Legal and Political Policy in Preventing of Money Politics: Case Study and Recommendations

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<td>Money politics has damaged the democratic system throughout the nation; handling the problem of money politics is not enough to be charged to law enforcement and all elements of society. The seriousness of the government and political parties in tackling the problem of money politics can be done by legal and political means. The results of this study show that political policies in preventing money politics in the 2019 elections in Banyumas Regency where political parties have made several efforts in at least three ways: 1) implementing pacta integrity and providing debriefing to cadres and legislative candidates. 2) All parties tend to follow only the existing rules, especially those issued by the KPU and Bawaslu. 3) It turns out that all parties do not require this, relating to the competency requirements of legislative candidates that are more stringent, intellectual, managerial skills, experience, and morality. Legal policies in the prevention and handling of money politics have carried out prevention strategies through legal policies, namely prevention at the level of legislation policy and judicial</td>
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policy. In contrast, the execution policy has yet to be well realized.

**Keywords:** Legal and Political Policy; Money Politics; Banyumas

1. **Introduction**

Theoretically, politics is an attempt to participate in managing and controlling the affairs of society or the people. Because it involves the interests of many people, politics is very close to power. On the other hand, because politics seeks to manage and control the affairs of society, politics can also be used to convey goodness and truth to the broader community.¹ However, due to reality, many often see politics as an art or science where clever and sometimes dishonest practices must be used in competition with others to gain power and leadership in society.² This is not unfounded because many candidates for regional heads, legislative candidates, or often called candidates often use political intrigues that are so cunning that they cannot even be translated by the apparatus overseeing the running of elections or regional elections.

Direct elections are often perceived as a “people’s democracy party” where the people have the right to make anything, including acts of anarchy, either on their initiative, mobilized by candidates and their supporters, or encouraged by political parties as parties that nominate candidates.³ For the general public, direct elections are often interpreted as an opportunity to share money. They understand that each candidate provides a large enough budget to win the competition.⁴

The practice of money politics in every political recruitment cannot be denied. It must even be recognized as the biggest scourge, including in regional head elections, legislative elections and presidential and vice presidential elections. In sociology, the term money politics is commonly referred to as

venality. According to Ignas Kleden, this term refers to a situation where money is used to pay for something that cannot be bought with money.5

The phenomenon of money politics mentioned above, amid the uncertainty of the “democratic leap,”6 tends to be tolerated. With the argument that both candidates and the people need it. As long as there is no element of coercion and intimidation or other forms of political violence, such money politics practices will usually be difficult to punish, except for those caught red-handed. The perpetrators who are not caught will be challenging to track down, especially when considering the clause that prospective voters may receive money from candidates or their success teams, but they are free to make their choices. This clause is usually considered a “compromise” to tolerate money politics amid the economic laws of elections, namely the supply and demand between candidates and voters.7

The effects of the practice of money politics certainly cannot be taken for granted. Based on the experience that has occurred, the practice of money politics that occurs in the election of regional heads and the election of legislative members will eliminate the opportunity for qualified and competent candidates for leaders and legislative members. It is not uncommon for money politics to cause friction, anarchism, and horizontal conflict in society. Moh. Mahfud MD argues that in reality, the direct elections that are now rampant in various regions, in addition to causing money politics, cause other problems to arise, namely horizontal conflicts (clashes between candidates and between supporters of candidates, chaos at the KPUD), and an attitude of unwillingness to accept defeat by mobilizing the masses. Therefore, it is clear that the practice of money politics will be detrimental to the democratic process that takes place in our country.8

Legislative candidates and political parties in the 2019 elections will have to find new strategies that are different from the 2014 elections. This is because the nature of simultaneous elections is different, and the contestation will be more fierce in the 2019 elections. When everything is limited and monitored

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8 Mohammad Mahfud Mahfud et al., Dekonstruksi Dan Gerakan Penikiran Hukum Progresif (Konsorsium Hukum Progresif, Universitas Diponegoro, 2013), 217.
by the KPU, the only way for parties and candidates is door to door, from house to house. Therefore, this personal approach can make political costs more expensive. This is because candidates and parties must spend a lot of operational costs to dispatch volunteers and cadres to visit each house.\(^9\)

This personalized house-to-house approach also has the potential to open up space for more massive money politics practices in the 2019 elections. Campaigns carried out by candidates and parties will be complicated to be monitored by outsiders because the approach is carried out personally and closed in people’s homes by visiting households. Then the question is, who will monitor if the campaign is carried out intensively in homes?

The occurrence of money politics in every democratic event or election is due to the lack of knowledge of polite and democratic political actors, both political elites and the public as voters. They must understand good political education or be socialized with good political practices. Thus, voters are pragmatic, always waiting for candidates’ money.

Several factors cause money politics to occur, including: First, the lack of closeness between political parties and the community. Based on a survey conducted by IndiKator Politik Indonesia, as many as 85.5 percent of people do not have closeness with political parties. It is because of this low closeness that makes them more easily involved in the game of money politics. Second, a person’s level of education also dramatically affects a person’s involvement in money politics. The higher a person’s level of intelligence, the wiser will be in choosing leaders, regardless of money politics. Third, Indonesia is a country with a relatively low level of welfare. This habit is the main factor that makes a person trapped in money politics because momentary gains will easily lure him.\(^10\)

In addition, the proliferation of money politics is also inseparable from the permissive perspective of the voting community towards money politics in the democratic process in Indonesia, including democracy at the village head election level. Money politics thrives because it is considered normal; people are not sensitive to its dangers. They allow it because they do not feel that money


politics is a normative behavior that must be avoided.\(^{11}\)

Meanwhile, we can find the practice of money politics in several regions. The Central Java Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) revealed the rampant cases of money politics during the quiet period of the simultaneous elections yesterday. The action of sharing money to influence choices during the voting period on Wednesday, 27 June 2018, was found in several regions. The Legal and Enforcement Division of Election Violations of the Central Java Bawaslu, Sri Wahyu Ananingsih, revealed that most cases of money politics were found in Banyumas where her staff found parties who deliberately distributed envelopes containing money so that they would vote for specific candidate pairs, such cases were found in seven sub-districts, namely Kebasen, Wangon, Pekuncen, Cilongok, Ajibarang, and Sumbang.\(^{12}\)

The impact of money politics can damage the democratic system aspired by the entire Indonesian nation. Therefore, handling the problem of money politics is not enough to be charged only to law enforcers; the participation of all elements of society must also support it. The seriousness of the government and political parties in tackling the problem of money politics can be done by legal and political means and, of course, also offers a strategy for preventing and handling money politics that is increasingly rampant in every five-year celebration in our country so that this paper will outline strategies for preventing money politics and handling money politics that occur.

2. Literature Review

Political Policy in the Prevention of Money Politics

Refer to the opinion of Agustino in his book entitled Basics of Public Policy; he quotes Carl Friedrich, who defines policy as a series of actions/activities proposed by a person, group, or government in a particular environment where there are obstacles (difficulties) and possibilities (opportunities) where the policy is proposed to help overcome them to achieve the intended goals.\(^{13}\)

Based on the definition of the policy above, from the results of interviews that have been conducted, it turns out that several political policies have been taken by election participants (political parties) in terms of preventing the practice

\(^{11}\) Sugiharto.


\(^{13}\) Leo Agustino, Dasar-Dasar Kebijakan Publik (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2012), 7.
of money politics. These parties include the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the National Awakening Party (PKB), and the National Amnahn Party (PAN). They are as follows:

a. Parties make requirements if their members want to become DPRD/legislative candidates, then Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), from the beginning, who want to become legislative candidates must be from party cadres, proven by a Member Identity Card (KTA), not involved in drugs, and other requirements by the applicable Election Law. Meanwhile, PKB needs to explain these requirements in detail;

b. To prevent money politics, the three parties (PDIP, PKB, and PAN) have taken several actions; for example, by gathering all candidates, then the management conveys technical campaign matters that can be done and should not be done, such as warning. Hold a briefing with legislative candidates and then gather to be informed of the rules that can and cannot be done by the candidates. The party itself provides advocacy if unwanted things happen to candidates if they are intimidated by other candidates;

c. The party makes a pact of integrity to all party members and, especially those who are running for the legislature; all parties make a pact of integrity with their legislative candidates;

d. The party makes rules so that party members who become legislative candidates do not commit money politics by adopting the applicable Election Law; all parties do this so they only follow the existing rules from the KPU and Bawaslu;

e. The party carries out sanctions if one of the cadres is proven to have violated election crimes, especially related to money politics. First, what is done is that if it is proven that the candidate is not inaugurated, the most sanction is cadre development. Second, holding a briefing with legislative candidates and then gathering them to be informed of the rules that can and cannot be done by the candidates. The party itself provides advocacy if unwanted things happen to candidates if they are intimidated by other candidates. Third, what is done is to foster PKB cadres and remain party cadres.
If we look at the data above, then to avoid the growth and development of money politics, at least political parties have made several efforts in at least three things that can be done optionally or together. First, political parties at the central and regional levels must be encouraged not only to improve democratization in party management but also to carry out intensive and sustainable regeneration. With this step, it is hoped that, on the one hand, the practice of money politics will slowly erode. On the other hand, qualified cadres will emerge who will be ready to compete fairly for legislative seats without having to spend much money on money politics. In this regard, to improve democratization and party management as well as excellent and sustainable regeneration, the three parties (PDIP, PKB, and PAN) have enacted or implemented integrity pacts and provided briefings to cadres and legislative candidates so as not to practice money politics.

The state needs to make regulations on the direct election of regional heads, legislatures, regional representative councils, and presidents/vice presidents that substantially do not merely adopt the principle of individualism inherent in the Western democratic model but also adapt it to the principle of collectivism that reflects the values of local wisdom. In connection with this regulation, all parties tend only to follow the existing rules, especially those issued by the KPU and Bawaslu institutions, without any derivative rules independently made by each party, which are then used as the basis for each party.

Finally, what is no less important to be regulated in the regulation of regional head elections is the stricter candidate competency requirements, both regarding intellectual requirements, managerial and leadership skills, experience, and morality. Regarding the stricter competency requirements of legislative candidates, intellectual, managerial skills, experience, and morality, it turns out that all parties do not specifically require it. However, it seems that only if they have become cadres, as evidenced by the ownership of the party’s KTA, can someone run as a legislative candidate.

3. Result and Discussion

Prevention and Handling of Money Politics in the 2019 Elections in Banyumas Regency

Based on the results of interviews that have been conducted with election organizers, namely the KPU and Bawaslu, there are several notes related to legal policies in efforts to prevent and handle money politics. Among them are as follows:

**Election Commission Institutions**

1. The rules governing election crimes, especially money politics, are obtained from data that:
   a) PKPU RI Number 23 of 2018 concerning general election campaigns.
   b) PKPU RI Number 28 of 2018 concerning amendments to the General Election Commission regulation Number 23 of 2018 concerning the General Election Campaign
   c) PKPU RI Number 33 of 2018 concerning the second amendment to the general election commission regulation number 23 of 2018 concerning the general election campaign
   d) KPU RI Decree Number 278/PL.02.4-Kpt/06/KPU/I/2019 concerning food, drink, and transportation costs for campaign participants.

2. The authority to handle money politics violations that the KPU only provides socialization, that it is not allowed, that it violates the rules, and that it is destructive to the democratic process.

3. If one of the candidates is proven to have committed money politics violations, the sanction is disqualified and not inaugurated; there will be a recommendation letter from Bawaslu to KPU by Law Number 7 of 2017.

4. The efforts made by the Banyumas KPU in preventing election crimes, especially the practice of money politics, are to conduct socialization to the entire community. Socializing the vision and mission of the program is not the rupiah value offered by election participants. Socialization is not only to the organization but also to the family base. After the election, the KPU also socializes the election results, but the frequency of socialization is more intense at the election stage. The socialization for the pre-electoral stage is conducted in schools.
5. The policy of the KPU in the legal aspect related to political action is that in terms of policy, we make activities to build critical awareness of the community related to the election. In terms of policy for financing our activities, we do not have any; we only carry out routine agendas to direct activities that are of critical value in the context of the voting community and apply the applicable election regulations properly and correctly.

**Election Supervisory Agency**

1. The legal basis related to election violations there are several legal bases, including:
   a. Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning elections (Article 252 concerning election crimes);
   b. Law No. 7 of 2018 concerning the handling of election violations;
   c. Law No. 31 of 2018 concerning the Gakkumdu Center (Integrated Law Enforcement Center).

2. According to Article 93 of Law No. 7 of 2017, Bawaslu’s task is to develop standards for the procedures for supervising the implementation of elections for election supervisors at each level. Includes:
   a. Supervise the organization of elections
   b. Preventing and prosecuting election violations
   c. Overseeing the preparation and stages of organizing elections
   d. The mechanism for handling election violations is when some findings/reports have been entered, followed up by Bawaslu, and then evaluated. Then, the Gakkumdu center conducts a plenary. Suppose the results of the plenary conclude that the report or findings of the election violation meet the elements of an election crime. In that case, Bawaslu will make an official report. Then, the findings will be registered and continued with the making of an invitation for clarification to the party suspected of committing a criminal offense. Before clarification to the party concerned, Bawaslu has cooperation with the Police and the Prosecutor’s Office. If Sentra Gakkumdu decides that the case can be processed further, then within 1x24 hours after the decision, Bawaslu must immediately submit the case file to the police investigator (according to the level). Conversely, if the
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Sentra Gakkumdu decision on the case cannot be continued, the case handling process will be stopped at Bawaslu.

e. In every election, organizations and participants are supervised by Bawaslu; in terms of every procedure and procedure, the provisions of laws and regulations and implementing regulations can be in the form of KPU regulations, circulars, or decrees.

f. Election violations in 2019 in Banyumas, especially related to money politics: There were 13 findings and reports of election crimes suspected of political money.

g. These alleged violations were spread across several sub-districts in Banyumas Regency, including 3 cases in Gumelar district, 2 cases in Purwojati district, 4 cases in Patikraja district, 1 case in Kemranjen district, 1 case in Tambak district, 1 case in South Purwokerto, and 1 case in Cilongok district.

h. The handling of violations that occurred in the 2019 elections has not been publicized publicly or generally because there is still a need for evidence, so the legal process has not been running.

Prevention strategies through legal policy include three things, namely prevention at the level of legislation policy, adjudication policy, and execution policy.17

a. Prevention strategies through legislative policy: Criminalizing money politics as a crime with severe penalties. The strategy of criminalizing money politics needs to be pursued because, so far, there has been a legal vacuum (especially criminal law) regarding this matter. Following von Feurbach’s theory, criminalization accompanied by the threat of severe punishment for money politics will have a psychological effect that prevents someone from committing similar acts;

b. Prevention strategy through judicial policy: Strengthening the effectiveness of the application of the law (regarding money politics cases) through increased work integration between law enforcement officials, increased ability to master the law, increased juridical

technical skills, increased moral integrity, increased professionalism, and increased facilities and infrastructure needed. This strategy is necessary because all of the above are essential conditions for the practical application of the law. With the effective application of the law, the practice of money politics in Pilkada will be easier to prevent. So far, the main obstacles that have caused the lack of law enforcement and the ineffective application of the law are due to the lack of work integration between law enforcement officials, lack of mastery of the law, low moral integrity and professionalism, and lack of available facilities/infrastructure (including low salaries for officials);

c. Prevention strategy through execution policy: Effective the execution of sentences (against money politics perpetrators) through increased supervision by the courts. This strategy is an effort to ensure that legal decisions by the courts regarding money politics are actually executed and implemented correctly and appropriately. Real punishment and proper guidance in prison are necessary for general and specific prevention to be achieved, and thus, the practice of money politics is unlikely to be eradicated.

Meanwhile, there are at least three ways that can be taken to prevent the practice of bribery, namely: a) through the mechanism of reporting and auditing direct election campaign funds, b) law enforcement, 3) through organizing voters by the voters themselves. Through these three legal policies above, with the existence of rules in the law (legislation policy), the application of law in actual cases (adjudication policy), and the implementation of penalties according to court decisions (execution policy), there will be a preventive effect, both general and specific prevention. While law enforcement is carried out in the judicial process (police, prosecutors, courts), it is law enforcement in the narrow sense.

Therefore, if we analyze the data taken from the KPU and Bawaslu institutions, the prevention strategy through legislation has been carried out by referring to the rules owned by the KPU, including 1) PKPU RI Number 23 of 2018 concerning general election campaigns.2) PKPU RI Number 28 of 2018

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... concerning amendments to the General Election Commission Regulation Number 23 of 2018 concerning the General Election Campaign, 3) PKPU RI Number 33 of 2018 concerning the second amendment to the general election commission regulation number 23 of 2018 concerning the general election campaign; 4) KPU RI Decree Number 278/PL.02.4-Kpt/06/KPU/1/2019 concerning food, drink and transportation costs for campaign participants. The rules attached to Bawaslu are 1) Law No.7 of 2017 concerning elections (Article 252 concerning election crimes); 2) Law No. 7 of 2018 concerning the handling of election violations; 3) Law No. 31 of 2018 concerning the Gakkumdu Center (Integrated Law Enforcement Center).

KPU institutions carry out prevention strategies through judicial policies with efforts made by the Banyumas KPU in preventing election crimes, especially the practice of money politics, is to conduct socialization to the entire community. Socializing the vision-mission of the program is not the value of the rupiah offered by the election participants. Socialization is not only to the organization but also to the family base. After the election, the KPU also socializes the election results, but the frequency of this socialization is more intense at the election stage. Meanwhile, Bawaslu does it by means when some findings/reports have been entered, Bawaslu will follow up and then evaluate them. Then, the gakkumdu center conducts a plenary. Suppose the results of the plenary conclude that the report or findings of the election violation meet the elements of an election crime. In that case, Bawaslu will make an official report. Then the findings/reports will be registered and proceed with making an invitation for clarification to the party suspected of committing a criminal offence. Before clarification to the party concerned Bawaslu has cooperation with the Police and the Prosecutor’s Office. If the Sentra Gakkumdu decides that the case can be processed further, then within 1x24 hours after the decision, Bawaslu must immediately submit the case file to the police investigator (according to the level). Conversely, if the Sentra Gakkumdu decision on the case cannot be continued, the case handling process will be stopped at Bawaslu. So, increase the integration of work between law enforcement officials.

Prevention strategy through execution policy, streamlining the execution of penalties (against perpetrators of money politics) through increased supervision by the court. Bawaslu, in handling 2019 election violations in Banyumas,
especially related to money politics, has made 13 findings and reports related to election crimes suspected of money politics. Thirteen alleged violations were spread across several sub-districts in Banyumas Regency, including 3 cases in Gumelar district, 2 cases in Purwojati district, 4 cases in Patikraja district, 1 case in Kemranjen district, 1 case in Tambak district, 1 case in South Purwokerto, and 1 case in Cilongok district. It turns out that the handling of violations that occurred in the 2019 elections has not been published publicly or generally because there is still a lack of evidence, so the legal process has not been running.

Based on the description above, to prevent the criminal act of Money Politics (money politics) at the stage of preparation and implementation of the 2019 elections, the preventive efforts made are:

a. Efforts to overcome money politics by the Banyumas general election commission.

The duties and efforts to overcome money politics by the Banyumas General Election Commission in overcoming money politics (Money politics), the Banyumas General Election Commission duties socialize, appeal to all legislative candidates, make clear rules because the act of money politics can cancel the elected candidates, so the Banyumas General Election Commission conducts socialization to anticipate the criminal act of money politics (money politics) because the consequences of the criminal act of money politics are at risk of canceling the elected candidates.

b. Efforts to overcome money politics by the Banyumas Election Supervisory Agency.

The Election Supervisory Agency in tackling money politics (money politics) must pick up the ball (installing people) not only rely on themselves because the Election Supervisory Agency has limited manpower and limited abilities due to limitations that are vulnerable to money politics (Money politics), what is meant by installing people is that the Election Supervisory Agency installs an accomplice in a village, the accomplice of the Election Supervisory Agency must be a native of the village there because if an official member of the Election Supervisory Agency becomes an accomplice, it is suspected, but if the native is not suspected because the person is indeed a native of the village there so that it does not arouse suspicion when in fact that
person is an accomplice of the Election Supervisory Agency, because according to him the candidate pairs who dare to commit criminal acts of money politics (money politics) because they think no one is watching, if those who watch are people who are not expected then criminal acts of money politics (money politics) can be overcome because candidates who want to do money politics will be wary of the people around them to commit criminal acts of money politics (money politics).

Meanwhile, repressive efforts or penal efforts are crime prevention efforts that focus more on the nature of action, eradication, or suppression after the crime. Enforcement efforts are expected to have a deterrent effect on the perpetrators so as not to repeat their actions, in addition to creating a fear effect for the community not to commit crimes because they must be punished/prosecuted if caught by law enforcement officials. Based on data obtained from interviews with Bawaslu staff, there have been 13 findings and reports related to money politics. Thirteen alleged violations were spread across several sub-districts in Banyumas Regency, including 3 cases in Gumelar district, 2 cases in Purwojati district, 4 cases in Patikraja district, 1 case in Kemranjen district, 1 case in Tambak district, 1 case in South Purwokerto, and 1 case in Cilongok district. However, in practice, the handling of these violations has not been publicized publicly or generally because there is still a lack of evidence, so the legal process has not been running. So, the Bawaslu Banyumas Regency has not fully implemented this repressive effort.

4. Conclusion

After the discussion in this study, the following conclusions are obtained: (1) with political policies to prevent money politics in the 2019 elections in Banyumas Regency, political parties have made several efforts in at least three things that can be done optionally or together. They were first to enforce or apply the integrity pact and provide debriefing to cadres and legislative candidates so they do not practice money politics. Second, all parties tend only to follow

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the existing rules, especially those issued by the KPU and Bawaslu, without any derivative rules independently made by each party. Third, regarding the stricter competency requirements of legislative candidates, intellectual, managerial skills, experience, and morality, it turns out all parties do not require it, but it is only proven by KTA. (2) Legal policies in the prevention and handling of money politics in the 2019 elections in Banyumas Regency, that the Banyumas KPU and Banyumas Bawaslu have carried out prevention strategies through legal policies, namely prevention at the level of legislative policy, judicial policy, while the execution policy cannot be realized due to the lack of evidence used to follow up on this execution policy strategy.

Reference:


