

CHAPTER I

Introduction

A. Background

General elections have become a global phenomenon throughout the contemporary world today, both in countries with good democratic indices and countries that are still in the process of democratization. Election is the best means of shifting power because people are directly involved in the process of choosing their leaders (Rahmatunnisa, 2017). Indonesia is one of the many countries in the world that adheres to the principle of democracy and runs direct elections.

The fall of the new order in 1998 has provided a great opportunity for political system reform and democratization in Indonesia (Budiarjo, 2008, p.133). The first step in democratization after the fall of the new order was the amendment to the 1945 Constitution and the amendment to the Constitution also introduced general elections to elect the President and Vice-President in 2004. The next democratization step is the general elections to directly elect the regional head (Pilkada) stipulated in Law No. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government. Since then, all regional heads that have expired their term of office must be elected through regional elections. This election aims to make the regional government more democratic by giving the people the right to determine the regional head (Budiarjo, 2008, p. 135)

Electoral democracy in Indonesia has already been comprehensive from the highest level of power, namely the presidential election to the lowest, namely the election of village heads. According to the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI), Village is a unitary area inhabited by people who have the authority to regulate and manage their own interests based on local customs that are recognized and respected in the Indonesian Unitary State Government system.

General elections, which include the election of the President, governors, regents and village heads, are the forum to accommodate the political aspirations of the community as well as a means of changing or continuing the government's leadership. Election is also one of the instruments in forming a democratic government. However, as was revealed by Caroline Van Ham in her article entitled "*Getting Election Right? Measuring Electoral Integrity*" that in practice of electoral democracy, there are still plenty of election that is façade or marred by manipulation and fraud. (Ham, 2016).

It is common secret that one of the frauds in election contestation in Indonesia is in the form of Money Politics. During the election, candidates for government leaders are often seen as "Santa Claus" because they often distributed money or goods to voters so the voters will give their votes as return. Whereas, one of the considerations for the transition of the mechanism for electing heads of state and regional heads from the MPR and DPR into direct elections is to cut money politics, because the

logic is that candidates will not be able to buy large numbers of people's votes. However, the facts still show that even there is a direct elections, money politics are still found everywhere even though the costs are far more expensive because they involve voters in all electoral districts (Fitriyah, 2012).

In the democratic process in Indonesia, Money Politics thrives and is considered as a common thing, even, it has also been regarded as an electoral culture among the Indonesian people, especially in rural areas. Even though in Indonesia there are already election supervisory institutions such as the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) and the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu), Money Politics can still be found in nearly every government head election in Indonesia. Villages are the most vulnerable areas affected by money politics fraud. Apart from the economics and education that are still quite low, the political culture of rural communities is also the main factor that influences the occurrence of money politics in the village. Study that was done by Nico L. Kana as quoted by (Lukmajati, 2016), found that money politics was common in every village head election in the past and by the village community this is considered a symbol of compassion. This proves that the culture of society plays an important role in the practice of election fraud in the form of money politics.

In a survey conducted by Burhanuddin Muhtadi in 2014 after the general elections in Indonesia, it was found that 1 in 3 voters were exposed

to the practice of money politics in the form of vote buying. In total, there were 62 million voters involved in the practice of buying and selling votes or around 33% of total Permanent Voters List/*Daftar Pemilih Tetap* (DPT), This puts Indonesia as the third worst country in terms of money politics activities, meanwhile first and second rank are Uganda and Benin which has 41% and 37% respectively (Muhtadi, 2018).

The practice of bribery or money politics in elections has become an epidemic in Indonesia (Muhtadi, 2018). The worse thing is, this political transaction has been normalized and not taboo as it was before in the community (Muhtadi, 2018). The adherents of the modernization theory believe that rural communities are far more vulnerable to the practice of money politics than those living in the cities due to socio-economic factors (Muhtadi, 2018). Andreas Ufen (2014) also stated that the exchange of political support for money or gifts is highly popular among poor voters in rural areas of Asia (Ufen, 2014). This form of political transaction is indeed deeply rooted in the lives of rural communities. The election held every 5 years is a moment where the poor villagers can take an advantage of "political alms" from the candidates (Ufen, 2014).

The Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) which is an institution whose role is to oversee the running of the election released the Election Vulnerability Index/*Indeks Kerawanan Pemilu* (IKP) 2019. In the IKP, there is a vulnerability index based on strategic issues. These strategic

issues include Security, Neutrality, Hate Speech and Religious Ethnicity issue, and the last is Money Politics. From the results of the Election Vulnerability Index 2019 mapping conducted by Bawaslu, it was found that Money Politics still has the highest level of vulnerability compared to other strategic Issues (IKP 2019, Bawaslu).

As quoted from *BeritaSatu.com*, Bawaslu said that Prevention of Money Politics requires active participation and engagement from the community. Money Politics cannot be prevented or overcome only through a legal approach, but must be done by involving the community through a cultural approach (Paat, 2017). This Money Politics Culture has made the Election a venue for transactions where the position and seat of leadership is like an object which can be traded. Village communities are clearly an easy target for fraudulent practices as such. In addition to urgent life needs, the low level of education is again a major factor.

Based on Law No.7 of 2017 concerning general elections, the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) is an institution or body that one of the task is to prevent and prosecute the electoral fraud and disputes. In addition, Bawaslu has an obligation to conduct guidance and also oversee the implementation of elections at all levels. Moreover, the authority of Bawaslu is to examine, review and decide on violations of Money Politics (www.bawaslu.go.id).

As explained in the previous paragraph that in overcoming Money Politics culture, it is not enough to just rely on legal instruments and the Bawaslu but it also needs the active engagement and participation of the community. Active community participation will clearly assist in the process of monitoring and reporting in any violations occurring. To involve and engage community participation, Bawaslu initiated an idea to create an Anti-Money Politics Village (APU). Candibinangun Village, Pakem Sub-district, Sleman is a village that became a pilot project of this Anti-Money Politics Village.

Candibinangun Village was officially honored as a pilot of Anti-Money Politics Village (APU) on September 30, 2018. The Declaration of APU in Candibinangun was held in the village field and was attended by hundreds of local people, Yogyakarta Election Supervisors from the village/provincial to provincial levels, Sleman Regency Government and related stakeholders, including representatives of political parties. The declaration was begun with flashmob followed by a declaration and signing signature and hand stamp (www.sleman.go.id, October 1 2018). The stereotype that is often given to the villagers about their vulnerability to the practice of money politics seemingly to be removed by the people of the Candibinangun Village with their willingness to be the Pilot Project of the Anti-Money Politics Village initiated by Bawaslu.

From this issue, the researcher sees that there is something interesting about the Money Politics Prevention Project which was

initiated by Bawaslu on how the communities are engaged in the process of preventing election fraud in the form of money politics. Candibinangun Village was chosen in this research because the Village is the first pilot project of other Anti-Political Village projects that will be made by Bawaslu in the upcoming future. The focus of this research will lead to the history of Money Politics occurred in Candibinangun Village, how is the pattern of civic engagement in the fight against Money Politics, what means and strategic programs are offered to prevent Money Politics, as well as how the locals and political candidate respond to this initiative in their village.

Thus, the authors' great expectation from the results of this research will be to enrich the literature on the pattern of civic engagement in creating a clean democracy that focuses on the case of money politics. Because clean democracy is a democracy that is free from money politics fraud.

B. Problem Formulation

Based on the background and issues explained above regarding the Anti-Money Politics Village project, the researcher will be focusing the research on “*What is the history of the establishment of anti-money politics village movement in Candibinangun and how is the village communities engaged to fight against money politics?*”

C. Research Purposes

Based on the problem formulation above, the purpose of this study is to determine how far the community is engaged and participated in the Anti-Money Politics Village project as well as the history that driven the establishment of Anti Money Politics Village in Candibinangun, Pakem Sub-District, Sleman.

D. Research Benefits

a. Academically

1. This research is expected to be able to provide a repertoire of knowledge, especially in the social and political science world that examines the movement of grassroots communities in fighting against Money Politics in the electoral democracy.
2. This research is also highly expected to give new insight and literature on the pattern of community and government cooperation in countering the practice of Money Politics
3. It is proposed to be a new reading and literature material for academics in particular, and for all Indonesian people in general and as a whole.

b. Practically

1. This research is expected to be able to build people awareness to join the Anti-Money Politics movement in their respective regions in order to create a better democracy in Indonesia that is free from Money Politics in the upcoming future.

2. This research is expected to be able to become a guideline for other village, district or city activists who want to create similar movements and also it can be guidelines for political actors on the importance of democratic values.

E. Literature Review

Prior to conducting this study, researchers had conducted a literature review of the studies carried out by previous researchers with a topic that was relatively similar to the topic that the author would discuss, namely Money Politics, Social Movement, Civic Engagement and Civic Participation. As has been done by author, there are several previous studies that are related as follows:

First, An undergraduate thesis that was done by Andi Akbar from Universitas Islam Negeri Alaudin in 2016 with the title *"The Effect of Money Politics on Community Participation in the 2015 Election in Bulukumba Regency (Case Study of Barugae Village, Bulukumpa Sub-district)"*. This study used a qualitative descriptive analysis method to describe the influence of money politics on public participation. The research subjects used purposive sampling with data collection techniques through interviews and observations. Meanwhile, data analysis used interactive model analysis from Miles and Huberman, The results of this study was that Money Politics did have an influence on the level of participation of the people who got it but that does not guarantee the recipients will choose candidates who give the money. There were several

factors that made Money Politics ineffective, those were: the wrong Money Politics strategy, the bad quality of the electoral team, and the double attitude of voters in choosing candidates, which of these three factors makes Money Politics not guarantee that they could buy voters' votes. (Akbar, 2015) also concluded that the factors underlying society in accepting Money Politics were the influence of culture, economy, education, as well as mistrust of the government.

Second, Research paper that was written by Neneng Yani and Valina Singka (2013) entitled "*Democracy in the election of the Village Chief? Case Study of Villages with Traditional, Transitional and Modern Typologies in West Java Province 2008-2013*". This study used a qualitative approach using descriptive analysis models. This paper was the result of research on the Village Political Dynamics that focused on the Process of Election of Village Heads. The results of the study illustrated that the process of electing the village heads in these villages had been carried out relatively democratically. This study also found that the practice of village head elections in villages with traditional, transitional, and modern typologies in West Java province from 2008-2013 had fulfilled some of the ideal criteria of democracy, but some of the other criteria were still not fulfilled. There were two criteria that were fully fulfilled in the three villages, such as the criteria for effective participation and control of the agenda. Whereas, there were 3 other criteria that had not

been maximally fulfilled, namely equality of choice, adequate understanding, and inclusiveness.

Third, The article written by (Rochman Achwan & Ganie-Rochman, 2009) entitled “*Civic Organisations and Governance Reform in Indonesian Cities*” This article was mainly talking about civic organisations engagement in Governance Reform. Using the concept of legitimacy, organizational fields and networks, this article was trying to explain in which they developed and transformed their organisations and networks, creating political issues and mobilizing the masses. In this paper – Padang, Bandung and Yogyakarta were chosen as the study area. This paper examined the engagement of civic organisations in the struggle for public governance reform. This study is using qualitative methods to collect data from various actors who directly or indirectly engaged in this issue.

Fourth, Journal paper written by Sri Wahyuni Ananingsih (2016) namely “*Challenges in Handling Alleged Money Politics Practices in 2017 Simultaneous Local Elections*” The researcher did not explicitly explain the method used, but based on the reading of this journal, it can be said that this research belongs to the Library Research category because this research is more directed towards the analysis of existing Laws and Regulations. The findings in this study was that the challenges in handling the alleged practice of money politics in the 2017 simultaneous local election did not work effectively. (Ananingsih, 2016) also mentioned that

the effort that must be made regarding the handling of alleged money politics practices in the 2017 local election was to revise Law No. 1 and 8 of 2015, especially those related to sanctions on the practice of money politics. The next effort was giving full authority to the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) in handling criminal acts and frauds in the elections.

Fifth, Research article written by Megha Singh & Dr.R.K.Sohoni (2016) with the title “*The Anti-Corruption Movement in India and The LokPal*” This article mainly explain about the most recent social movements witnessed in India which is the campaign on “India Against Corruption” in 2011 led by popular social activist *Anna Hazare*. This movement got tremendous support by general masses and media. The movement also considered as a new milestone in the Indian constitutional change history because this movement was forcing the government to accept public demand to strengthen and drafting strict Anti-Corruption Law that is called as the LokPal bill. This movement is definitely made corruption a serious issue by the community in India. This research paper is considered as Field Research with qualitative approach because the author directly went to the area where the phenomenon took place as well as doing interview and direct observations. This paper concluded that India today is one of the most corrupt countries in the whole world. Bringing public servants and government officials under scanner will make them totally accountable. The implementation of the LokPal Bill was likely to

be the start of a movement against corruption and a significant step in eradicating corruption in India (M. Singh & Sohoni, 2016).

Sixth, The article written by Mitu Sengupta (2016) with the title “*Anna Hazare’s Anti-Corruption Movement and the Limits of Mass Mobilization in India*”, this article explained more on the reasons for the deceleration of the Anna Hazare movement, emphasizing on why the movement failed to win the support from liberal and left sections of society. The author concluded that beside Anna Hazare limited goals and the fledging status of his movement, he was subjected to massive criticism by people who might support the mass movement using peaceful ways. Indian progressives have been against Hazare and the Indian Anti-Corruption movement as a whole (Sengupta, 2013).

Seventh, a Research Paper written by Sema Ardianto (2018) entitled “*Community Participation as a Solution for Problematic Implementation of Regional Regulations*”. This article discussed the negative phenomena about the ineffectiveness of the implementation of regional regulations and even the phenomenon of regulation being rejected because they were considered not in accordance with needs and contrary to the interests of the community. This study used a qualitative method with a field research approach in obtaining the data. The results of this study indicate that the role of the community was very much needed in the formation of regional regulations so that there were no more contradictions when regulations have been enacted (Ardianto, 2018).

Eight, Research paper written by (Utari, 2016) entitled "*Prevention of Money Politics and Implementation of High Quality Elections: A Revitalization of Ideology*". This article discussed prevention of money politics by revitalizing ideology. The method used in this article was Library Research, where the author examined ancient and contemporary literature and also conducted studies on existing laws in Indonesia. The findings of this article were that what Indonesia needs now was a preventive step not a curative or repressive step. Several ways that can be done were institutionalization of hatred towards the practice of Money Politics, Elimination of the means/conditions that leads to the practice of Money Politics.

Ninth, Research paper written by (Putra, Widhiyaastuti, & Arsha, 2018) entitled "*Community Participation in Corruption Prevention of Village Fund Financial Management, (Study Case in Cau Belayu Village, Marga District, Tabanan Regency, Bali Province)*". This study used a qualitative method with an Empirical Juridical approach. The results of this study were that the understanding of Cau Belayu villagers is still very minimal about corruptions, this study suggested that the participation of villagers in preventing criminal acts of corruption regarding village funds is very important. There were some obstacles in the process of preventing corruption of village funds, such as low Human Resource, village consultative bodies have not been involved in managing village funds because they felt that they had not been properly trained. In addition,

villagers also worried to be involved in preventing corruption of village funds for reasons of personal and family safety from the threat of terror.

Tenth, Research paper written by (Alfaqi, Habibi, & Rapita, 2017) entitled "The Role of Youth in Prevention of Corruption and Its Implications for Regional Resilience (Study in Yogyakarta City, Special Region of Yogyakarta)". This study discussed the role of youth in efforts to prevent corruption and its implications for regional resilience. This study focused on the Yogyakarta City Anti-Corruption Task Force, Hikmah and Public Policy Institute, Muhammadiyah Regional Leaders in Yogyakarta City. This study used the qualitative method. The results of the study show that the Anti-Corruption Youth Task Force plays an active role in preventing corruption in the city of Yogyakarta. The role is carried out through 3 activities namely Anti-Corruption Education, Anti-Corruption Socialization, Monitoring of the government. However, in carrying out its role there were several obstacles, namely the lack of understanding of the members, and the energy of members who had not been maximized.

From some of the literature reviews presented above on the phenomenon of money politics, civic engagement, the anti-corruption movement, and community participation, there are still limited resources on the engagement of rural communities in Indonesia towards the efforts of preventing the practice of money politics. The study of rural community's efforts on preventing money politics and corruption seems to be overlooked by political scientist. Thus, results and findings of this

research are highly expected to give a contribution to a new literature on civic engagement and money politics prevention by rural community.

F. Theoretical Framework

1. Civic Engagement Theory

Civic Engagement consists of two words namely civic and engagement. Essentially in various references, civic is interpreted as citizen or citizenship. Meanwhile, engagement is interpreted as discipline-based work that occurs in non-academic community. Civic Engagement and Civic Participation are often used interchangeably. According to Michael Delli in (Eapro, 2008, p. 10) :

“Civic Engagement is individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern. Civic engagement can take many forms, from individual voluntarism to organizational involvement to electoral participation. It can include efforts to directly address an issue, work with others in a community to solve a problem or interact with the institutions of representative democracy”.

The common types of civic engagement are individual or collective actions to make a change or difference or to improve the wellbeing of the community or nations. Some forms of Civic Engagement may aim to create political change or economic improvement. The goal is often to address public concerns and promote the equality (Ehrlich, 2000, p. 3). Civic Engagement is all about participation, empowerment and partnership. It is about how the civil or community organizes collective action and interacts with national and local level state institutions as well as non-state actors, how they articulate their interests and public concern

that affect their lives. It is also about ordinary people becoming “co-authors” in setting and implementing their countries development agenda (Zlatareva, 2008, p. 7).

Civic Engagement needs active citizenship, active in decision-making process and to share responsibility with governments or other actors. Civic Engagement is a Top-Down initiative or social contract between government and citizen. A pre-condition of Civic Engagement is the existence of informal cooperation ties and strong horizontal linkages among the community, which often referred as “Social Capital”. The definition of civic engagement as collective community action assumes that such engagement usually comes in the form of collaboration or joint action to improve conditions in the civil sphere (Ekman & Amna, 2012). Other definitions emphasize the political aspect and often referred civic engagement with activities that are not only collective but also specifically political that involve government action (Adler & Goggin, 2005).

In the view of (Dudley & Gitelson, 2003), *“Political Knowledge is a necessary precondition to civic engagement, but information peers is unlike to be sufficient precondition to civic engagement”*. In accordance with that statement, it can be understood that there is a precondition for realizing civic engagement namely political knowledge. In order to develop civic engagement, important conditions such as political information and political knowledge are needed. There are 3 different

types of Civic Engagement (Keeter, Zukin, & Jenkins, 2002, pp. 7–8).

Those are:

1. Electoral Actions :

The engagement in forms of anything people do around campaigns and election

2. Civic Actions :

The engagement in forms of anything people do to help their communities or in the forms of ways in which they contribute to charities

3. Political Voice :

Things people do to express and voice out their political and social viewpoints.

White (2012) in (Karliani, 2014), provided an overview of the importance of civic engagement in building the democratic involvement as explained in the graphic below:

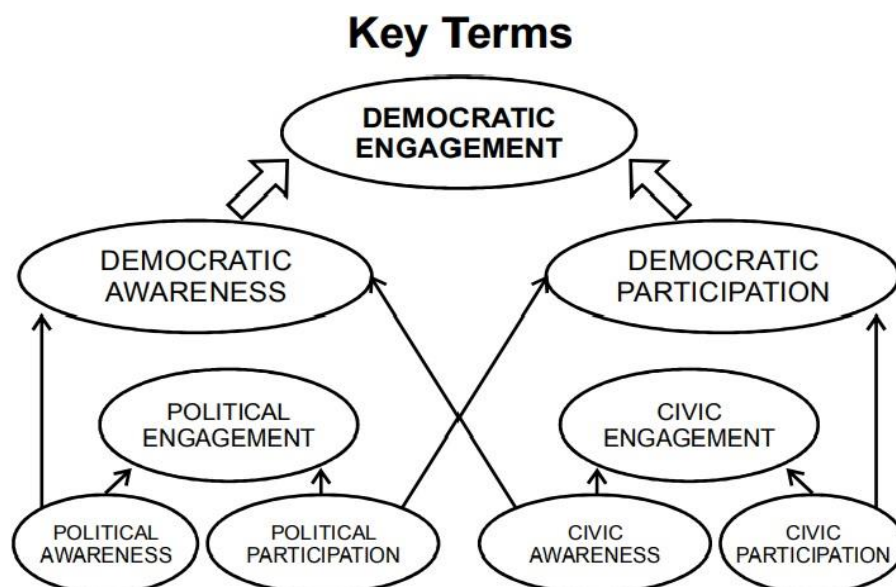


Figure 1: Key Terms of Democratic Engagement. White (2012)
in (Karlani, 2014).

In the conceptual framework that is explained in the graphic above, it can be explained that civic engagement will be formed from the presence of citizen awareness and citizen participation. Civic engagement is based on initiative awareness and sincerity without coercion from others. So that in practice involving all of them will be based on encouragement from within the individual itself to involve themselves in solving problems that exist in their community environment.

In short, Civic Engagement is any activity by individual or groups in addressing issues of public concern and usually aims to create political change or economic improvement. Civic Engagement is about participation, empowerment and partnership. It is also about how the civil or community organizes collective action and interacts with the government or vice versa. Civic Engagement is absolutely “Instrumental to Democracy” (Checkoway & Aldana, 2013).

The Civic Engagement theory is in line with either the title of this research or the problem formulation that will become the focus of this research. The problem formulation is on how the engagement pattern of the village community in the Anti-Money Politics movement initiated by the state institution, in this case is Bawaslu. The pattern is clearly explained in the theory about the Top-Down pattern, because this

movement is the initiative of a state institution to involve the village community in fighting against money politics.

2. Participation Theory

In the contemporary political research, a participation study is an important issue. Herbert McClosky (in (Budiarjo, 2008, p. 367), explained the definition of Political Participation. He said:

“The term of Political Participation will refer to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers, directly or indirectly. In the formation of public policy”

The things that being emphasized in *Herbert McClosky's* definition is the activities that aims to influence the government policies, even the main focus is broader but abstract, namely the efforts to influence the authoritative allocation of values for a society.

Samuel P.Huntington, a famous Political Scientist along with his colleague Joan M.Nelson, wrote a book entitled “No Easy Choice: Political Participation in Developing Countries”. Huntington and Nelson (1997) argued that political participation is:

“By political participation we mean activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision making. Participation may be individual or collective, organize or spontaneous, sustained or sporadic, peaceful or violent, legal or illegal, effective or ineffective”

From the statement made above, it can be said that actually political participation has a close relationship with civic awareness, because the more aware someone is influential in a political system, the more motivated they are to actively participate in changing the conditions

that exist in their environment (Huntington & Nelson, 1977). Political awareness often starts from highly educated people, who have better economic levels, and prominent people. But slowly, all groups of people will be motivated to participate politically (Budiarjo, 2008, p. 369)..

Political participation shows various forms and intensities. According to Roth and Wilson (1976) in (Budiarjo, 2008, p. 374), there are several patterns of political participation which are divided into 4 main categories, namely: Activists, Participants, Onlookers, Apolitical. Below is the participation pyramid according to Roth and Wilson (1976):

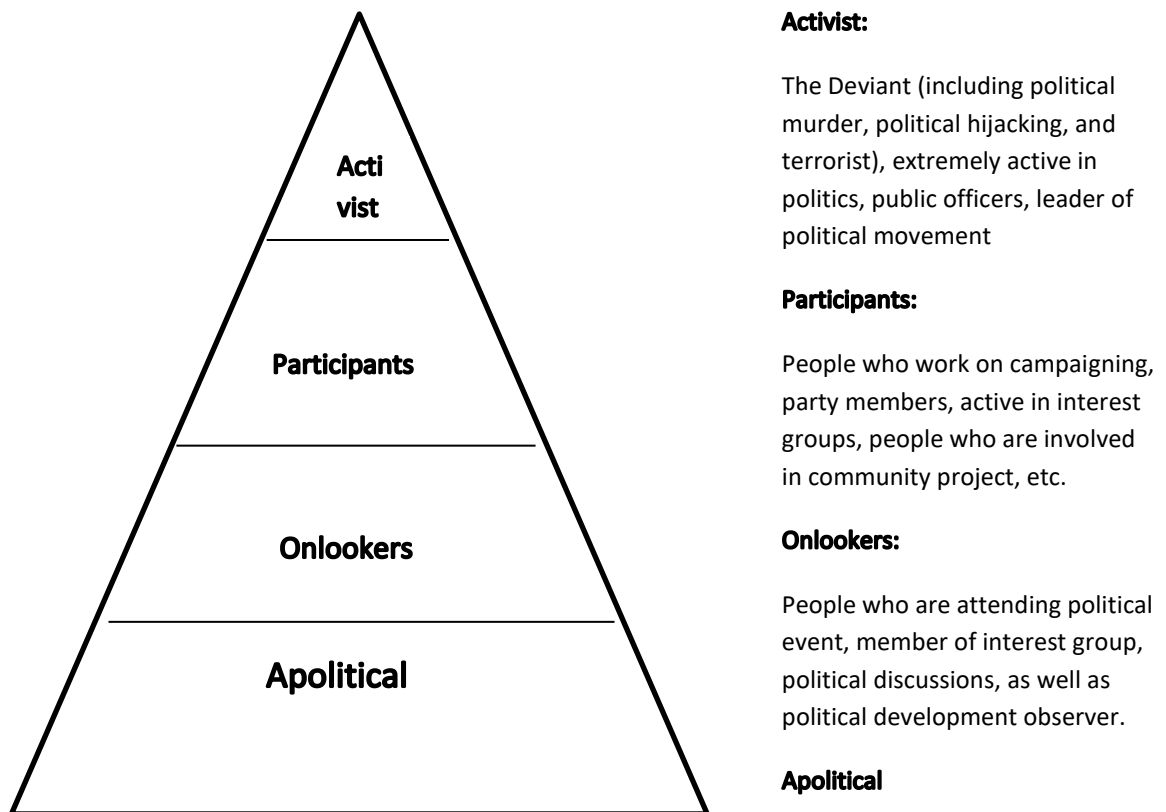


Figure 2: Participation Pyramid

Source: David F. Roth and Frank L. Wilson, *The Comparative Study of Politics*, 2nd Edition in (Budiarjo, 2008)

Roth and Wilson (1976) in the pyramid above describe the form of citizen political participation based on its intensity. The lowest intensity of political participation is the Onlookers. Meanwhile, medium intensity is the *Participant*, and they called the intensity of the highest participation as an *Activist*. The lowest group of citizens in the pyramid of political participation is a group of citizens who are not involved and do not engage in political activities, or Roth and Wilson are called them *Apolitical* people. The group that is above apolitical people is the Onlookers group, this group usually conducts political activities such as attending public meetings and becoming members of parties or interest groups.

There are several factors that influence a person to make political participation as defined by Lester W. Milbrath (1965) in (Maran, 2007, pp. 156–157), namely:

- a. The presence of political incentives such as participating in formal and non-formal political debates
- b. Care about social, political, cultural, economic, etc. issues.
- c. Social, economic, ethnic and religious status which affect political perceptions
- d. A conducive and democratic political environment.

Participating in politics is influenced by the existence of an official opportunity where someone participates in politics because it is supported by State's policy, then the existence of social resources and the presence of

personal or group motivation to be involved in political or world political issues as a whole (Nimmo, 1979).

This theory is closely related to the theme of research that will be conducted by researcher about civic engagement in the Anti-Money Politics Village movement, which will also be seen in the form of community participation and how people are motivated to participate and motivated in fighting against money politics. In addition, participation is the key success to achieve civic engagement.

3. Awareness Theory

Awareness in political term is an awareness of rights and obligations as citizens. This concerns one's knowledge of the community and political environment, and concerns one's interests and concerns for the community and political environment in which he lives (Surbakti, 2010, p. 144). Political awareness can also be interpreted as the awareness of citizens both individuals and groups to participate in political activities (Milbiath, 2000. p.148).

Meanwhile, according to Budiyanto (2006), awareness in politics is an inner process that reveals the conviction of every citizen and the urgency of state affairs in the life of society and the state. Political awareness is comprehensive and complex so that without positive support from all citizens, the tasks of the State will be neglected (Budiyanto, 2006, p. 185). From some understanding of Awareness, it can be concluded that awareness in politics is an understanding or knowledge of someone to be

able to understand reality and how to act and how to respond to a political problem. According to Ruslan (2000) in (Maya, 2016), there are several factors that influence people's awareness in politics. These factors includes:

- a. The type of political culture in which the individual grows out of it, or in other words, is the fact that the political personality formed from it.
- b. Various revolutions and cultural changes that occur in the community
- c. Various abilities and special skills possessed by individuals, as well as the level of education.
- d. The presence of political leaders or a number of political figures who are able to provide political direction to the wider community.

According to Soekanto (2007) there are several awareness indicators, each of which is a stage for the next stage and refers to a certain level of awareness, ranging from the lowest to the highest, among others:

1. Knowledge, 2. Understanding, 3. Attitude, 4. Pattern of Behavior (action) (Soekanto, 2007, p. 125; Wardhani, 2008, p. 8).

There are several aspects of the political awareness of an individual or group that includes awareness of the rights and obligations of a citizen. for example political rights, economic rights, the right to legal protection,

the right to social security, and the obligations of liability in the political system and social life (Surbakti, 2010, p. 150) .

Awareness as described above is concerned with one's knowledge, interests, and concern for the community and political environment. This political awareness is also balanced with an awareness of rights and obligations as citizens, which also covers the field of social society.

4. Money Politics

Money and Politics are two things that are inseparable. In politics, money is a resource that benefits the authority and power of each holder in various ways. According to Nassmacher in (Abisono, 2012, p. 13), money strengthen political influence for those who have it or those who have the authority to distribute it. In other words, every individual who has more money will have a stronger political influence to mobilize support in the process of gaining power, which in the world of democracy is called general election.

Money Politics is simply an economic exchange where candidates “buy” and citizen “sell” votes as simply as economic transaction between buyer and seller in the market (Schaffer & Schedler, 2006). The act of transaction in this view is a contract, or perhaps an auction, in which voters sell their vote to the highest bidder, in this case is the candidates (Schaffer & Schedler, 2006).

Money Politics is an effort to influence the behavior of others by using certain rewards. Many interpret money politics as an act of buying and

selling votes in the power gaining process. Such actions can occur in a wide range, from village head elections to a country's presidential election.

As explained above that Money Politics is included in the strategy of winning elections through the distribution of material. Susan C. Stokes (2009) explained this in *Distributive Politics* schemes and divided the strategy into two parts, namely pragmatic and non-pragmatic, more detail explained in the picture below:

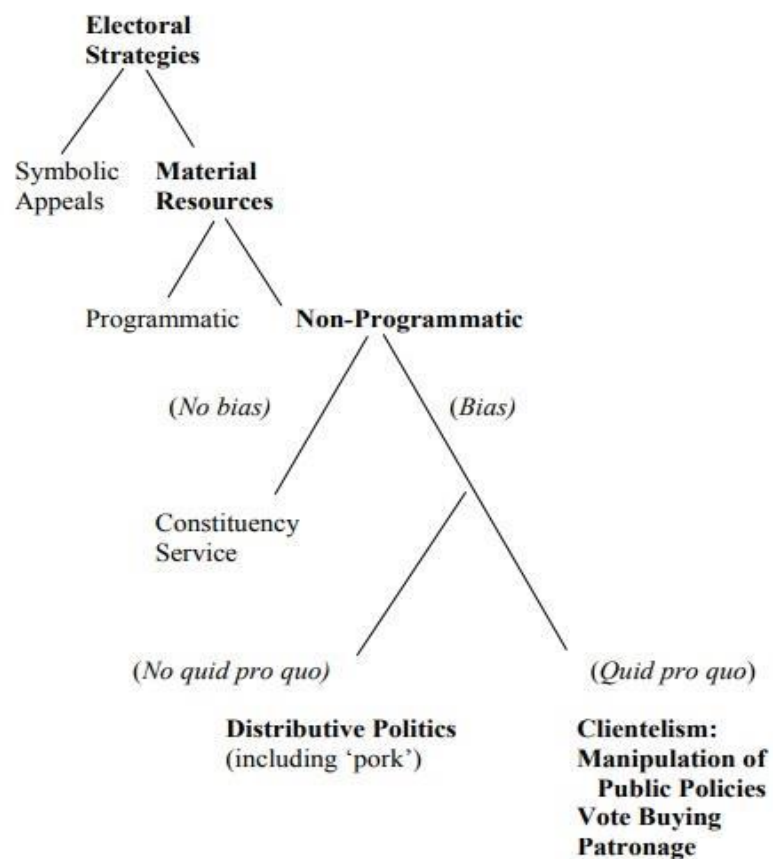


Figure 3: Distributive Politics by (Stokes, 2009, p. 7)

From the picture above, Stoke (2009) began its explanation by distinguishing material resources distributed as a winning strategy that is public in general or not. If the resources distributed are public, they can be

categorized as pragmatic winning strategies, meanwhile if it is not public or public goods are personalized, it is included in non-pragmatic strategy. In the non-pragmatic strategy, the granting of money with the intention of gaining vote support in elections as the practice of Money Politics comes in two forms namely Pork Barrel and Vote Buying (Stokes, 2009).

Furthermore, Stoke (2009) explained that vote buying is a form of money politics that uses the method of giving money to voters in the form of fresh money. On the other hand, Pork Barrel is the distribution of relief goods in the form of material, contracts, grants, or public works projects from elected officials. What distinguishes the two are the scope/target, time of distribution, product/goods distributed, and the criteria for selecting prospective recipients of money/goods that are distributed (Sumarto, 2014). Meanwhile, Aspinnal and Sukmajati (2015) added the terms of *Vote Trading*, and giving aids to particular social group or what he called as *Club Goods* (Aspinaal & Sukmajati, 2015). However, the researcher prefers using the 2 classification by Stoke (2009) which only focuses on Vote Buying and Pork barrel.

G. Conceptual Definitions

1. Civic Engagement

Civic Engagement is all the activities of the community or individuals that together articulate the issues of mutual concerns. This activity often aims to create political change (including electoral politics and political culture) and the economy. Civic Engagement requires an

active, intentional dialogue between community and government because it is a Top-Down initiative.

To achieve what is called as Civic engagement, there are two main factors that also need to be achieved including Participation and Awareness.

1.1 Participation

Participation is simply an action by individual or group to take part of a movement or the process of having the opportunity to become actively involved in a political activity.

1.2 Awareness

Awareness in this research is interpreted as individual or group's understanding about reality and circumstances, as well as how to act and respond toward a problem or issue faced by the community surrounding it.

2. Money Politics

Money Politics is the use of money by candidates as a political resource to gain mass support in the general election whether during the campaign or post-election in the form of Vote Buying or Pork Barrel.

H. Operational Definitions

Table 1. Operational Definitions

No	Dimension	Variable	Indicator
1.	Anti-Money Politics Village	a. History	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Genealogy of Anti-Money Politics Village 2. General Overview of Money Politics in Indonesia 3. History of money politics in Candibinangun village 4. The driving factors of the idea to create the anti-money politics village movement in candibinangun 5. Expected goals to be achieved in the upcoming future 6. Role of Bawaslu (Provincial, Regency, and Sub-District level)
		b. Form of Movement and Characteristic	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Type of Movement 2. Type of Change: Innovative 3. Methods of Work 4. Challenges
		c. Programs	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pre-Declaration 2. Declaration 3. Post-Declaration
		d. Response	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. From village communities to political candidate
		e. Neutrality	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Neutrality of village movement coordinator and the movement sustainability
2.	Civic Engagement	a. Participation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation during pre-declaration and formulation of anti-money politics village movement

			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Gathering activities and discussing anti-money politics movements 3. Participation in post-declaration and things that are expected to be done by the wider community
		b. Awareness	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Knowledge of what is meant by Money Politics 2. Understanding and Attitude toward the Anti-Money Politics movement 3. Awareness of the importance of actively participating in the anti-money politics movement 4. Aware of the importance of being independent voter

I. Research Methodology

1. Types of Research

Based on the focus of the research described above and reviewed in terms of procedures and patterns adopted by researchers, this research is considered as qualitative research. This study uses a qualitative descriptive research method. Qualitative methods is being used because researchers want to explore phenomena that cannot be quantified that are descriptive, such as the process of a work step, notions of a variety of concepts, characteristics of goods and services, pictures, styles, the way of a culture, a physical model of an artifact and so on (Komariah & Satori, 2011).

Meanwhile, according to Zainal Arifin (2011), qualitative research is a research process that is carried out naturally in accordance with the

objective conditions in the field without any manipulation, as well as the types of data collected is qualitative data (Arifin, 2011, p. 140). Whereas, seen from data sources, this research belongs to the category of field research in which research carried out on where a phenomenon or issue occurs (Hasan, 2002, p. 11). Qualitative research in political science is very important in understanding political phenomena (Marsh & Stoker, 2010).

2. Types of Research Data

The researcher collects data from interviews and library research by collecting data from books, academics, journals, articles and other relevant sources to this research. The types of data used are primary and secondary data. This data will later be obtained through interviews and direct observation of stakeholders (including local government and bawaslu), political candidate, village's activists as well as the community themselves. Data will also be obtained from books and journals that discuss the engagement of the community towards a program initiated by government institutions to respond to an issue that is being a mutual concern in the community.

In collecting data, the researcher obtained data from several data sources as follows:

a. Primary Data:

Primary data is data sourced from informants who know clearly and in detail about the problem under the study. Meanwhile informants are

people who are willing to provide information about situations and conditions that are used as objects of research (Moleong, 2008). This primary data can also be defined as data that are directly sourced from humans. In taking this primary data, researchers will use voice recorders or write the results of answers from informants in interviews. The results of interviews will be collected from various parties which will then be concluded by the researchers.

In order to anticipate lies or misinformation that might occur in interviews, researcher has to look for the figure of the informant who is truly reliable and capable of being accountable. The informants in this study are classified into several categories as follows:

Table 2. List of Informants and their role in the society

No	Category	Institution	Name	Position/occupation
1.	State Actors	Bawaslu	M.Abdul	Head of Bawaslu
		Sleman	Karim , M.si	Sleman
		Candibinangun Village Government	Sismantoro, S.H	Village Head
		LPMD (Village Community Empowerment Institution) and Candibinangun	H.Mardjuni	Head of LPMD and Tim 9 head of coordinator

2.	Non-State Actors	People who are not directly involved	1. Asep Budi Supranata 2. Ahmad Syafi'i 3. Anik Purwanti	1. Food Seller 2. College Student 3. Housewife
		Youth Community	Danas S.Kom	Youth Community leader and Coordinator of Tim 9
		Electoral Candidate	Akhid Nur Setiawan S.Kep	Legislative Candidate from PKS (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera)

b. Secondary Data

Secondary data is data that comes from a second source or from an institutions or documents. Secondary data is data that supports primary data. This data will be obtained from the literature of previous research that is relevant to this research as well as documents from agencies such as Bawaslu and the Candibinangun Village Office.

All in all, the sources of data used in this study come from two sources. *First*, data obtained from human sources, meaning that in obtaining the data, researchers face to face with the informants by means of interviews. *Second*, the data obtained is sourced from non-humans, which means that this data is obtained from documentation, in the form of documents, notes, photographs and observations.

3. Data Collection Technique

In this study, data collections techniques carried out by researchers are Interview, observation and documentation.

a. Interview

It is the technique of collecting data through question and answer directly with informants to obtain additional information related to this research. Interviews are conversations with specific intentions and are conducted by two parties, namely interviewers who ask questions and interviewees who provide answers to those questions (Moleong, 2008, p. 186). To avoid any misinterpretation or forget the results of the interview, the researcher will use a cellphone to record every detail of the conversation which will be able to be played again when needed.

b. Observation

Observations are made by observing clear, detailed, complete, and aware of the actual behavior of individuals in certain circumstances. The importance of observation is the ability to

determine the initial factors of behavior and the ability to accurately describe individual reactions observed under certain conditions. Observations conducted on the research object as a data source in the native state or as everyday life (Komariah & Satori, 2011). Observations are made to get a comprehensive picture of the form of community engagement in fighting money politics in the village of Candibinangun.

c. Documentation

Documentation study is collecting documents and data needed in research problems, which are then explored intensely so that they can support and add to the trust and proof of an event. (Komariah & Satori, 2011,p.149). In the post-documentation collection, researchers conduct selection, review through notes and interprets them based on research criteria (Mulyana, 2003, p. 195). The documentation taken relates to the research theme and title *“Civic Engagement in a Fight Against Money Politics: A Study of Anti Money Politics Village in Candibinangun, Pakem Sub-District, Sleman Regency”*

4. Data Analysis Technique

Data analysis technique is the process of systematically searching for and compiling data obtained from interviews, observations, and documentation, by organizing data into several categories, describing into units, synthesizing, arranging into patterns, sorting out information get and

make conclusions so that it is easy to learn by all parties (Sugiyono, 2013, pp. 335–336). Furthermore, Miles and Huberman in (2007) explained that data analysis techniques in qualitative research are carried out when data collection took place and after data collection was completed in a certain period. In analyzing qualitative data, the analysis must be carried out interactively and continuously until the research is completed.

In this study, the researcher applied the data analysis technique stages in the form of *Interactive Model Analysis* by Miles and Huberman (Miles, M. B., & Huberman, 2007) namely: Data collection, Data reduction, Data display and Conclusions: drawing and verification. Details of the stages of the data analysis are as follows:

1. Data Collection

Data Collection is a systematic approach to gather a data from variety of sources to get complete and comprehensive information of an area of interest.

2. Data Reduction

Data reduction is a form of analysis that sharpens, classifies, directs, discards unnecessary data and organizes data in such a way that final conclusions can be drawn and verified (Miles, M. B., & Huberman, 2007, p. 16). This data reduction process is carried out continuously until the research completed.

3. Data Display

Data display is a series of information organizations that allows research conclusions to be made. Data display is intended to find patterns that are meaningful and provide the possibility of drawing conclusions and giving action (Miles, M. B., & Huberman, 2007, p. 17). The presentation of this data display can be in the form of sentence narratives, images/schemes, networks and tables as the narrative.

4. Conclusions: Drawing and Verification

Data verification and conclusion are the last part in data analysis. Drawing conclusions is part of a complete configuration activity (Miles, M. B., & Huberman, 2007, p. 18). Conclusions are also verified during the study. Conclusions have been drawn since the researcher compiled records, patterns, statements, causal directions, and various propositions. It is the answer to the formulation of the problem and the questions that have been expressed by the researcher from the beginning (Mulyana, 2003).

5. Research Location

The location of this study is in Candibinangun Village, Pakem Sub-District, Sleman Regency. The reason why the researcher chose Candibinangun Village as the location and object is none other than because the village is the first Pilot Project for the Anti-Money Politics Village by Bawaslu. Besides, the uncertainty of why Candibinangun is honored to be the first pilot project for other villages which will declare

themselves as Anti-Money Politics Village in the upcoming days is something interesting to dig deeper.