

Monday, September 10 -  
Thursday, September 13, 2018

**HOTEL OKURA FUKUOKA**



# 2018

SEPTEMBER

## **GEASC**

Global Engineering & Applied Science Conference

## **TLSBE**

The International Conference on  
Life Sciences and Biological Engineering

## **ISEPSS**

International Symposium on  
Education, Psychology and Social Sciences

## **APCMB**

Asia-Pacific Conference on Management and Business

# Conference Program

September 10-13, 2018

Fukuoka, Japan

GEASC

Global Engineering & Applied Science  
Conference

TLSBE

The International Conference on Life Sciences  
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ISEPSS

International Symposium on Education,  
Psychology and Social Sciences

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## ISEPSS-0140

### Political Money Behavior in the Election of Regional Head in Riau Province, Indonesia

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#### Abstract

The election of regional heads in a democratic system requires the participation of citizens to make their choice at voting day. Each candidate pair of regional heads performs various ways and strategies in order to get the most votes. The purpose of this study was to obtain data related to the type of fraud that occurred in the election of regional heads in Riau Province, Indonesia. This study used quantitative method and the data has been collected through questionnaire from 8,196 respondents in 12 districts/cities throughout Riau Province in Indonesia. The results showed that there were 18 items of cheating type measured in this study and the results of the study indicated that the highest type of fraud was the occurrence of money politics before the polling day (mean = 2.14). The phenomenon of money politics behavior was caused by several factors, namely: (1) low public awareness that money/goods they received was a form of bribe that can influence society's choice, (2) low level of income society raised hope for the society to get money (3) Although money politics is a violation of Law Number 10 of 2016 and the amendment of Law Number 8 of 2015 which states that the giver and beneficiary in the practice of money politics can be threatened with 5 years' imprisonment, the low level of community education caused them to think that receiving money/goods was legal and did not violate the electoral regulations, (4) Riau Province is a Malay land in Indonesia which are predominantly Muslim, but a firm ban of Islamic teaching on bribery was still not enough to prevent them from getting involved in receiving money/goods. The society's behavior toward money politics can be characterized into four types: (1) firmly refusing the giving of money, (2) receiving and choosing candidates who gave the money/goods, (3) accepting and choosing candidates who gave more money/goods and (4) receiving money/goods and chose candidates according to his own choice. Based on these findings, prevented measure can be taken such as strict supervision toward the election, altering the misconceptions of people's thinking about money politics, improving the welfare of the people and strengthening Islamic

teachings so that every election of the head of the region is prevented from the behavior of money politics.

Keywords: money politics, regional head election, voting behavior

## **1. Background/ Objectives and Goals**

The election of regional heads in a democratic system requires the participation of citizens to make their choice in voting day. Each candidate pair of regional heads performs various ways and strategies in order to get the most votes. Many politicians or candidates for regional heads make poor citizens a target of buying and selling votes by offering money or other forms of gifts as a means of exchange in elections. It is a common knowledge that many politicians are conducting election campaigns that mobilize voters through a transactional approach. Socio-economic factors such as the level of education and income affect the rampant sound buying practices. In the literature on voter behavior in Indonesia, there have been enough studies written from the perspective of sociological models, psychological models, and rational choice (Muhtadi, 2013).

Money politics is something given as the conditions of helping (asking for help), something that is given with a demand from the person who give it, is forbidden or illegitimate if the purpose is to decide wrong decision or by refusing truth. Wages, commission, prize or bribes are clearly prohibited on the basis of the Koran, hadith and scholars' agreement and are also prohibited by government regulations. Attempts to engage in certain relationships (with the parties concerned) in the framework of a need for engineering, everything that is used by a person to achieve his wishes, either because of his love for wealth, position or licking, something given to a person to cancel something right or justify the wrong.

On June 27, 2018, the governor of Riau was elected, consisting of four candidate pairs. In order to be elected a matching pair with the people's choice, it must be ensured that all stages of the election of the head of the region go with the rules applicable without any act of cheating. The purpose of this study is to know the type of fraud that occurred in the election of regional heads in Riau Province, Indonesia.

### **1.1 Money Politics in Elections**

Money politics is a form of giving or promising to bribe a person to exercise his / her rights in a certain way at the time of the general election by means of giving of money, such as rice, oil and sugar to the community in order to attract the public sympathy for them to vote for the candidate concerned. This money politics was carried out by sympathizers, cadres or even political party officials ahead of election day which become a form of campaign violation. Money politic as a mean of vote buying can seriously hinder democratic election (Ohman, 2013). Based on the definition contained in the regulation No. 8/2010 concerning the Prevention and Eradication of

Money Laundering Act (UU PP TPPU, 2010) the practice of money politics is the use of money derived from legal sources, but it is used for the purposes of money politics.

The term money practice is quite popular among Indonesians after the fall of the New Order in 1998. After that period, Indonesian democracy experienced a tremendous leap. Many major changes occurred in the political process in Indonesia, ranging from the amendment of the 1945 Constitution, the implementation of regional autonomy, the system of presidential election and regional head directly, the abolition and addition of the state high institutions, and so on. Since then, the political frenzy in Indonesia has been increasing, especially in the struggle for power. Many issues that arise in the political frenzy such as the sharpening of the conflict both at the level of elite and lower society, identity politics, and money politics.

In fact, the money politics process is not only political actors who are wrong, but the people who are the target of money politics in the dawn raid in the election day is also a factor contributed to the practical political practitioner's confidence to continue entrusting his money to his constituents. If only the pragmatic politician was deterred by the constituents who got the dawn attack by not choosing the legislative candidate who gave them the money, then certainly the practice of money politics the attack of dawn in the election will not happen because no one else will dare to entrust his money to be given to constituents he considers potentially to betray. The practice of money politics in the form of dawn raid does not provide political maturity for society (Hutomo, 2015).

Healthy democratic politics depends importantly on a free flow of information among citizens, groups, candidates for public office, and political parties. The right to speak diminishes in significance without the financial resources needed to be heard. Yet the manner in which political money is raised and spent can undermine the legitimacy of democratic politics. Efforts to prevent concentrations of wealth from undermining political equality may conflict with bedrock freedoms of speech and association. Every democracy struggles to reconcile the need for political money with the problems it begets. None have found entirely satisfactory and long-lasting solutions. The political finance tools available to policy makers public subsidies, limits on contributions, expenditure controls, disclosure, and regulation of campaign activity often leave reformers with unfulfilled objectives and unanticipated consequences (Man, 2001).

## **1.2 Factors Affecting Money Politics**

The occurrence of black politics in the general election in Indonesia cannot be separated from the role of education. The role of education can be identified as follows: a) socializing the nation's socio-cultural ideology and values, b) preparing labor to combat poverty, ignorance, and encouraging social change, and c) facilitating equal opportunities and income. (Zamroni, 2000).

From the above explanation, it can be seen a close relationship between education with the values and norms prevailing in society. Education that is loaded with the ideology and socio-cultural values of the nation will produce a strong and professional person. Conversely, people who are lack of understanding of the nation's socio-cultural ideology and values will tend to do negative things by legalizing all means to achieve something desirable in the election competitions.

The behavior of money politics can occur because of the low level and quality of education received before entering the world of politics. Sindhunata (2000) stated that someone who has a high level of intelligence will be smarter in choosing a leader. The low level of public education can be exploited by elements of a particular political party to launch its money politics. As a consequence, the existence of this practice, democratic, honest and clean elections will be difficult to achieve.

Qualified education can create qualified resources in thinking, acting and behaving, because education can be defined as an effort done by someone or other group to become mature to achieve a higher level of living or livelihood in a mental sense (Sudirman, 1992). The quality expected not only in the cognitive aspect, but also in its character.

In addition, money politics can occur because of the mutualism relationship between sufficient patrons and clients who need (Mackie, 2010; Muhtadi, 2013) or it can be done by people who have higher social status than the general population. In its practice, money politics is not only for voters but certain parties who can benefit the candidate in winning the election (Ahsan, 2008).

Higher wages may motivate politicians and/or attract more quality citizens into politics so that they improve their performance. However, not all politicians respond in the same way to the same incentives. Actually, some politicians, despite earning high wages, are corrupt for lack of principles. In this sense, the fight against corruption based exclusively on setting high wages may be ineffective to deter this and also it can be very costly to the budget of a municipality, especially in time of crisis. For this reason, it seems desirable to fix local top politicians' wages by law as a way to prevent them from setting their own salaries as they want. In the case of Spain, the government passed in December 2013 a new law that aims to limit local politicians' wages. According to this law, the population of the municipality is the main criterion for determining local politicians' wages. However, we believe that not only population, but also other features should be considered, for instance, politicians' workload or the income level of the municipality, among others. A discussion, therefore, should be opened about what we must understand for being well-paid and the factors that should be taken into account to set efficient wages (Benito, Guillamon, Rios, and Bastida, 2017).

## 2. Methods

This study used quantitative method. The data has been collected through questionnaire from 8,196 respondents in 12 districts/cities throughout Riau Province, Indonesia. There were 18 items of cheating type measured in this study. Data were analyzed by using frequency and descriptive analysis.

## 3. Results

### 3.1 Socio-Demographic Features of Participants

Table 1 show that the number of male respondents was 5,431 (66.3%) and the number of female was 2,765 (33.7%). In term of the respondents' age, most of them were between 36-45 years old (30.0%) and between 25-35 years old (29.8%). Based on the level of education, most of the respondents were high school graduates, that was 3,723 (45,4%).

Table 1: Demographics of Respondents

Demographics of Respondents		N	Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	5.431	66,3
	Female	2.765	33,7
Age	Less than 25 years	1.687	20,6
	25-35 years	2.446	29,8
	36-45 years	2.457	30,0
	46-55 years	1.151	14,0
	More than 55 years	455	5,6
Level of Education	Graduated/Not graduated from Elementary School	1.354	16,5
	Junior High School	1.480	18,1
	Senior High School	3.723	45,4
	Higher Education	1.639	20,0
	Total	8.196	100.0

### 3.2 Kinds of Cheating in the Regional Head Election

Table 2 shows that the highest type of fraud was the occurrence of money politics before the polling day (mean = 2.14). The behavior of money politics was caused by low public awareness that the money/goods they received, was a form of bribery that affected the choice of society. The low level of income was also a factor causing the fertility of money politics because people expected that they will get money/goods during the election season of the regional head.

Table 2: Descriptive Test of Cheating in the Election of Regional Head

item	Cheating in the Regional Head Election	Mean	SD
H1	Fraud of voters' data at the polling stations where I had voted on the previous elections	1,58	,96
H2	Destruction of prospective campaign props in the previous election of regional heads in the region I live	1,55	,92
H3	Conflict between supporters of candidates in the previous regional head election in the region I live	1,53	,92
H4	Polling station, Voting Committee and the District Electoral Committee tended to favor (not neutral)	1,55	,95
H5	Involvement of civil servants in support of certain candidates	1,65	1,03
H6	Fraud of vote count recapitulation in the previous election in the polling station	1,51	,93
H7	The involvement of members of the Indonesian National Army/ Indonesia Republic Police to win a certain candidate	1,44	,86
H8	A riot between supporters was common in the region I live in the earlier elections	1,48	,90
H9	It is not unusual to slander, humiliate and disgrace certain candidate pairs in the region I live in	1,71	1,09
H10	The existence of money politics before the polling day in the previous regional head election in the region I live	2,14	1,27
H11	The disappearance of the citizen's name in the Permanent Voter List at the polling location where I voted	1,74	1,07
H12	A forgery voters list in the polling location where I voted	1,46	,89
H13	The existence of bogus voters in the regional head election earlier	1,42	,85
H14	The removal of the number of votes after the calculation	1,43	,87
H15	A riot before the polling day in the previous regional head election	1,37	,79
H16	A riot during the vote counting in the previous regional head election	1,38	,81
H17	A Demo occurred when the determination results in the previous regional head election	1,37	,80
H18	A riot during the lawsuit against the winner of the previous regional head election	1,39	,85

#### 4. Discussion

##### 4.1 Factor Affecting Behavior towards Money Politics

##### 4.1.1 Educational Factors

Through education, people will know what is good and what is bad. Good education will create a wise politician as a wisdom that can be achieved through reflective thinking. To be wise persons, they are required to have a broad knowledge, ingenuity, common sense, possession, familiarity with the core of things known, caution, understanding of the norms of truth and the ability to experience life (Sindhunata, 2000). The role of education in national development of a nation is related to decision making and education policy (Zamroni, 2000). In this case, the religious moralism is necessary to give direction to education in order to preserve the religious moral values adopted by the State that implicitly contained in the educational material or curriculum (Tilaar, 2003).

There is a need for policy of strengthening character education in the learning system, because someone who excels in the character will be able to face all the problems and challenges in his life as mandated by Law No. 20 of 2003 on National Education System in Article 3, which states that the national education function to develop the ability and form character and civilization of dignified nation in order to educate the life of the nation. National education aims to develop the potential of learners to become human beings who believe and cautious to God Almighty, have a noble character, healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and become citizens of a democratic and responsible.

The characters referred to this national educational system regulation are the values of human behavior associated with the God Almighty, self, fellow human beings, the environment, and nationality embodied in thoughts, attitudes, feelings, sayings and deeds based on the religious norms, law, etiquette, culture, and customs. The realization of the expected behavior requires the strengthening of character education to shape the personality of a person through character education, whose results are seen in the actual action of a person that is good behavior, honest, responsible, respect for the rights of others, hard work, and so forth. (Munir, 2010). This is in accordance with the purpose of character education to improve the quality of education implementation and outcomes in schools that lead to the ability to improve and use their knowledge, review, internalize and personalize the values of character and noble character so that embodied in everyday behavior.

Character education at the institutional level leads to the establishment of a school culture, the values that underlie behavior, traditions, daily habits, and symbols practiced by all the citizens of the school, and the communities around the school. School culture is the identity, character or personality, and the image of the school in the eyes of the public (Agustian, 2006). Thus, a policy of strengthening character education is essential in anticipating the culture of money politics in the future elections.

Case study in Malang, Indonesia, "abangan" mass have their own taste and lifestyle, also the rule of the game, like political regulations which are hard to compromise. Unlike cadres from other political parties susceptible to internal conflicts, Although they are often to giving gifts such as rice, clothings and money, their loyalty is relatively firm. They are willing to receive some money from cadres of other parties and they will elect them (Fuad, 2014).

Democratic societies depend on civic education and political commitment. It is clear that civic education plays a crucial role in the political culture of a modern democracy. At this point, the institution 'school' enters into the picture which is responsible for teaching politics to children and young people and empowering them to become critical and conscious citizens with their own judgment on political participation. However, given an interest in political participation, the mass media is an important link between participation and politics because young people learn politics via the media. Political discussions and conversations with family, friends or at school can affect the knowledge and political engagement in a positive way (Yoldas, 2015).

#### **4.1.2 Religious Understanding Factor**

If a person has a good religious understanding, then he/she will distance himself/herself from the illegitimate case (haram). Conversely, if a person has a low level of religious understanding then it will be easy to perform an act that is prohibited by religious teachings.

The majority of the population of Riau Province is Malay ethnic and Moslem. But the rampant behavior of money politics at the local community level is an indicator that they still have not really practiced the teachings of Islam. Yet how many verses of the Qur'an and the words of Prophet Muhammad SAW which prohibits such acts. In Islam money politics is termed as *risywah* as in Q.S al-Baqarah [2]: 188, Q.S. al-Mā'idah [5]: 42, Q.S. al-Anfal [8]: 36-37, Q.S. al-Nisâ [4]: 2 verses in Q.S al-Baqarah [2]: 188 contains restrictions on obtaining property in illegal ways and using legal institutions to obtain them.

Al-Shawkani (1999) referring to ibn Mas'ud, interpreted the word *al-suhtu* by giving a gift for expecting help. His opinion was reinforced by some hadiths from Rasulullah through Abu Hurairah, Abdullah bin Amr, and Tsauban (Ahmad dan Shakir, 2009). According to Al-Shawkani (1999), this hadith contains a general and absolute sense of all kinds of gifts that expect help, and all relevant actors, both giving and receiving, officials or non-officials are all among those who have entered the biggest door of *riba*, and *riba* itself is haram (Al-Shawkani, 1999). As for Q.S. al-Anfal [8]: 36-37 describes the behavior of unbelievers who love false news and consume the haram. The Qur'an consistently prohibits bad ways of earning money. In a Zen's study that analyzed using the theory of compromise theorem (*tawafuq al-adillah*). Imprecation against the bribe that emerged from the existing traditions become mutually reinforcing. The condemnation of giving and taking bribes becomes stronger because, it does not



only Allah but also His Messenger (Zen, 2015). As an explanation for these verses, some hadith explicitly stated about the illegitimate of bribery, as the hadith narrated by Abu Dawud (Al-Sajastaniy, 2007), Sunan al-Tirmidzî (al-Tirmidzî, 1986), and Ibn Majah in their *Sunan* and Ahmad (1992) in. The hadith narrated by Al-Thabrani (1994) extend the criticism not only to the giver but to the recipients and contacts.

#### **4.2 Society Behavior towards Money Politics**

In term of the society behavior toward money politics, four types of society behaviors were identified, they were: (1) firmly refusing the giving of money, (2) receiving and choosing candidates who gave the money/goods, (3) accepting and choosing candidates who gave more money/goods and (4) receiving money/goods and choosing candidate according to his/her own choice. Based on these four categories of society behavior toward money politics, it is obvious that the three of them can contribute to the existence of money politics. Therefore, to prevent this from happen, the focus of prevention not only on the candidates who join the election but also the society by eliminating all factors that contribute such as the people bad characters as a result of lack education and awareness about the negative effect of money politics, the low income that motivate them to accept the money politics, and the lack of understanding of Islamic teaching that prohibit the behavior of giving and accepting money for wrong choice or decision.

Looking at these behaviors towards money politics, the society seems no to conform with the objective of politics as argued by the scholars, that is, “to ensure the unity of the society; achieve general interests and common wellbeing of people by confronting personal interests; and to endeavor to set up a social order that is to the benefit of all... if people cannot place the interests of the society before their personal and pecuniary advantages, the ideal of building the “common wellbeing” will hardly be achieved (Kurtbaş, 2015:2). Receiving money by the society then, can be understood as a behavior favoring personal need or interest rather than the general interests and the wellbeing of all people.

### **5. Conclusion**

To conclude, money politics is a violation of election regulations. Because of the low level of the society education causes them to think that receiving money is legitimate and does not violate the election rules. Riau Province, Indonesia is a predominantly Malay country, but the teachings of Islam are still not enough to prevent them from getting involved in receiving money/goods. Whereas in the teachings of Islam firmly mentioned that people who bribe and accept bribes are both in hell. Therefore, based on these findings, The researcher suggests that a prevented measure should be taken such as strict supervision toward the election, altering the misconceptions of people's thinking about money politics, strengthening Islamic teachings, improving education of the community and the welfare of the people so that every election of the head of the region can be prevented from the behavior of money politics from the society.

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