalah Dalam Dialektika Pemikiran Hukum Islam*, (Bogor: Pustaka Pena Ilahi, 2012), p.77.

<sup>31</sup> Siti Malaiha Dewi, *"Sikap dan Pemaknaan Perempuan Marginal Terhadap Politik Uang: Studi Kasus Pemilu Tahun 2014 di Kabupaten Kudus,"* ADDIN, Vol. 9, No. 1, Februari 2015, p.205-228.

person of a lower status (client) who for his part reciprocates by offering general support and assistance, including personal services, to the patron."<sup>32</sup>

According to Scott<sup>33</sup>, the symptoms of patron-clients could be living and developing in Southeast Asia due to the influence of three conditions;

First, the striking inequality is in the mastery of wealth and the social status. In sociology, this inequality is called as social stratification. Pitirim Sorokin in Soekanto<sup>34</sup> stated that social stratification is a classification of society into classes in stages (hierarchically). The manifestation is classified into the higher and lower classes. Second; the absence of the institutions that guaranteed individual security, both concerning status or wealth. Third; relatives ties which could longer be relied upon to give the individual security and prosperity<sup>35</sup>.

Basically, the patron-client relationship in the middle of the society is caused by the large inequality of the social distance between patron and client, as well as economy or politic. A weak client will always be sued to be faithful to strengthen the patron. The faith is more needed when the patron is in a certain situation, as the global election when the patron wants to occupy a certain position and need the support and vote from the client. Meanwhile, the patron gives helps as well as economical helps or service as a reward of the faith.

### **Influencing Factors of Money Politics**

The occurrence of money politics is exactly not without any factors behind it. There are two related sides, the side of the subject who wants to reach the benefit, and the side of the recipient who owns the voice. If we take a look at the perpetrator, without any doubts all people will blame and state that it is a wrong action which is not in accordance with the law and rules.

There are some factors which could be used as a benchmark by the society who accept the money of the political crime of money politics. Those are;

First is the poverty. With a high level of poverty in Indonesian society, it is not a surprise that it should be used by the other people who have interests to do this crime.

Poverty is interpreted as a situation where disability occurs to fulfill basic needs as meal, clothes, houses, education, and health.<sup>36</sup> The cause of poverty is scarcity of basic fulfillment equipment, or the difficult access towards education

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<sup>32</sup> JC Scott, *Patron-Clients Politics and Political Changes in Southeast Asia*, The American Political Science Review, (1972), p.92.

<sup>33</sup> JC Scott, *Patron-Clients Politics and Political Changes in Southeast Asia*, p.92

<sup>34</sup> Soedjono Soekanto, *Sosiologi Hukum dalam Masyarakat*, (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1987), h.204. .

<sup>35</sup> Fitriyah, *Cara Kerja Politik Uang (Studi Kasus Pilkada dan Pilkadaes di Kabupaten Pati)*, Jurnal POLITIKA, Vol. 6, No.2, Oktober 2015, h.101-111.

<sup>36</sup> <https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/kemiskinan>



and job. The poverty is insisting some people to get money immediately. Because of that, then insist somebody to accept money no matter what. The logic is “whoever do not the money when it is needed.” They are who accepting the money sometimes do not think of the consequences they could get, as well as a bribe and trade of vote which is clearly violating the rules. What they think of is how to get money and fulfill the needs.

Second; low understanding and knowledge of the society about politic. The society does not know much about politics and the consequences of the political actions. The cause is lack of political learning in the society. That is why when the political party is held, there are many people who do not care about it. Many of them do not know the parties that participate the global election, do not know prospective legislators, do not know the potential leaders. This is why many subjects use this is as a useful situation to buy their voice. This kind of conditions will increase the existence of money politics. People who do not care about the global election will easily accept the give from the election’s participants. Money politics will be assigned as one thing that is natural. They would not think far away that the money given will be taken by the elected candidate. They do not realize the existence of political game which actually harming themselves.

Third; Culture. The slogan “do not reject the gift” is already been a culture in Indonesian mindset. Means that money and all forms of money politics is a gift according to them which could not be rejected. Because they are given those things, automatically people should be giving things in return to the participant of the global election, by voting and be the success team, even to be a success team of money politics in order to win the election participants. It was done as an expression of gratitude and a sense of reciprocity to the giver of the money.

Those three factors is known and made as an opportunity by the politic parties to get the votes. Money politic is placed as the most up- to date resources to vote for election votes. As a survey which is done by Kompas in the legislative election 2014 is stated in the poll that 536 respondents is 69,2% of Indonesian society admitted the existence of money politics which is done by prospective board member to get the support from the society.<sup>37</sup> It clearly means that Indonesian society should be educated about the meaning of democracy of global election to reach the happiness in the future. It is not when they accept money of the practice of money politics, but the happiness of being lead by the honest and trustworthy people.

In the arena of the global election, the participants do not hesitate using this shortcut to gain money and votes. As it is stated by Syarif:

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<sup>37</sup> Kompas, 28<sup>th</sup> of April 2014, p.4

"Goods used in indirect money politics payment are those possessing high use value, as well as high exchange value. It is thus understandable that products included in the 'nine basic needs' have become prime commodities used as indirect money politics payments. While the candidates also present other goods, they are more contextual, since the goods given must be adjusted to the specific needs of the target group. To get a more comprehensive picture of this matter. Direct money politics is generally in the form of cash payment given by candidates for local government head positions to individuals or institutions. The value differs from to area."<sup>38</sup>

### **The bad impact of Money Politics in global election**

The bad habit of doing money politics in global election will affect the mindset of people and the quality of democracy in Indonesia. Pessimistic assumption on the global election becomes a scary scourge to the society, because on their mind, the participants of the global election who gives money will get more money from the citizens when they succeed in occupying certain seats. So they do not care about it at all. The effect is they want to vote and use their voice if there is some money given. Then, the quality of the democracy which is going on is just a mirage. The democracy which should be a benchmark to vote became an imitation of charging political office power instead.

This is in line with the sentence of John Markoff<sup>39</sup> that there is a mechanism of democracy which is also colored by non-democratic practices in Indonesia or which is usually called by hybrid democracy. As well as the global election which is go hand in hand by the existence of money politics which ruins the democracy in the global election. Because of that, the rationality of the voter is questionable, whether they vote based on the goals offered by the participants of the global election, or they are just tempted by the money given and become not democracies. This thing creates pseudo political participation. Quoting from Larry Diamond<sup>40</sup>, Halili stated that that the participation of pseudo politics in the mechanism of democracy is only creating pseudo democracy, which is creating a fraud of democracy itself.<sup>41</sup>

Refers to the data survey released by Indicator Survey Institution on 2013, is known that the average of citizens who considers the money politics is a

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<sup>38</sup> Hidayat Syarif, *Pilkada, Money Politics and the Dangers of "Informal Governance" Practices*. In *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia*. Edited by Maribeth Erb and Priyambudi Sulistiyanto. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies: Singapore, 2009, p.130.

<sup>39</sup> John Markoff, *Gelombang Demokrasi Dunia Gerakan Sosial dan Perubahan Politik (terj.)*. (Yogyakarta: CCSS bekerjasama dengan Pustaka Pelajar, 2002), h.206.

<sup>40</sup> Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy Toward Consolidation*, (Yogyakarta: IRE Press, 2003), p.16-17.

<sup>41</sup> Halili, "Praktik Politik Uang Dalam Pemilihan Kepala Desa," dalam *Jurnal Humaniora* (Lemlit UNY), Volume 14, Nomor 2, Oktober 2009, p.99-112.

natural things to do. 41.5% of the citizens still considered that money politics is a natural thing. This shows that the level of money politics is still very high, as well as is stated by Burhanudin Muhtadi.<sup>42</sup> One of those is because of the low level of education, especially in the level of the villagers who are blind about what is the aim of global election. They are happy of the potential leaders who give them money compared with the goals they offer. Ironically, the reality of money politics affected the vote of the voter.

The practice of the money politics regarded as a cause of pseudo democracy is true. This is proved by the high level of people's participation in voting when they are lured by money. As well as the research that is done by Sabilal Rosyad in the legislative election on 2009 in Pekalongan. He found that there was a shift in value in society, which is at first considered as fraud becomes a thing that is natural.<sup>43</sup> In Pekalongan, the people are familiar with the phrase "I will vote when there is money". The citizens judge the money politics as a natural thing to do because economical reason and some is because of their ignorance. So, the pragmatism politics is appeared which is not only practiced by elite politics, but also has spread into community culture.

But, the thing that cannot be denied is the practice of money politics makes the citizens' politic participation raised. This is stated by Halili<sup>44</sup> that the dawn attack is the factor of the increase of voter participation in contributing to their voting rights. The factor is affect the society in the village that the majority of them are low educated and economy. In the election of the major of regional, money politics holds the important role in many ways, in the form of money, basic foods, also helps for infrastructure development.

## Conclusion

Based on the discussion above, it is concluded that there is a practice of money politics in the society. Although the government strictly prohibit with threats of criminal and civil punishment, but that is no longer threats for the perpetrator. Besides, the people who accept the money do not realize that it is a politic bribe which actually harms them. Because the affect is they will vote not by the goals they offer, but because of the strength of the money.

The bad effect, there is a democracy quality in Indonesia. Democracy is actually achieving unanimous people, even becomes the victim of political actors. The democracy which is enforced to be a real democracy becomes a pseudo

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<sup>42</sup> Burhanudin Muhtadi dalam rilis laporan "*Sikap dan Perilaku Pemilih Terhadap Money Politics*" pada tanggal 12 Desember 2013.

<sup>43</sup> Sabilal Rosyad, "*Praktik Money Politics Dalam Pemilu Legislatif di Kabupaten Pekalongan Tahun 2009*," Thesis, UIN Walisongo, Semarang 2009, p.9.

<sup>44</sup> Halili, "*Praktik Politik Uang Dalam Pemilihan Kepala Desa*," dalam Jurnal Humaniora (Lemlit UNY), Volume 14, Nomor 2, Oktober 2009, p.99-112.

democracy. The global election becomes a democratic party is a political formality which sells the imitation symbols. Because of that, it is necessary to do a democratic restoration that prioritizes the interests of the people, not the needs of the political elite.

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# Mizan

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  - 3) Jurnal, contoh: Rohim, Nur, "Kontroversi Pembentukan Perppu No. 1 Tahun 2013 tentang mahkamah konstitusi dalam ranah kepentingan yang memaksa", dalam *Jurnal Cita Hukum*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2014).
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