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**CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN A FIGHT AGAINST MONEY POLITICS:
A STUDY OF ANTI-MONEY POLITICS VILLAGE IN
CANDIBINANGUN, PAKEM SUB-DISTRICT, SLEMAN**

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**CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN A FIGHT AGAINST MONEY
POLITICS:
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CANDIBINANGUN, PAKEM SUB-DISTRICT, SLEMAN**

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Abstract

Since the enactment of the Open Proportional System in the 2009 legislative elections, the trend of money politics in Indonesia has always risen and reached its peak in the 2014 general elections, where money politics targeted 33% of the total voters or around 62 million people. The practice of money politics in the upcoming 2019 Election has been predicted by many experts to increase due to several reasons. The Bawaslu DIY initiated an Anti-Money Politics Village program to engage village communities in overseeing the practice of money politics. Candibinangun village is one of these villages aforementioned that served as a pilot of this program. Using Qualitative Research, the researcher focused on history and the driving factor of Candibinangun Village's willingness to declare themselves as an Anti-Money Politics Village. On the other hand, the researcher discusses on the civic engagement of village communities in this movement.

Keywords: Money Politics, Social Movement, Civic Engagement, Electoral Supervision

Introduction

A. Background

Election is also one of the instruments in forming a democratic government. However, as in practice of electoral democracy, there are still plenty of election that is façade or marred by manipulation and fraud. (Ham, 2016). In the democratic process in Indonesia, Money Politics thrives and is considered as a common thing, even, it has also been regarded as an electoral culture among the Indonesian people, especially in rural areas (Ufen, 2014). Even though in Indonesia there are already election supervisory institutions such as the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) and the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu), Money Politics can still be found in nearly every government head election in Indonesia.

Villages are the most vulnerable areas affected by money politics fraud. Apart from the economics and education that are still quite low, the political culture of rural communities is also the main factor that influences the occurrence of money politics in the village. Study that was done by Nico L. Kana as quoted by (Lukmajati, 2016), found that money politics was common in every village head election in the past and by the village community this is considered a symbol of compassion. This proves that the culture of society plays an important role in the practice of election fraud in the form of money politics.

In a survey conducted by Burhanuddin Muhtadi in 2014 after the general elections in Indonesia, it was found that 1 in 3 voters were exposed to the practice of money politics in the form of vote buying. In total, there were 62 million voters involved in the practice of buying and selling votes or around 33% of total Permanent Voters List/*Daftar Pemilih Tetap* (DPT), This puts Indonesia as the third worst country in terms of money politics activities,

meanwhile first and second rank are Uganda and Benin which has 41% and 37% respectively (Muhtadi, 2018).

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

Candibinangun Village was officially honored as a pilot of Anti-Money Politics Village (APU) on September 30, 2018. From this issue, the researcher sees that there is something interesting about the Money Politics Prevention Project which was initiated by Bawaslu on how the communities are engaged in the process of preventing election fraud in the form of money politics. Candibinangun Village was chosen in this research because the Village is the first village to declare as Anti-Money Politics in Sleman regency. The focus of this research will lead to the history of Money Politics occurred in Candibinangun Village, how is the pattern of civic engagement in the fight against Money Politics, what means and strategic programs are offered to prevent Money Politics, as well as how the locals and political candidate respond to this initiative in their village.

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

B. Problem Formulation

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

C. Theoretical Framework

1. Civic Engagement Theory

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

The common types of civic engagement are individual or collective actions to make a change or difference or to improve the wellbeing of the community or nations. Some forms of Civic Engagement may aim to create political change or economic improvement. The goal is often to address public concerns and promote the equality (Ehrlich, 2000, p. 3). Civic Engagement is all about participation, empowerment and partnership. It is about how the civil or community organizes collective action and interacts with national and local level state institutions as well as non-state actors, how they articulate their interests and public concern that affect their lives. It is also about ordinary people becoming “co-authors” in setting and implementing their countries development agenda (Zlatareva, 2008, p. 7).

The definition of civic engagement as collective community action assumes that such engagement usually comes in the form of collaboration or joint action to improve conditions in the civil sphere (Ekman & Amna, 2012).

Other definitions emphasize the political aspect and often referred civic engagement with activities that are not only collective but also specifically political that involve government action (Adler & Goggin, 2005).

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

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

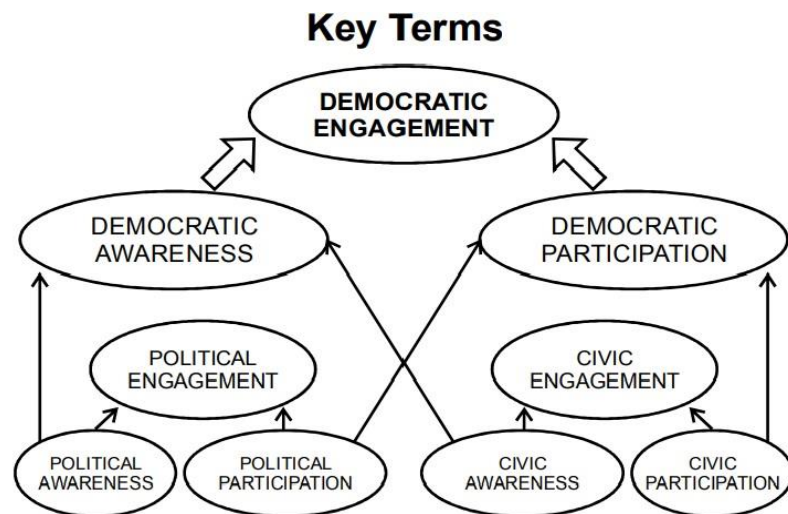


Figure 1: Key Terms of Democratic Engagement.

Source: White (2012) in (Karlani, 2014).

In the conceptual framework that is explained in the graphic above, it can be explained that civic engagement will be formed from the presence of

citizen awareness and citizen participation. Civic engagement is based on initiative awareness and sincerity without coercion from others. So that in practice involving all of them will be based on encouragement from within the individual itself to involve themselves in solving problems that exist in their community environment.

In short, Civic Engagement is about participation and awareness. It is also about how the civil or community organizes collective action and interacts with the government or vice versa. Civic Engagement is absolutely “Instrumental to Democracy” (Checkoway & Aldana, 2013).

2. Money Politics Theory

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

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

As explained above that Money Politics is included in the strategy of winning elections through the distribution of material. Susan C.Stokes (2009) explained this in *Distributive Politics* schemes and divided the strategy into

two parts, namely pragmatic and non-pragmatic, more detail explained in the picture below:

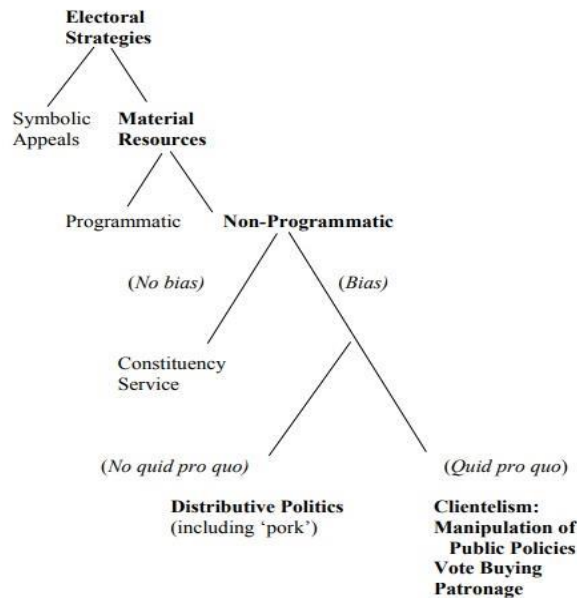


Figure 2: Distributive Politics by (Stokes, 2009, p. 7)

From the picture above, Stoke (2009) began its explanation by distinguishing material resources distributed as a winning strategy that is public in general or not. If the resources distributed are public, they can be categorized as pragmatic winning strategies, meanwhile if it is not public or public goods are personalized, it is included in non-pragmatic strategy. In the non-pragmatic strategy, the granting of money with the intention of gaining vote support in elections as the practice of Money Politics comes in two forms namely Pork Barrel and Vote Buying (Stokes, 2009).

Furthermore, Stoke (2009) explained that vote buying is a form of money politics that uses the method of giving money to voters in the form of fresh money. On the other hand, Pork Barrel is the distribution of relief goods in the form of material, contracts, grants, or public works projects from elected officials. What distinguishes the two are the scope/target, time of

distribution, product/goods distributed, and the criteria for selecting prospective recipients of money/goods that are distributed (Sumarto, 2014).

D. Research Methodology

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

In this study, the researcher applied the data analysis technique stages in the form of *Interactive Model Analysis* by Miles and Huberman (Miles, M. B., & Huberman, 2007) namely: Data collection, Data reduction, Data display and Conclusions: drawing and verification. The primary data were collected from Interviews with several key figures in this movement. On the other hand, the secondary data were collected from village government office and Bawaslu Sleman.

Data Analysis and Findings

a. History of Money Politics in Candibinangun

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).

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), 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”

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.

Table 1. 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: Compiled from the primary data

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.

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

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:

“...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)

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.

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

The sequence of activities carried out by the APU village initiators before the declaration are as follows:

1. Anti-Money Politics Village Socialization

This socialization starts from July 2018 through recitations and community gatherings in all sub-villages in Candibinangun.

2. Selection of Volunteers and Team Formation

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. At this stage, a Team called Team 9 was formed.

On September 23, 2018, the declaration was planned to be made 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. (Krjogja.com, October 1, 2018).

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 the existing community forums. 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.

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 Bawaslu¹.

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

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

¹ The researcher was allowed to read the whatsapp group of APU village movement by Mr.Mardjuni Hadisumarto during the interview

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).

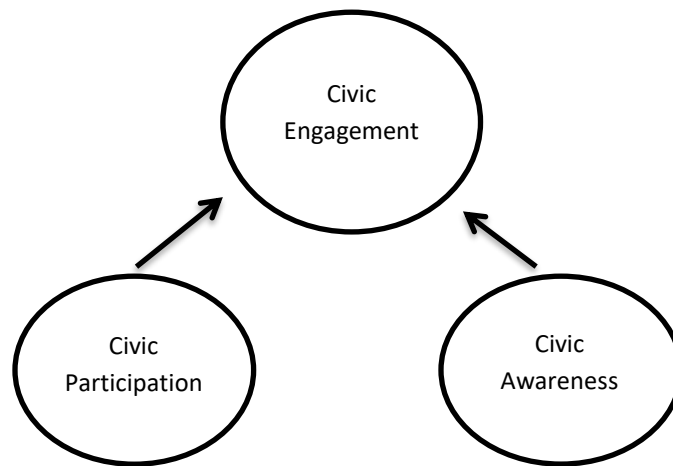
In conclusion, the majority of the people and legislative candidates agreed and supported this movement. In the view of society, this movement is important to prevent rotten politicians from becoming members of the parliament. Whereas, in the view of legislative candidates, this movement is

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.

Civic Engagement: Between Participation and Awareness

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. 9. Civic Engagement Cycle by White (2012).



(Source: Karliani (2014))

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.

Participation from the community has been started since the early beginning of this movement, the wider community were represented by the key figures. During the post-declaration era, the community has started to participate by reporting any suspicious case on money politics trial by the candidates or the winning team.

In fact, the community has understood what is meant by money politics and its dangers. 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. There are 2 (two) groups of people in Candibinangun village 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.

Conclusion

Money politics is a massive political violation that has occurred since the adoption of an open proportional system in elections in Indonesia. It was noted that from the 2009 elections to the 2014 elections, the practice of money politics rose by 30% and in the upcoming 2019 election, many political observers considered that the trend of money politics would continue to rise because the open proportional system is still being applied. An extraordinary innovation was carried out by Bawaslu DIY with the formation of anti-money

politics villages. Candibinangun is one of the pilot projects in the APU village in Yogyakarta, precisely in Sleman Regency.

The Candibinangun village intends to form an anti-money politics village because of the bad experiences related to money politics in the 2014 elections where the aspirations of the people were not well accommodated by elected legislator. On the other hand, the purpose of the establishment of anti-money politics in Candibinangun is to eliminate the polarization that occurs in the Candibinangun community during elections. Based on experience, every time election was held, the tension in the community was always heating up and there were frequent conflicts among the community themselves.

There is one disadvantage from this movement found by the researcher namely the absence of system or legal assistance to protect the safety and security of the community who report the case of money politics. Therefore, this will cause fear and worry regarding the safety and security of the people who want to report the money politics actions that may occur. In terms of Participation, the community has been participating from the formulation of the movement until after the declaration was made. Regarding the level of awareness in accordance with the findings in the field, the community basically has been aware of the effects of the practice of money politics. However, most of the people are still very likely to receive money given by political candidates but that will not affect voters' preferences in choosing candidates.

However, the neutrality of the village movement initiator toward a particular candidate which is his son was being questioned. It is predicted that the absence of the involvement of NGOs, civil society, or other activist was because of this. In fact, compare to other village with similar movement such as Murtigading or Sardonoharjo, the village of Candibinangun tends to be less active and more likely to be moderate instead of radical.

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