

CHAPTER III

Data Analysis and Findings

In this chapter, the researcher will describe the data and results of the research on the problems which have been formulated in the first chapter, which is about civic engagement in a fight against money politics in Candibinangun village, an Anti-Money Politics Village that became the pilot project made by Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu). The data from this research were taken through the technique of observation, documentation and interview, which were conducted by researcher to the Head of the Bawaslu Sleman as the executor of the anti-money politics village program in Candibinangun, the Village Head of Candibinangun as village stakeholder, Chair of Team 9 of Anti-Money Politics Village, Village Youth Organizations, some communities that are not directly involved in this movement and also legislative candidate who will participate in the 2019 General Elections.

The researcher uses qualitative methods to see the natural condition of a phenomenon. This approach aims to gain understanding and describe complex reality. Qualitative research is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or oral words based on people or observed behavior. The approach is directed at the background and the individual holistically. Therefore, no isolation process is carried out on the object of research in a variable or hypothesis, but instead, looking at it as part of a whole. In qualitative research, data analysis is a useful stage to

examine the data that has been obtained from several selected informants during the study. Besides, it is also useful to explain and ascertain the correctness of the research findings. The data analysis has been conducted since the beginning and along the process of data collection in the field.

In this phase, what the researcher did was making a list of questions for interviews, data collections, and analyzing the data. To find out the extent of information provided by researcher informants, the researcher uses several stages, including:

1. Drafting interview questions based on elements of credibility and alignment with the formulation of the problem that has been formulated in the first chapter with the informants.
2. Conducting interviews with Bawaslu Sleman, candibinangun village leader, Chairman of the APU Candibinangun 9 village, representatives of youth organizations of the village, some people who are not directly involved as well as the candidates for the legislative sleman who will compete in the 2019 elections.
3. Conducting documentation directly in the field to complete data relating to the research theme
4. Analyzing data from interviews and observations that have been done.

1. Anti-Money Politics Village

1.1. Money Politics in Indonesia: An Introduction

Election is the central institution of democratic representative governments. Because, in democracy, the authority of the government is obtained directly from the party governed where in this context are the people themselves. The principal mechanism for translating that consent into authority is by holding free and fair elections. All modern democracies are holding elections but not all elections are democratic (S. Singh, 1991).

Elections must be “Free and Fair” in order to pass as democratic. However, in most developing countries including Indonesia, elections are marred by some frauds such as vote buying which then estrange the value of democratic election (Ufen, 2014). As widely known, money politics or vote buying is a very acute disease in elections in Indonesia, both from the highest level, namely the presidential election and the lowest level, namely the election of village heads. The practice of money politics is indeed very troubling, because this practice has spread like cancer and destroys the core value of the election itself.

Money politics is a disgrace to the growth of democracy, especially in electoral democracy in Indonesia. This is due to the impact arising from the money politics. One of the impacts arising from money politics is that the elected candidates are not ideal candidates, but only politicians who use transactional politics to get votes from the people. As return the

candidates will feel free from responsibility for their constituents because they feel that they have bought their votes (Bawaslu, 2018). What is worse than that is that the money politics carried out by the elected candidate will cause corruption because the elected candidate wants to "return the capital" he has used.

In the 2014 election, Burhanudin Muhtadi found that the terms of money politics such as "NPWP" and "Golput" were very popular among voters. NPWP stands for *Nomer Piro Wani Piro*, or can be interpreted as what number (of political candidates) dares to pay us how much. Meanwhile the term "Golput" stands for "*Golongan Penerima Uang Tunai*" or defined as the Cash Receiver Group (Muhtadi, 2018). This shows how money politics was very rampant, massive, and normal in the 2014 elections.

The 5-year party of democracy indeed presents a fairly fierce battle among political parties and candidates participating in general elections. To fight for one of the seats in parliament and at the executive, various efforts have been made including using money politics. It cannot be denied, money politics occurs in almost all regions in Indonesia. As a matter of fact, the news in the media about money politics is endless as if it has become a once-5-year tradition.

The results of the 2014 post-election survey conducted by Burhanudin Muhtadi showed that 33% of voters received money from candidates or political parties. 33% is the equivalent of 62 million voters

which means that 1 out of 3 voters in Indonesia in 2014 elections engaged in vote-buying practices. Muhtadi (2018) also said that Indonesia was ranked third in the world as a country with most money politics and political transaction fraud after Uganda (41%) and Benin (37%). The practice of buying and selling votes or political transaction was very massive because it was also contributed by an open proportional system that has been adopted since 2009. In an open proportional system, each legislative candidate is forced to fight among fellow candidates in one party (intraparty competition) (Muhtadi, 2018). This internal competition later resulted in the candidates being demanded to build personal networks that went beyond the party network itself. High dependence on personal networks which then makes the candidates chose the path of money politics to win the votes from the voters.

From the results of a survey conducted by Burhanuddin Muhtadi, there were several forms of money politics offered to the public in the 2014 election. From the survey results, it was found that cash was the highest with a percentage of 75.5%, followed by basic needs (12.8%) and household appliances (11.4%). In 2014, the political parties that did the most money politics were Golkar (32,2%), PDIP (26,5%), Gerindra (25%), and Demokrat (18,4%) (Muhtadi, 2018). Nevertheless, money politics is in fact not very effective toward people's choice preferences to candidates. There are several reasons why money politics is not fully effective, such as

miss-targeting, agency loss, rent-seeking behavior from supporters, and opportunist voters (Muhtadi, 2018).

Aspinaal and Sukmajati (2015) defining the term money politics in Indonesia into a broader context than vote buying and pork barrel as Stokes (2009) defined. Aspinaal and Sukmajati (2015) added the other terms such as *Individual gifts, Services and activities, and Club goods*. Indeed, if the term is added to the study conducted by Burhanuddin Muhtadi (2018), the money politics that occurred in Indonesia in the 2014 legislative election will be far more massive and more brutal because the study from Muhtadi (2018) only focuses on cash and goods. In general, the three terms added by Aspinaal and Sukmajati (2015) are considered by the candidates as legal and morally acceptable activities.

In the election during the Post-Soeharto era, the practice of buying and selling votes was almost unheard of in the 1999 legislative election. At that time the system used was a closed proportional system that minimized the use of clientelistic strategies because of more competition to the party level. In 2004, money politics was also not popular because the system used was semi-open proportional. In 2009, an open proportional system was implemented several months before the 2009 election. Due to limited time, only 10% of voters claimed to be the target of money politics. In 2014, the practice of money politics was the most prevalent in legislative elections because the candidates tended to have the time to prepare ahead of time the strategies included in the strategy of money politics (Aspinaal

& Sukmajati, 2015; Muhtadi, 2018). As a result, the practice of money politics has tripled which puts Indonesia as ranked 3 in the world as the most money politics fraud happened during election.

In the upcoming 2019 elections, even though the Election Law has been revised, there is still the possibility of money politics fraud on Law Number 7 of 2017. This is due to the law which stated that the parties that can be charged with money politics are only election participants and organizers. This was conveyed by the Bawaslu RI Commissioner Ratna Dewi Pettalolo as the author quoted from Detik.com below:

"In the design of Law 7 of 2017, the subject is explicitly mentioned, namely the election participants, the campaign team, and executor. If it's done by another subject, it does not fulfill the element of money politics," (*detiknews.com*, 22 Oktober 2018)

It can be seen that the possibility of money politics in that law is in the use of third parties and commonly referred to as political brokers because the third party will not fulfill the criminal element of money politics. The Republic of Indonesia Bawaslu also consider that the 2019 Election has a high level of money politics vulnerability, Abhan, Chairperson of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) thinks that the Money Politics in 2019 general election is still quite vulnerable because the open proportional system is still being implemented in the upcoming 2019 elections (*Nasional Kompas*, 25 September 2019).

The use of this open proportional system is considered to make competition between candidates stronger, not only between parties but also intraparty (*Nasional Kompas*, 25 September 2019). Burhanudin Muhtadi as Executive Director of *Indikator Politik*² states that Money Politics in the 2019 election has the potential to increase sharply. This is due to the unchanging electoral system, which provides a gap for candidates to use money as ammunition to get seats in parliament (*Media Indonesia*, 8 February 2019). The same thing was conveyed by August Mellaz, Executive Director of the *Sindikasi Pemilu dan Demokrasi (SPD)*³, saying that the open proposal system made competition in legislative elections very personal. He also mentioned that the practice of money politics in the 2019 legislative election will increase significantly because elections are held simultaneously with the presidential election. As a result, the focus of monitoring and supervision, both by the election organizers, the mass media, and the public will be more focused on the 2019 Presidential Election (*Katadata.co.id*, 8 February 2019).

One of the assigned jobs of Bawaslu is to monitor and take action on the practice of money politics. Bawaslu DIY initiated a new movement involving grassroots society or the lowest level of society to participate in fighting and supervising the practice of money politics. This is proved by the establishment of a new movement called Anti-Money Politics Village. Since the researcher wrote this chapter, there are 3 villages that have been

² Indikator Politik is a research institute that focuses on election and democracy in Indonesia

³ Is an NGO that focuses on electoral research and survey

declaring themselves as Anti-Money Politics Village and another 14 villages in Yogyakarta will declare in the upcoming days. The focus in this thesis is the Anti-Money Politics Village in Candibinangun, Pakem, Sleman. This will be discussed in more detail in the next sub-chapter.

1.2.General Overview of Anti-Money Politics Village Movement

Law number 7 of 2017 article 284 and 515, states that money politics is a serious violation in which the perpetrator will be subject to sanctions such as cancellation as an election participant and at the same time as a criminal. Because the impact of this money politics is very wide, the decision in the law is very appropriate because money politics is very troubling among the people. Moreover, the sanctions are believed to minimize the occurrence of money politics.

Based on the mandate of the law, Bawaslu has a role to prevent the practice of money politics. However, in practice, Bawaslu cannot possibly oversee the entire electoral process from the practice of money politics alone without the involvement and active participation of the community. This has been recognized by the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) that they need the community to oversee the election as stated in the Bawaslu tagline "Together with the people to supervise the election, Together with the Bawaslu uphold electoral justice" (www.bawaslu.go.id).

Bawaslu Special Region of Yogyakarta welcomes the 2019 election by creating a movement called as Anti- Money Politics Village Movement (APU). Through this movement, Bawaslu provides a new

paradigm in seeing the flow of prevention of money politics practices in Yogyakarta. From the previous one which was only supervision done by Bawaslu, it became the supervision done by the grassroots societies, which in this case are the village and its people who are the smallest entities in the government of the Republic of Indonesia.

Yogyakarta is an area affected by the practice of money politics, which also influences the democratization process to an *established democracy*. Furthermore, money politics is very popular in the practice of electoral democracy in Indonesia, especially in the lowest levels of society, namely villages or rural areas (Abisono, 2012; Ufen, 2014).

The preventive project carried out by Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) DIY is to create an anti-money politics village. According to Bawaslu (2018), in the handbook of Anti-Money Politics Village (APU), what is meant by Anti-Money Politics Village is:

“Villages that committed, affirm themselves to be an area of territory that will reject and oppose all practices of money politics in the conduct of elections, by organizing all available resources, because it is based on understanding and awareness that money politics is destroying democracy”

This Anti-Money Politics village is part of an effort to make movements to reject and oppose money politics in elections. In the beginning, Bawaslu DIY through the district Bawaslu prepared each district/city 1 village as a pilot project to focus and mature in forming or looking for a model of anti-money politics village, because this project is a project that had never existed before, it was necessary to discuss more in

finding the right model in this anti-money politics village movement (Interview with Bawaslu Sleman, January 18, 2019).

The villages that were used as pilot projects were expected to be able to provide examples, encouragement and inspiration for villages to carry out similar movements. This movement is also expected to be a massive moral movement to reject and oppose money politics that are already entrenched in rural communities (Interview with Bawaslu Sleman, 18 January 2019). However, it needs to be underlined that, it requires massive cooperation, support and participation between stakeholders and the community for the realization of "free and fair" elections.

According to Bawaslu DIY (2018), there were 6 main goals of Anti-Money Politics Village, as follows:

1. Creating a fair, clean, civilized and integrity election.
2. Realizing the Special Region of Yogyakarta as a Province that is free of money politics in the upcoming 2019 elections
3. Creating a community that understands election and electoral oversight.
4. Inspiring the community to become smart voters who dare to resist and fight money politics.
5. Encouraging political parties and election contestants to innovate in campaigning

6. Encouraging political parties and election contestants to compete cleanly by putting forward a good political education.

As explained in the previous paragraph, the Anti-Money Politics Village project will be carried out in all regencies/cities in the Special Region of Yogyakarta by taking a pilot project from each district/city with a hope that it can be more focused on building and designing new models in this movement. The following are the names of the villages proposed by the Bawaslu DIY to be the pilot project of the Anti-Money Politics Village:

Table 9. List of Proposed Villages to be the pilot of Anti-Money Politics Village

| No. | Name of Village | Regency/City | Sub-District |
|-----|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. | Sorosutan | Yogyakarta | Umbulharjo |
| 2. | Bangunkerto | Sleman | Turi |
| 3. | Murtigading | Bantul | Sanden |
| 4. | Tawang Sari | Kulonprogo | Pengasih |
| 5 | Rejosari | Gunungkidul | Semin |

(Source: The Handbook of Anti-Money Politics Village by Bawaslu (2018))

The five villages are villages that have been proposed to be a pilot project for this movement and are expected to be able to become a pilot for other villages that want to declare the similar program. The villages are

considered to have met the standards set by the Bawaslu DIY to become the pilot project of the APU village. There are several qualification standards set by Bawaslu DIY in order to be a pilot project of Anti-Money Politics Village, as mentioned below:

1. There is a commitment from the government structure in the local village that supports the Anti-Money Politics village movement
2. There is a civil society organization or middle class society in the local village that supports the movement
3. There is village Track Record that supports the movement
4. There is willingness of stakeholders in the local village to build partnerships with election supervisors in rejecting and opposing the practice of money politics
5. There is willingness to build a consensus system to reject and oppose the practice of money politics.

Although the five villages above were proposed to be the pilot projects of the APU village movement, in practice, everything depend on the village themselves whether they want to take actions or not. Candibinangun is the example of the non-proposed plot project of anti-money politics village that declared as the anti-money politics village.

Candibinangun village became the first village in the Sleman regency to declare themselves as an anti-money politics village and

became the second village in the Special Region of Yogyakarta as an anti-money village. The declaration was made on September 30, 2018. Like the title and theme that has been proposed, here the researcher will only focus on the Anti-Political Money Village in Candibinangun Village, especially on the engagement of the community. However, there is a need to find out the genealogy of this movement. Thus, the author would like to show the brief genealogy of the anti-money politics village in the next sub-chapter.

1.3. Genealogy of Anti-Money Politics Village

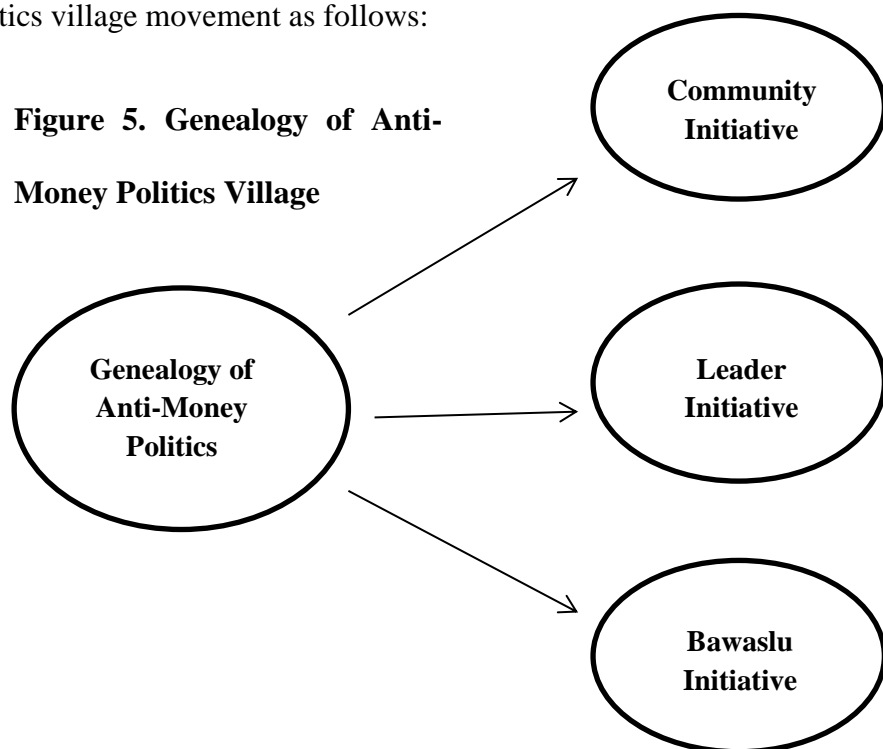
Social movements are a fairly hard and organized effort carried out by people who are relatively large in number, whether to cause change, or to oppose it (Maran, 2007).

According to Maran (2007), there are two main views in seeing the emergence of social movements. According to the first view, social movements are often caused by misery, mainly because of social problems and economic difficulties. This view is called by Conflict Approach. However, this first view is considered inconclusive by adherents of the second view. According to adherents of the second view, misery, social problems, and economic difficulties are found in various social environments. Even oppression and suffering exist in various parts of the world throughout the history of mankind (Maran, 2007). However, social movements are relatively rare. The adherents of the second view explain that the causes of social movements are the organizing factor of resources.

Unequal resource mobilization system triggers the emergence of social movements. This second way of view is called as Resource Mobilization Approach (Maran, 2007).

Crane Brinton in (Maran, 2007), writes: "No ideas, no revolution". And he certainly agreed if it was said, "No ideas, no social movement". From this writings, it can be seen that both revolution and social movements originated from Ideas. The idea offers concepts about the purpose of a movement, the rationality of its existence, and its demands for existing social arrangements.

The Anti-Money Politics Village Movement is a new movement that has never existed before. The movement that began in the Province of Yogyakarta later became a massive movement and popular among the village community. There are 3 types of genealogy from the anti-money politics village movement as follows:



Source: made by the researcher himself

The first type, the Community Initiative be possessed by Murtigading Village in Bantul, which is the first village in Indonesia to declare itself an anti-money politics village. The anti-money politics movement in Murtigading village began since the village head election in 2016. The anti money politics concept was initiated by the village community of Murtigading by forming the team 11 which was called as an independent team monitoring the election of Murtigading Village Heads, the team has role to carried out prevention and actions of money politics during village head elections. The team not only campaigned anti-money politics verbally but also campaigned for anti-money politics on social media (Pranata, 2019).

The movement to reject money politics carried out by Murtigading villagers was the forerunner of the anti-money politics movement in other villages in Yogyakarta. Hearing of the anti-money politics movement, Bawaslu DIY was interested in cooperating with Murtigading village as a partner in implementing participatory supervision by forming an anti-money political village. Eventually, Murtigading Village was declared as the first Anti-Money Politics Village in Indonesia on April 22, 2018 (Bawaslu, 2018).

The anti-money politics village movement in Murtigading is a movement that was initiated directly by the community, through Team 11

which was filled by Muhammadiyah Youth of Murtigading (Pranata, 2019). Therefore, it is very obvious that the existence of community organizations plays an important role and an extraordinary influence to help the government in solving problems that exist in society. This movement is included in the category of *Community Initiative Movement* because all depart from the willingness and awareness of the community.

The second category, the Leader Initiative, happened in Candibinangun Village which is the case study of this research. Candibinangun village is the second village Indonesia to declare as the Anti-Money Politics Village on September, 30 2018. The village of Candibinangun is included in the second category because this movement was initiated by the Village Head. Through a meeting with the Bawaslu on February 2018, the Village Head of Candibinangun directly said that the Candibinangun Village was ready to become the Pilot Project of the anti-money politics village movement. The village head then mobilized all the resources in the village by collecting key figures to jointly agree to form an anti-money politics village movement (Results of interviews with various informants, January 18-28, 2019). Details of the anti-money politics village movement in Candibinangun will be discussed in the next sub-chapter.

The third category is the Bawaslu Initiative, which existed in Kulonprogo Regency, namely in the village of Hargomulyo, Kulonprogo. This village was formed and appointed by Bawaslu Kulonprogo as a pilot

project of the Anti-Money Politics Village in Kulon Progo district (KRJogja, 2019). In addition, the Election Supervisory Body or Bawaslu of Kulonprogo plans to form an anti-money politics village in the five electoral districts as an effort to prevent money politics (Harianjogja, 2019). So far there has been no research on anti-money politics in Hargomulyo so researchers have experienced limited information about the details of the village of Hargomulyo, but based on information spread in the mass media, Bawaslu Kulonprogo formed an anti-money politics village in Hargomulyo, so that the village could be included the third category.

The three genealogies mentioned above influenced the dynamics of the anti-money politics village in Yogyakarta. From the Community Initiative to the Bawaslu Initiative have a noble goal to eradicate money politics in elections. Even it differs in terms of its implementation and activities. Community Initiative tends to be more radical in countering money politics through this movement. In Murtigading for example, they invited the legislative candidates to debate in public to see their vision and mission, opening up a social media platform, and posting the names of legislative candidates who are ex-corrupor and those who are not willing to take part in the debate. While the Leader Initiative and the Bawaslu Initiative tends to be more passive because the foundation of the movement is on the leader or on the Bawaslu itself. In addition,

Community Initiatives movement tends to have greater support from activist democracy and NGOs

1.4. The Anti-Money Politics Village of Candibinangun

1.4.1. History of Money Politics in the Village of Candibinangun

Money politics is often regarded as something that has been entrenched among the village community, including in the village of Candibinangun. The 2014 Presidential and Legislative Elections and Candibinangun's village election in 2015 were heavily affected by the practice of Money Politics. From several interviews conducted by the researcher, there were several acknowledgments and explanations regarding the practice of money politics that occurred at that time. The Village Head of Candibinangun Sismantoro, S.H explained about the practice of money politics back then, as follows:

“...In 2014, I received many reports and public stories about money politics. The money was given by legislative candidates and team in general D-1 before voting until a few minutes before the voting begins. The community was very happy at that time because many of them got money from several candidates. The community at that time still lacked real knowledge about politics and election function, even many of them did not understand the functions of the Legislative member...” (Interview, 21 January 2019)

The explanation from the village head of Candibinangun illustrate how money politics at that time easily entered the village and the community easily accepted the money. In fact, public knowledge about elections and the role of elected Member of Parliament was very minimal.

People tend not to care who was the elected people's representatives yet what matter was how much money the candidate gave. The more money given by the candidate, the more likely they will be chosen by the community. This is in line with the findings of Muhtadi (2018) about the phenomenon of money politics in the 2014 election in relation to the term "NPWP".

In addition, interviews were conducted with other informants, namely Ahmad Syafi'I (a university student) and Mr Asep Supranata (a food seller). They said that it was true that in 2014 the "*Serangan Fajar*" and money politics were very massive. In fact, they also repeatedly received money deals from the legislative candidates. Based on the results of observations and interviews with several informants, the following is the range of money received by the community in the 2014 election:

Table 10. The range of money that the community received during the 2014 General Election

| General Election 2014 (focuses on legislative) | Lowest amount | Highest amount |
|---|---------------|----------------|
| | Rp.25.000 | Rp.75.000 |

Source: Interview results with several informants

The amounts of money mentioned above are the money given by each candidate. Therefore, the community could have received money that is a lot more than what was mentioned above in the 2014 election. Cash is the biggest form of money politics in the 2014 elections, but there are

several forms of money politics that are given in the form of public goods such as basic necessities, chairs, generators and tents. According to Mr. Mardjuni Hadisumarto as the head of the LPMD, the items were distributed to each RT head or hamlet (sub-village) head in the hope that the RT and hamlet heads would be able to mobilize the community to elect the candidate.

However, if we see from the amount of cash in the legislative election above, the amount is not negligible compared with the amount of money politics that occurred in village elections of Candibinangun which is the smallest of a government entity in Indonesia. Based on several acknowledgments and explanations from informants, village head elections have higher prestige and higher money politics. The following is the range of money issued by village head candidates in 2015:

Table 11. The range of money that the village community received during the village head election in 2015

| Candibinangun Village | Lowest amount | Highest amount |
|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|
| Head Election 2015 | Rp.100.000 | Rp.300.000 |

Source: Interview results with several informants

The table above illustrates how big the practice of money politics was in the process of village head elections at that time. Money is poured easily in order to get the votes of the people in the smallest entity election of a government in Indonesia. However, what interesting about the election of the Candibinangun village head was that the elected candidate

was incumbents who actually did not spend any money to buy community votes. Sumarsono, SH as the elected village head said:

“...I won the 2015 village election by 86% of the votes but I did not buy the vote at all. I spent only about 70 million, but it was only for celebration and the things that are fun, such as recitals, puppet, etc. There was no one whom I gave money to vote for me...” (Interview, 21 January 2019)

The interesting thing that can be analyzed from this explanation was that, even though money politics was massive, in reality it did not guarantee that the people will choose candidates who gave the money. It is predicted due to the better understanding of political knowledge and wrong money politics strategy. This is in line with Akbar (2015) findings, in his grand findings, he said that there were 3 main factors why money politics was not successful, namely: 1. Wrong money politics strategy, 2. Poor quality of the team success, 3. Double standard that the voters have in choosing candidates (Akbar, 2015).

1.4.2. History of the Establishment of the Anti-Money Politics Village in Candibinangun dan The Driving Factors

As previously explained, the village of Candibinangun is not the first option of Bawaslu to be used as a pilot project in the Sleman regency. The first option proposed by Bawaslu was the Bangunkerto village in the Turi sub-district. Sleman Bawaslu said that there were several standard criteria as a pilot project that was not fulfilled by the Bangunkerto village. The head of Bawaslu Sleman, Karim Mustofa, M.Sc, explained the

cancellation of Bangunkerto village to become the pilot project for this APU village, below:

“...There was a meeting on February 15, 2018 with the Bawaslu DIY. At that time, all the regencies/city in Yogyakarta submitted one name and we submitted the Bangunkerto village to become a pilot project, and representatives from the village were also present at the meeting. However, after the meeting there was an evaluation from us (at that time it was still the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) instead of the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu))⁴ and it was concluded that the Bangunkerto village did not have volunteers and there was no strong support from the public figure in the village. Then, we found that one of the figures who participated in initiating this village as the pioneer of the APU village project was a member of political party namely the Democrat Party and was in the stage of nominating himself as a legislative candidate. Then we agreed that Bangunkerto village will not be used as a pilot project for this Anti-Money Politics village movement” (Interview, January 18, 2019)

From the explanation above, the idea to propose the village of Bangunkerto as a pilot project was canceled and was replaced by the village of Candibinangun. The beginning of Candibinangun village being used as a pilot project was a request from the head of the village of Candibinangun himself, Mr. Sismantoro, S.H. Bawaslu saw that there was a strong will from the village government of Candibinangun to establish an anti-money politics village. The biggest consideration which then makes Bawaslu Sleman supported and fought for the Candibinangun village to be the pilot project were the public awareness and strong will from the village government of Candibinangun. Bawaslu Sleman said:

⁴ Bawaslu Sleman was only formed on August 15, 2018, previously named Panwaslu Sleman. Bawaslu Sleman only has 4 commissioners when this research is conducted

“...The request to be a pilot project came directly from the village head and was directly supported by Panwascam Pakem. We see this as a direct initiation from the community and not from us (Bawaslu), because if it is from us then there will be indications of forced political education but because this is an initiation from the village government and the community directly, it is probable that the APU village program will succeed. Because the APU village is an independency....” (Interview, January 18, 2019)

The explanation from the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) Sleman above illustrates that basically the APU Village is a form of independence of a village where the community cannot be easily bought by transactional politics. Apart from that, given the experience of the Candibinangun villagers in the 2014 general election, where elected candidates tended not to care about their development and aspirations. This was conveyed by the Candibinangun village head, Sismantoro S.H, as follows:

“...Our community has already been saturated because our hopes and aspirations are not covered by elected legislative in the electoral district of Ngaglik, Cangkringan, and Pakem. The community is tired of the promises of the candidates and the community needs new board members who are full of integrity and concern about their aspirations. Well, the only way is to choose a candidate who is trustworthy and really cares about the people, and that good candidates can only be elected if our people’s voice cannot be bought...” (Interview, January 21, 2019)

Starting from the bad experiences and concerns that took place in the village of Candibinangun from the previous election, the idea of creating this village as an anti-money politics village emerged and was supported by all public figures in the village of Candibinangun. This was supported by the statement of Mr. H. Mardjuni Hadisumarto who was the

chairman of the LPMD (Village community empowerment institution), the head of the sub-village, and a religious figure in the village area of Candibinangun, below:

“...When I had a discussion with the village chief, he explained to me about his plans to make an anti-money village here. I immediately agreed with him and I volunteered myself as a coordinator of this anti-money politics village movement since I saw this as a new way of change for this village...” (Interview, January, 22 2019)

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the beginning of the establishment of anti-money politics in Candibinangun was due to unrest and shared concerns regarding the tragedy of money politics that occurred in the previous election. Moreover, people’s dissatisfaction with the parliament members of Sleman regency or even at the national level who tended not to cover or accommodate their aspirations was also a strong factor behind the idea of establishing the anti-money politics village in Candibinangun. The picture below is the road map of the establishment of anti-money politics village in Candibinangun which was processed by the author based on the results of interviews with stakeholders in the establishment of the anti-money politics village of Candibinangun

Figure 6. Road Map for the establishment of the Anti-Money Politics Village in Candibinangun



(Source: Interview results with several stakeholders involved in the process of creating the Anti-Money Politics Village in Candibinangun⁵)

1.4.3. Expected Goals of the Establishment of Anti-Money Politics Village in Candibinangun

Besides the 6 objectives described by the Bawaslu DIY in the Handbook of Anti-Money Politics Village as mentioned at the previous sub-chapter, the actors from the village of Candibinangun also have their own goals and hopes regarding the anti-money politics village in Candibinangun. There are several purposes of the establishment of anti-money politics village in Candibinangun according to the movement actors and stakeholders, among others are:

⁵ The focus on that road map is after the socialization of Anti-Money Politics village was done by Bawaslu

1. Being a political education platform for the Candibinangun village community
2. Introducing the community about the main role and tasks of a member of parliament
3. Electing the best political candidates who are able to accommodate and aspire to the interests of the Candibinangun village community
4. Eliminating the polarization of society that occurs due to elections
5. Increasing public awareness of the election and eliminating the apathy that has existed so far
6. Eliminating the practice of transactional politics in Candibinangun village

(source: processed by the researcher from the results of interviews with several anti-money politics village formation committees in Candibinangun including the village head, Ipmd, and team 9)

From some of the objectives and purposes mentioned above, it can be seen that the purpose of the establishment of anti-money politics in Candibinangun is very progressive and visionary. Points 1,2 and 3 are included in the dissemination of political education to the public about the importance of elections and socialization of the importance of the role of parliamentarians in regional development.

On the other hand, the point 4 was the most worrying thing that has ever happened in the village of Candibinangun, namely Political Polarization amongst the community. Political polarization, occurs when the electorate's attitudes towards political issues, policies, and people are starkly divided along partisan lines. Members of the electorate and general public typically become less moderate in cases of popular polarization (Layman, Carsey, & Horowitz, 2006). The polarization that occurred in the previous election began with Money Politics. Candidates at that time in addition to buying votes per voter also buy votes per area. In general, the area is purchased with goods or commonly referred to as Pork Barrel so that people will have some kind of a moral debt to choose candidates who have given the goods (Stokes, 2009). The community became fragmented and starkly divided from the practice of the Pork Barrel.

The last point, to eliminate the practice of money politics is a long-term goal. In order to achieve this goal, the previous points must be achieved first. Eliminating money politics means changing the mindset of the people, and to change the mindset requires thorough political education and increasing full awareness of the dangers of money politics. Only by reaching the previous points as a whole, the last point of the goal can be reached.

1.4.4. Type of Movement, Type of Change, and Methods of Work

Social movement is a type of group action. Social Movement can be defined as organizational structure and strategies that may empower oppressed populations to amount effective challenges and resist to a more powerful elites. It is sometimes informal group or individuals which focus on political or social issues. They provide a change from the bottom line of the nations (Diani, 1992). Nevertheless, Diani (1992) said that there was no single consensus definition of a social movement. However, almost all definitions have these 3 main criteria, namely: a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups or organization, engage in political or cultural issue, on the basis of shared collective identity.

Whereas a sociologist named Charles Tilly (2004) defined a social movement as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others. Social Movement is a driving force to participate in public politics (Tilly, 2004). Looking at the definitions and characteristics of a social movement above, it is very clear that the Anti-Money Politics Village can be considered as a social movement.

The Anti-Money Politics village movement is a social movement that has a goal to change a culture that damages democracy, namely transactional political culture. This movement is also a form of community

resistance toward political elites and capilatist who uses their money and capital to buy the votes (vote buying). On the other hand, community engagement in this movement is also a form of effort to increase participation and eliminate the sense of apathy of the community in public politics. In line with this analysis, H.Mardjuni Hadisumarto as a head of village community empowerment institute said:

“...This movement is purely a social movement of the community, we are not financed by the government at all, although it must be acknowledged that the idea to create the movement originated from the village head, but the one who runs it is all of us and has the same goal of eliminating money politics and transactional politics culture in this village. We want the elected legislative members to be truly the best, not the richest, given the previous election experience, many of our aspirations were ignored by elected legislator” (Interview, January 22, 2018).

It is emphasized that this movement is an independent and social movement because there is no legal umbrella and also not in a position as a semi-autonomous village government body even though the people involved at the beginning were part of the village apparatus, they only acted and moved as a public figure that has influence in society. This movement is a voluntary movement which is filled by people who morally concern with the bad influence of the practice of money politics. This social movement aims for a change in custom and moral especially toward the money and stuffs given by electoral candidate.

Tilly (2004) distinguished types of change in social movement into two different categories. First is *Innovation Movement*, this type of change

usually refers to the movement which wants to Introduce or change particular norms or values. Second is *Conservative Movement*, instead of introducing a new change, this movement aims to preserve the existing norms and values (Tilly, 2004). Seen from the type of change that was presented by Charless Tilly, this anti-money politics movement is included in the first category because its main target and goals are to change custom and culture of the community that previously considered money politics as a normal thing and morally accepted into a crime and morally unacceptable.

The method used in this movement is a Peaceful Movement method in which campaigns and programs carried out using non-violent means. In addition, this movement is also a movement that is educational in nature so that it is impossible for this movement to use violent means. This argument is corroborated by a statement from Sismantoro S.H, he as follows:

“...This movement is part of political education to the community so the method we use is to use a soft-approach, so we give this education by going into recitation or community gatherings. Because if it is not slowly, the citizens might also underestimate or even disagree with the movement we initiated...” (Interview, January 21 2018)

Soft-Approach to the community is part of the peacefull movement method which is carried out by the village movement team in the Candibangun village. This method is believed to be the most effective way

to get great support from the community and educate the community so that the goals expected can be achieved.

Social Movement usually belong to the less formalized part of civil society, but sometimes also collaborate with more stable structures of formal associations in various ways. Commonly, there are three different types of Social Movement in terms of its activities. Those are radical, moderate, and passive (Jazierka & Polanska, 2017). Since the anti-money politics movement in Candibinangun is a Leader Initiative, the activities tend to be more on the second category which is the moderate movement. The intensity and quality of programs and activities are just average, neither extreme nor intense. Moreover, this movement is really centralized to the power of the Village Head. However, this movement is a new movement that never existed before. Thus, it is still a good start for a long-term plan which is to eliminate the practice of Money Politics as a whole.

Compare to the other anti-money politics village such as Murtigading or Sardonoharjo, the Candibinangun village tend to be less active in terms of countering the practice of Money Politics. It is due to various aspects such as the neutrality, the lack of human resources and other civil society, academics, or activist involvement in the village. Below are the details of the program and activities run by the Candibinangun village.

1.4.5. Programs and Activities: During Pre-Declaration, Declaration, Post-Declaration

1.4.5.1.Pre-Declaration

The Pre-Declaration was carried out in order to prepare everything needed before the declaration to be an Anti-Money Politics Village. The detailed description of activities or preparations before the declaration of anti-money politics village can be found in the previous sub-chapter on the history of the anti-money politics village in Candibinangun. Here, the researcher will only describe the sequence of activities carried out by the APU village initiators before the declaration. The sequence of pre-declaration activities in Candibinangun compiled by the researcher is based on the results of interviews with APU village initiators in Candibinangun including the village head, team 9 coordinator, and youth organizations.

➤ **Anti-Money Politics Village Socialization**

This activity was carried out in order to give understanding to the community about the dangers of money politics in the upcoming 2019 elections and the urgency of forming the Anti-Politics Money Village in Candibinangun to prevent political candidates or anyone who want to do transactional politics in the area. This socialization starts from July 2018 through recitations and community gatherings in all sub-villages in Candibinangun.

➤ Selection of Volunteers and Team Formation

In conducting volunteer selection and team formation, the village head of Candibinangun as the initiator invited all village institutions of Candibinangun and the subdistrict Pakem to do discussion. At this stage, a key figure was identified; they are the figure who could potentially influence the community to support this movement massively. On August 5, 2018, a joint meeting was held to discuss the formation of this APU village Team. Key figures include the police institution, village officials, sub-village heads, LPMD, sub-district Panwaslu, BPD, PKK, and Youth Organizations.

Figure 7. Pre-Declaration Meeting



(Photo by: H.Mardjuni Hadisumarto)

After the first meeting, the next meeting was on September 7, 2018 where the initiator invited representatives of the wider community including religious leaders, community leaders, mass organizations, RT /

RW, and Youth figures. At that time, a Team called Team 9 was formed; Team 9 was divided into 2 categories, namely Team 9 Center and Team 9 at sub-village level (there are 12 sub-villages in Canbinangun). Team 9 at the village level (center) consists of core institutions in the village of Candibinangun, following are the names of Team 9 center of Anti-Money Politics Village in Candibinangun:

Table 12. List of Team 9 Center of Anti-Money Politics Village in Candibinangun

| No. | Institution/Responsibility | Names |
|-----|---|--|
| 1. | Village Head | Sismantoro S.H |
| 2. | Village Community Empowerment Institution/ <i>Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa</i> (LPMD) | 1. H.Mardjuni Hadisumarto (Ketua Tim 9) 2. Dwi Atmojo |
| 3. | Village Consultative Body/ <i>Badan Permusyawaratan Desa</i> (BPD) | 1. Indi 2. Drs. Agus Purwanto |
| 4. | Election Supervisory Committee/ <i>Panwaslu</i> of Pakem sub-district | Dalyono |
| 5. | Village Government Apparatus | 1. Yuni Cahyana, S.IP 2. Wijayanto, STP |
| 6. | Family Welfare Development/ | 1. Yulianti Muryanti |

| | | |
|----|--|---------------------|
| | <i>Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i> (PKK) | 2. Sumiasih |
| 7. | Youth Organizations | Danas Saputra S.Kom |
| 8. | Village Commissioner / <i>Babinsa</i> | Totok Swasono |
| 9. | Police Official/ <i>Bhabinkamtibmas</i> | Sudirman |

(Source: Notes from Mr, Mardjuni Hadisumarto)

1.4.5.2. Declaration as an Anti-Money Politics Village

The Declaration is a form of effort to introduce about the mutually agreed commitments to reject money politics in the village of Candibinangun to the wider community. From several meetings that have been conducted, it was agreed to make a declaration on September 23, 2018, but it became a polemic because the announcement of the permanent candidate list (DCT) was dated at the same time. This was stated by the Bawaslu Sleman through an interview with the researcher, as described below:

“...September 23 turned out to be the permanent candidate list (DPT) announcement, there had been a debate in the meeting about the date of the declaration because indeed we also wanted to invite legislative candidates to attend and witness the declaration, and also to commit not to do transactional politics in Candibinangun village, so we finally agreed to postpone the date declaration on September 30, 2019...” (Interview, January 18, 2019)

Basically, the date change was aimed to invite permanent political candidate and explain the commitment of the Candibinangun village to

reject any form of money politics. Thus, the hope was that the candidates would not practice money politics in the village area of Candibinangun.

On September 30 2018, the declaration as a pilot project of anti-money politics village was held at the village field of Candibinangun. The series of events on this declaration began with the healthy walk, commitment vowed, signatures and hand stamp, and remarks from the Bawaslu of Republic of Indonesia, the Village Government, and other stakeholders. This event ran from morning to afternoon at 8:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. (Krjogja.com, October 1, 2018). The event was attended by hundreds of people including the Team 9 central to Team 9 sub-villages level, Bawaslu RI, Provincial Bawaslu, Sleman Bawaslu, and other Regency Bawaslu in Yogyakarta, Panwascam, Sleman Government, Regional Political Party Leaders, and Legislative Candidates (Interview result, January 18 2018).

Figure 8. Hand Signing as a symbol of commitment to fight against money politics



(photo by: Danas Saputra)

The main obstacle that occurred during the declaration was about funding. The very limited funds made the moment of this declaration unable to present all levels of society of approximately 6000 people. Because this declaration was not under the layers of law or village regulations, the village government could not issue a budget for this declaration. The declaration committee finally sought funding donors for this declaration, assisted by the Sleman Bawaslu and volunteers, so the declaration program was carried out even though the funding and participants were quite limited.

1.4.5.3. Post-Declaration Programs and Activities

After the declaration, the activities carried out by Team 9 of the APU Village were vacuumed for several months. This was conveyed by Danas Saputra, S.Kom as a representative of youth organizations in the Team. He said:

“...After the program, we were no longer active for some time, so yes, everything was back to normal, not so much follow-up was done by us. However, basically many people have understood that this village is anti-money politics. We actively communicated again after there were reports from villagers that there was a legislative candidate who offered a tent for one area, we saw this as an effort from the candidate to use money politics strategy and it needed to be followed up...” (Interview, January 22, 2019)

An offer from a prospective legislative member to provide assistance in the form of a tent in one of the area in Candibinangun can be categorized as a form of pork barrel as categorized by Stokes (2009), because the party offering the goods was an electoral candidate and the offer was the strategy to buy people's voices with goods.

After reports from the public about the incident, communication among Team 9 members at both the village and sub-village levels back to intense. The socialization was also intensified to the community in at all level ranging from youth, mothers, fathers and elders. However, this socialization was also hampered by cost constraints or fundings so that the only way taken by Team 9 was to enter recitals, RT / RW meetings, PKK mothers' meetings, and so on. This was considered by H.Mardjuni, as the

coordinator of Team 9 as the most effective and possible effort to educate the public and give deeper information about the APU Village. He said:

“...fundings are our main problem, because if we want to formally socialize, we need a funding, so our strategy was to socialize through existing forums such as social gathering, or PKK, or youth groups gatherings, and we explain about the village of APU and the dangers of money politics through these forums...” (Interview, January 22, 2018)

The socialization carried out after the declaration is through existing community forums. The forum is then used for socialization simultaneously. Political education is also carried out through forums like those because opening a new socialization forum requires a lot of funds, and funds are the biggest obstacle to the APU village movement. One interesting thing found here was that, the village movement does not have any social media platform to socialize and promote the idea of fighting against money politics so that the only way to socialize this movement is through word of mouth socialization in community forums.

Figure 9. Socialization to the wider community in post-declaration era



(Photo by: H.Mardjuni Hadi Sumarto)

Apart from socialization, the activities carried out by the village movement coordinator anti-money politics are a coordination and evaluation meeting with the Bawaslu Sleman and the Bawaslu DIY. These meetings are usually held in the village office of Candibinangun or through the forum made by Bawaslu⁶. On one occasion, as stated by Mr. Sismantoro S.H and Mardjuni Hadisumarto, there was a report from the community where they had been offered assistance in the form of tents by one of the legislative candidates. This was discussed with Bawaslu that there was a progressive progress from the establishment of this anti-money

⁶ The researcher was allowed to read the whatsapp group of APU village movement by Mr.Mardjuni Hadisumarto during the interview

politics village where the community agreed to reject the assistance because it was considered very political.

1.4.6. Role of Bawaslu (Provincial Level, District Level, Sub-District Level)

As explained in the previous sub-chapter, the Anti- Money Politics Village movement is a new initiative offered by Bawaslu DIY as an effort to prevent the practice of money politics. Money politics is one form of electoral violation which supervision and prosecution is carried out directly by Bawaslu. Given the limitations of Bawaslu members, the idea emerged to engage the community in the process of prosecuting and reporting the practice of money politics.

There were two data sources that became the reference for researcher in writing the sub-chapter on the role of Bawaslu. The first was the Handbook of Anti-Money Politics Village published by Bawaslu (2018) and the second was the result of an interview with the Bawaslu Sleman and several other informants involved in the movement. In relation to the establishment of the anti-money politics village in Candibinangun, the following are the roles of Bawaslu (Provincial, District, and Sub-District):

a. Bawaslu DIY (Special Region of Yogyakarta)

- Creating a Handbook of Anti-Money Politics Village
- Coordinating the anti-money politics village movement with other high-level stakeholder

- Conducting the monitoring and evaluation after the declaration
- Connecting with participatory monitoring programs
- Giving Award for the village
- Promoting anti-money politics village at the provincial and national levels

b. Bawaslu Sleman

- Facilitating the implementation of the declaration
- Providing political education to the coordinator of the movement and the community as a whole
- Providing guidance to the coordinator about the pattern of the movement
- Coordinating with Bawaslu DIY
- Conducting monitoring and evaluation after the declaration
- Assisting funding during declaration

Panwascam Pakem

- Participating as coordinator of the movement
- Providing political education to other coordinators and the community
- Conducting direct socialization to the community
- Coordinating with Bawaslu Sleman

- Facilitating APU village declaration activities

The roles mentioned above were only on how Bawaslu DIY, Bawaslu Sleman, and Panwaslu Pakem supported the establishment of anti-money politics village in Candibangun. The main role of those mentioned above is related the political education. However, for the practice in the field, everything was handed over to the community along with Team 9 which will determine whether this movement will run successfully as expected.

1.4.7. Response towards the movement: from local communities to political candidate

In the following sub-chapters, the researcher will focus on the response and the views of local communities and legislative candidate of the upcoming 2019 elections regarding this movement. Informants from local communities were distinguished by occupation and from political candidates who came from PKS (Prosperous Justice Party/*Partai keadilan Sejahtera*). In this sub-chapter, informants are basically given relatively similar questions related to their views and opinions about the Anti-Money Politics village movement in their area. However, the questions were then developed based on the answers from each informant to get deeper insights related to their responses and views on the Anti-Money Politics Village movement.

Basically, when they were asked about the response of this movement, all the informants agreed and supported this movement. However, each has its own rationale and reason related to their willingness to support this movement. The PKS legislative candidate named Akhid Nur Setiawan, S.Kep stated:

“...I strongly agree with this, because as a legislative candidate I only have social capital, not material capital. This movement actually benefits me because I can fight with other candidates fairly through a vision and mission not with money...” (Interview, January 28, 2019).

Indeed, not all candidates have the same financial capacity, even some candidates who are known by researcher also do not have sufficient financial capacity to buy people's votes. When viewed from the impact, the most profitable side of this movement is the legislative candidates themselves because they do not need to spend money to fight in political contestation. However, in reality, they are "forced" to practice money politics because the open proportional system applied in elections in Indonesia made political battles increasingly brutal and personal (Muhtadi, 2018).

Meanwhile, the response from the locals that the researcher have interviewed toward this movement tend to be very positive since most of them considered money politics was the source of all corruption happened in the republic and most of the elected candidates were most likely did not care towards the community's needs or aspirations since the candidates

feel that they have bought the people's vote. However, when they were asked about whether they were convinced that this movement would abolish political practice as a whole, they all said that they were not sure because this has become a "political mess" every 5 years and very rooted in their community (Interview, January 18-28, 2019).

The same thing was said by Akhid Nur Setiawan, a legislative candidate from PKS. He said that it was indeed not easy to change the mindset of the community, let alone rural communities who tended to have lower income and education levels than people in urban areas. (Interview, January 28, 2019). Furthermore, he said that every big goal always needed a beginning and this anti-money politics village movement was an extraordinary and very unique beginning (Interview, January 28, 2019).

Then the researcher asked all the informants on how if the purpose of the declaration that was carried out by the village head and others were only for prestige and show off, there were those who answered it was impossible but the majority answered that even if it was true, it would not affect the positive impact which will be obtained from the anti-money politics village movement.

In conclusion, the majority of the people and legislative candidates agreed and supported this movement. In the view of society, this movement is important to prevent rotten politicians from becoming members of the parliament. Whereas, in the view of legislative candidates,

this movement is important so that political competition will be focused on Vision-Mission and makes political competition become more fair and free. Besides, the legislative candidates also do not really want to spend a lot of money in the political contestation.

1.4.8. Neutrality and Hidden Motives of the Movement Coordinator: Will this Movement Be Sustainable?

A social movement is a movement based on joint action to change or protest something. Social movements are movements that are based on sincerity and volunteering for the common good.

Social movements are usually defined as movements with groups of people or communities that are organized but informal in form of cross-groups to oppose or push for change. Many versions and dimensions of the definition of social movements but Diani (2000), for example, emphasize the importance of four main elements, namely (1) strong networks but their interactions are informal or unstructured. In other words there are bonds of ideas and shared commitment among members or constituents of the movement even though they are distinguished in profession, social class, etc. (2) There is sharing of belief and solidarity between them; (3) there are joint actions bringing conflictual issues. This is related to opposition or insistence on certain changes; (4) Action demands is continuous but not institutionalized and follows routine procedures such as being known in organizations or religions, for example.

Thus, it can be idealized that social movements actually depart from the awareness of a group of people for their interests. Although leadership is always needed in all these social movements, the benefits (value-added) and their achievements must always return to the constituents of the movement and not to the leader. Research on new social movements in Indonesia tends to emphasize the role of leaders and the benefits that return to them. There are only few success of the movement directly benefits the constituents.

New social movements in Indonesia tend to be more profitable to leaders or those who are considered leaders and therefore the measure of achievement is seen more whether the movement is enough to have an impact on them. The movements are also generally initiated by those leaders rather than on the awareness of the constituents from the beginning. Such movements show more top down characteristics (Budiman, 2001; Kusuma, 2003; Sujatmiko, 2006).

Such social movements tend not to represent the desires of constituents but rather, they are a form of submission or safekeeping from the political structure of a particular state or power. Such cases in the social movement literature are called contra social movements or contra movements, namely the ways government or power subordinates the demands of the social movement to reject or block changes that are urged, or in other words, how to impose ruling policies on certain groups (Cunningham, 2003).

Neutrality is an impartial and free condition (KBBI). Neutrality is an important instrument of a movement so that the movement becomes a representation of the wishes of the community. In the case of this anti-money politics movement in Candibinangun, there was something that became polemic among observers and other social movement activists, namely about the neutrality of the team of anti-money politics village coordinator of Candibinangun. It should be noted that the beginning of this movement was initiated by the desire of the Candibinangun Village Head, Sismantoro, SH who is willingly make his village a pilot project of the anti-money politics village movement in Sleman, by mobilizing all village institutions and key figures in the area.

A polemic emerged when the public learned that the son of Sismantoro, SH was running for the legislative candidate in the electoral district of Cangkringan, Ngaglik, Pakem through the Gerindra party named Bella Pradana Devanda Nugraha. This is what later made a polemic and criticism of the neutrality of the anti-money politics village movement in Candibinangun. The public considered that this movement would be very beneficial for the village head because they did not need to spend any capital to buy the Candibinangun's community votes.

However, a different view was conveyed by the legislative candidate Akhid Nur Setiawan, S. Kep from the PKS party who was a competitor of Bella Pradana Devanda Nugraha, son of Mr. Sismantoro S, H. He considered that, although the other motives of the Village Head was

not to spend a lot of capital during elections for the victory of his son, the impact of anti-money politics education would remain beneficial in society and still a good start for a new change. He said:

"... I was quite surprised that it turned out that the son of the village head also ran for the 2019 legislative election. Although there were other motives from the village head in the formation of this anti-money politics village movement, but still, political education about the dangers of money politics would remain very important to this community and this movement opens opportunities for me and other candidates to compete fairly through vision and mission, not through money. Because if through money I think the village head has more capital..."(Interview, January 28 2019)

Moreover, according to several other informants, the son of Sismantoro, S.H. is not a popular legislative candidate among the public even though his father is very popular and powerful. This might be related to the 2017 DKI regional elections where a former president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who is highly respected and very popular was unable to win his son Agus Harimutrti Yudhonoyono as the Governor of Jakarta in 2017.

However, seeing this condition, it can be concluded that the Village Head as the initiator of the anti-money politics village in Candibinangun was indeed not neutral, in the sense that he was siding with one of the legislative candidates who is his own son. This, for some people is a hidden motive that is interpreted negatively and for some others it is something that (still) can be considered positive.

Negative perspective indeed came from activists of the anti-money politics movement, it can be predicted that the absence of involvement from activists, NGOs, civil society, and outside communities that helped to succeed the anti-money politics village movement in Candibinangun is due the prejudice that the initiator this movement is not neutral and has preference towards particular candidate. If the social movement is defined as a collective movement based on volunteerism, those activists aforementioned above will not willing to be involved in a movement which they think is a movement that will only benefit the initiator which is the Village Head of Candibinangun, Sismantoro S.H.

The Anti-Money Politics Village Movement in Candibinangun is a movement that belongs to the type of leader initiative movement. Speaking about the sustainability of this program, it is important to know that social movements built by leaders are movements that are very vulnerable and often not sustainable. This is due to the role of the leader is very strong and central so that if there is a change of leadership in the village of Candibinangun in the future, it is very likely that this movement will be vacuumed or naturally eliminated because there is no more driving force of the movement.

The case of unsustainability of a movement due to the change of leadership in an Institution had occurred in Bantul, Special Region of Yogyakarta. In 2017, the KPU Bantul formed the *Desa Pelopor Demokrasi* or translated as Democracy Pioneer Village movement which

is part of the Voter Education effort conducted by the KPU Bantul to improve the quality and quantity of voter participation, both in legislative elections and or executive elections (Tribunnews, 2017). There are 3 villages that became the Democracy Pioneer Villages, namely Dlingo, Guwosari, and Sumbermulyo. However, the change in the structural leadership of the KPU Bantul seemed to have a significant impact on the sustainability of the Democracy Pioneer Village, so that the movement became no longer popular and was already vacuumed for quite some time because there is no follow-up plan by the leader of KPU Bantul.

Seeing from the experience of the Democracy Pioneer Village which has declined and even its activities no longer heard after the leadership change in the KPU bantul which was the initiator of the movement. This is very likely to happen to the Anti-Money Politics Village in Candibinangun which is very centralized to the Village Head. On the other hand, the anti-money politics village movement in Candibinangun runs on its own without assistance from democracy activists, NGOs, and civil society, this will be very burdensome for the continuity of this movement especially when the change of leadership takes place in the future. The case of the anti-money politics village movement in Candibinangun is clearly very different from the case in Murti-Gading in Bantul or Sardonoarjo in Sleman which received strong support from democracy activists, academics, NGOs, and civil society.

Indeed, it is not impossible to make the anti-money politics village movement in Candibinangun a sustainable movement and able to eliminate the practice of money politics as a whole in the Candibinangun village in the future. One of the ways to make this movement sustainable is by cooperating with or involving activists, academics and NGOs so that cadre and re-organization become more effective and comprehensive. This is certainly not easy considering the negative views of the actors mentioned above towards the neutrality of the Village Head, but the Team 9 who is the coordinator must be able to convince the actors mentioned above to help the continuation of the anti-money politics village in Candibinangun.

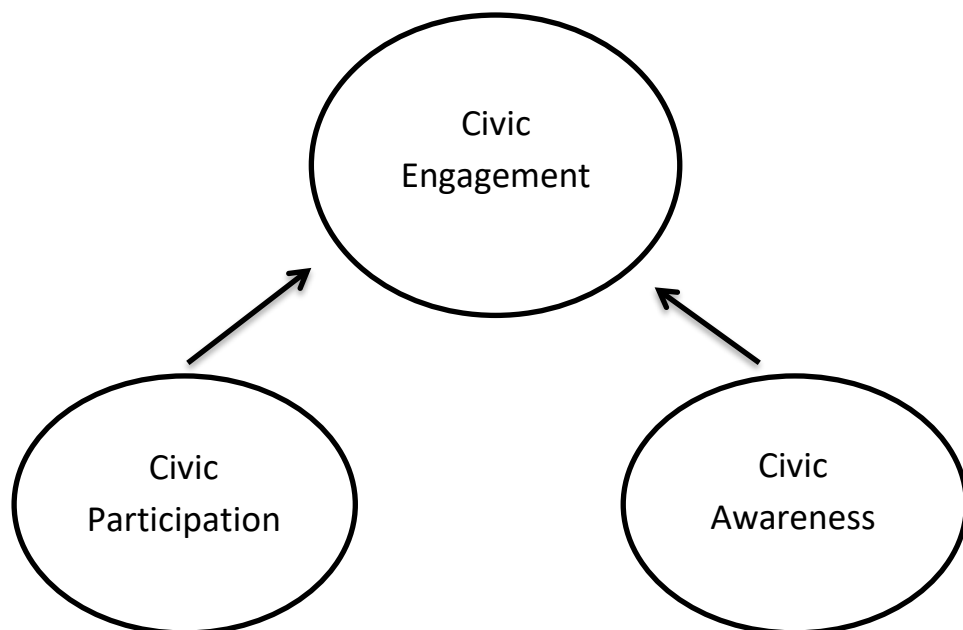
2. Civic Engagement in A Fight Against Money Politics in Candibinangun

Civic Engagement consists of 2 words, namely civic and engagement. Civic can be interpreted as a society or a citizen while engagement is interpreted as an discipline based on work that occurs in a non-academic community. Michael Delli defined civic engagement as an individual or group action to identify and articulate something that is a public concern. The form of this civic engagement also varies, starting 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 (Eapro, 2008).

Looking at the definition of civic engagement from Michael Delli above, it is certainly very clear that the case of the anti-money politics village movement belongs to the civic engagement category. Community involvement is an important instrument in fighting money politics that occurs in elections in Indonesia. The limitations of the members of the Election Supervisory Body and the Election Supervisory Committee make the involvement of the community an absolute step needed to counter the practice of money politics.

Theoretically, according to White (2012) in ((Karliani, 2014), to achieve what is called the Civic Engagement, two instruments are needed to be fulfilled first, namely Participation and Awareness. The description of the Civic Engagement according to White (2012) is as follows:

Figure. 10. Civic Engagement Cycle by White (2012).



(Source: Karliani (2014))

In this sub-chapter, the researcher will discuss the extent to which civic engagement focuses on participation and public awareness of the anti-money politics movement. There are 2 classifications of informants in this sub-chapter, namely public figures and non-public figures. Public figures are figures who have political and non-political positions in the community but have a strong influence and well-respected by others, while non-public figures are people who do not have any position in the community or just an ordinary people. There are 3 non-public figures interviewed by the author, who are classified by occupation. One is a food seller, another one is a student (beginner voter), and the last is a housewife. For the public figure, the informant was the same as the informant in the previous sub-chapter including the head of the village head, Bawaslu Sleman, head of LPMD, and Youth Organizations.

2.1. Community/Civic Participation

Community participation has a particularly strong role for the success of the movement of Anti-Money Politics village in Candibinangun, since the goal of this movement is also to involve the public in supervising the elections, especially in its relation to the electoral violations in the form of money politics in the form of vote buying and pork barrel. Community participation in fighting money politics is very important considering that the number of Bawaslu and Panwaslu

commissioners is very limited. Public participation is needed to create an established democracy.

Team 9 was formed because of the initiator of the movement and Bawaslu Sleman see that in order to get support from the grassroots community, it is needed strong encouragement from respected figures in the region. Unfortunately, in the formulation process until the declaration, the grass-root community was not involved. All of the three (non-public figure) people who were interviewed by the researcher, none of them participated in the formulation or declaration process. The wider community will only be involved in post-declarations, especially in the days when elections get closer.

2.1.1. Community Participation during the formulation process of Anti-Money Politics Village and Factors that influenced the participation.

In the process of formulation, not all of societies were involved, but the figures in the region are directly involved. The reason for not involving the community from all levels was due to the limited supporting infrastructure and funding. Besides, there is a confidence from the stakeholders that if key community figures are involved then the other people will automatically follow and agree as well. This was conveyed by the village head of Sismantoro S.H, as follows:

"... the figures we invited are those who have a big influence on their territory and their respective area. The logic was very easy, if

all the leaders in this region agree to reject money politics, the people around it will feel uncomfortable if they still accept money politics. On the other hand, limitations were also an obstacle for us to invite the entire community. But once again, we believe that the key figures we invited will have a big influence and they have brought the aspirations of the people from all level...” (Interview, January 21, 2019)

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the wider community was not directly involved in the process of forming anti-money politics villages, but they have been represented by village leaders and key figures. Apart from village officials, the key figures contain youth, religious leaders, community leaders and PKK mothers. They are considered to have represented the entire community in the village of Candibinangun. However, the irony was that many people did not know about the plan to form an anti-money politics village in their village. This was stated by one of our respondents, Mr. Asep Supranata, whose daily work is a Chicken Noodle seller, He said:

“...I did not know about the anti-money politics movement in the village until the declaration was made some time ago, I was not involved at all in the planning process and nobody told me...” (Interview, January 18, 2019)

In line with Mr. Asep Supranata, Ahmad Syafi'I, a student and a beginner voter for the next election who also became researcher's informant told that:

“...In the formation process, I did not know at all if there would be a movement like this. When the declaration was made on Sunday, and I saw many people there I was wondering what happened and I asked one of the participants I knew and he said there was a village

declaration as an Anti-Money Politics village...” (Interview, January 22, 2019).

From the two explanations above, it can be concluded that this socialization of the formation of anti-money politics is not massive and does not touch all levels of society, because in reality many people do not know about the plan to establish the anti-money politics village movement.

Based on direct interviews with several informants, it was known that the average respondents who stated that they were very active in attending meetings and giving opinions was because they were always invited by the initiator to attend the meeting. In addition, because of the moral burden borne by the key figures invited to help make changes to the transactional political culture and give political education to the public. Other reasons were obtained about things that caused respondents to be less active or even not active in giving their suggestions or opinions because they were never invited. Besides, there were also people who passively attended meetings because they felt they have no ability to speak in public. This was also conveyed by H.Mardjuni as the chairman of the Village Community Empowerment Institute (LPMD), below:

“...Actually we also held a Village *Musrembang* (Planning and Development Deliberation), but the people who came were only the people who could speak in public and those who were less active were quite constrained there. However, people who are less active during the meetings are usually active during implementation...” (Interview, January 22, 2019)

2.1.2. Post-Declaration's Community Participation: An expected things to be done by the wider community and beyond

The period after the declaration should be the period when the Team Coordinator called Team 9 is incessantly conducting socialization to the community about the programs to be carried out and how the community can participate in each of its programs. However in reality, this socialization was constrained by funding until it finally had a vacuum for some time. The socialization eventually continued by entering existing community forums.

The community was involved in the anti-money politics village movement after the declaration by joining the forums and participating in discussions about anti-money politics. Regarding participation in this movement, one of our respondents, Mr. Asep Supranata said:

“...the way I participate as an ordinary citizen and not be directly involved in the movement is by discussing this anti-money politics. Because I am also an apparatus of a mosque, usually there are studies or prayers, usually after that I discussing with the residents, sometimes discussing money politics. Well, I sometime told them about the dangers of money politics and I think all of the people understand...”(Interview, January 18 2019)

On the other hand, one of our respondents named Ahmad Syafi'i when asked about what participation he did for this movement, said that:

“...It can be said that for now I have not participated in anything, because I also rarely gather with residents here. However, maybe later when it is nearing the election or on the election day and I see someone giving the money to vote for particular candidate, I will

report it to the complaint post (if any). Maybe that is the form of participation that I will give...” (Interview, January 22, 2019)

In addition, our other respondents named Mrs. Anik Purwanti a housewife also said:

“...when it comes to participation at the moment, I haven't done anything and haven't participated in anything, but maybe later on the election day if I found there are candidates or its winning team giving money, I will report it as long as there is security protection for me...” (Interview, January 28, 2019)

If seen from the two statements given, it can be concluded that there are people who have started to participate and some who will only participate when the election starts. If seen from the second and third statements, it can be seen that the thing that was conveyed by the Head of Sismantoro Village is true if the people even though they are not active when formulating the idea, they will be active during the implementation. However, the worst part was there are no rules or certain legal steps to protect and guarantee the security for money politics reporters. This is clearly being a big matter of concern for the reporter because in reality on the field, candidates are very influential and strong people and might threaten anyone who reports about the money politics they are doing or they have done.

Civic Engagement as collective community action assumes that such engagement is usually comes in the form of collaboration or joint action to improve conditions in the civil sphere (Ekman & Amna, 2012). If looking at the theory, it can be concluded that the role of the community,

local government and the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) are very important so that the issues that become a common concern can be improved which is about free and fair elections. The main concern of the community is about security and safety guarantees during the reporting process and post-reporting. The initiator and the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) must focus on this problem, otherwise the public's concern about the terror from the reported candidates or winning team will be more likely to occur.

In short, there are two forms of community participation after the declaration of anti-money politics villages. The first is to discuss and contribute in spreading ideas about the dangers of money politics. Second, is with the desire and willingness to report when they find the practice of money politics on the voting day. There is one note in the second participation, namely about security guarantees for reporters. The Bawaslu and the APU village coordinator must pay close attention to this matter and formulate how the security of the reporter can be guaranteed both from the threat of terror and the social sanctions from the surrounding community.

2.2. Civic Awareness

2.2.1. Community Awareness Towards The Threat of Money Politics

Awareness in political term is an awareness of rights and obligations as citizens. This concerns one's knowledge, interests, and

concerns of the community and political environment in which he lives (Surbakti, 2010). 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; Wardhani, 2008).

In relation to awareness of the dangers of money politics, the researcher presents a number of questions to the speakers regarding the understanding of the dangers of money politics and the awareness of joining and participating in anti-money politics movements in their villages. The informants for this sub-chapter are basically the same as the informants in the previous sub-chapter by adding the perspectives of legislative candidates for the 2019 election in the PKS, Akhid Nur Setiawan S.Kep as candidate who sees and feels firsthand the conditions of prospective voters in the field at this time.

The first informant, Mr. Asep Supranata, when asked about views and knowledge about money politics, said:

“...I think that money politics is the root of corruption. Why? because the financial capital that was spent was very big to buy people's votes. To return the capital, yes, the only way is to do corruption whether the project mark-up or what is clearly the orientation will not be for the community anymore because the people's vote have already been bought” (Interview, January 18 2019).

Meanwhile another informant, Ahmad Syafi'I when asked the same question, stated:

“...yes the point is that money politics is used to buy votes in elections. If asked about my views, it is bad, if the votes have been bought, then the elected council will not care about the people anymore, so like there will be no feeling of gratitude and morally responsible towards the people's need and aspirations.” (Interview, January 22 2019)

With the same question, when asked about the understanding and view about money politics, the next informant, Ms. Anik Purwanti said

“...yes money politics has a very horrible impact in the future. The long term effect is corruption and they will be more likely to ignore people's need and aspirations. Because they feel that they have bought the people's voice then they can do whatever they want once they are elected...”(Interview, January 2019).

From the three results of the interview, it can be concluded that the community has understood what money politics is and the dangers of money politics. The community also considers that money politics was the root of criminal acts of corruption and the root of the political behavior of parliament members who tend to be ignorant of their constituents. However, when asked about the possibility of receiving a "political alms" from the future candidates, 2 of the 3 informants said they would receive the money, but for their choice they would still choose the best candidate or the one who are closest to them personally.

Therefore, it can be concluded that in the Candibinangun village community, there are 2 (two) groups of people in terms of resistance to

money politics. The first is those who commit to explicitly reject money politics in any form. The second is the group that accepts the form of money politics but does not choose the candidate through the tagline "take the money, do not choose the person". This is similar as the findings from (Akbar, 2015), who found that money politics had no effect on voter choice and tended to be ineffective in mobilizing the mass.

2.2.2. People's Resistance towards Goods offered by Candidates and How Aware They are of the Importance to be an Independent Voter

In order to see the condition of the community of Candibinangun related to their awareness of the dangers of money politics as a whole, the author consider to add the perspective of the legislative candidates who will participate in the political contestation in 2019 very important. When asked about his views on the condition of the community in Candibinangun against the practice of money politics, Akhid Nur Setiawan, S.Kep said:

“...Many local people here already understand the issue of money politics, but if there are candidates who enter and offer material, they will accept it, even if they will take advantage of it, especially if in the larger forums, for example, the legislative candidates will be “robbed” by locals but yes in the end there is no guarantee they will vote for the candidate, and now the villagers dare to have different choices from others...” (Interview, January 28, 2019)

What was conveyed by Mr. Akhid as the 2019 candidate confirmed the previous statement that the people tend to still be willing to accept

money or material offered by legislative candidates or the winning team although in the end the vote is not necessarily given in return. Furthermore, the people of Candibinangun village tend to be more courageous in expressing support for legislative candidates or the president independently. In the past, people tended to be afraid to choose differently from the majority of surrounding community because of the social sanctions of the surrounding community but now they are more courageous.

The three respondents said the same thing when asked about their independence in choosing legislative candidates. They agreed that they were not afraid of the pressure when deciding which candidate to choose from, especially with the existence of the declaration of the anti-money politics village, the fear is getting faded. If in the past, sub-villages or RTs leaders tended to be offered material by political candidates and required the community to vote, now all hamlets and figures had agreed to reject money politics and such things would no longer apply to the community.

In this case, eliminating the polarization in society from the election that is becoming one of the objectives of the establishment of anti-money politics village in candibinangun is an objective that the benefit can be felt the most by the community and can be perceived directly. This was conveyed by Ms. Anik Purwanti, one of our informants, who said that:

“...polarization and community disputes that occurred in the previous election were very strong and the atmosphere was also

intense. That is none other than because one hamlet or one RT was given something by the candidate and then the surrounding community was required to choose the candidate and in the end they become fanatic and tend to vilify the supporters of other candidates, yeah that was the case...” (Interview, January 28, 2019)

From this movement, the polarization of the community can be predicted to be further reduced and the independence of the voters will be much better because the people do not feel indebted to the candidates or afraid of social sanctions that were previously applied to voters who are not voting the same candidate as the majority of community in their area. Being independent in choosing candidates is one indicator that the public has been aware of the election and is aware of politics. Anti-Money Politics Village with all its shortcomings is still a good start for electoral and political education in the village of Candibinangun.