

# International Conference PROCEEDINGS

ICISPE

UNIVERSITAS  
DIPONEGORO

22

*Embracing Global Transformation:  
Collaborative Innovations through  
Social and Political Research*

**7-8<sup>th</sup>** September  
2022



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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
ON INDOONESIAN SOCIAL  
AND POLITICAL  
ENQUIRIES 2022

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Faculty of Social Science and Political Science  
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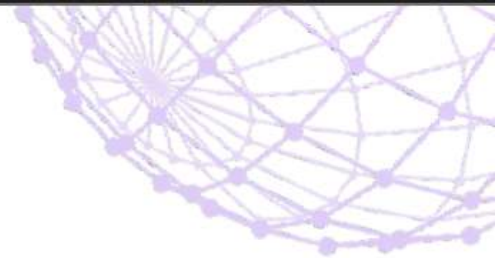




**PROCEEDINGS The 7<sup>th</sup> ICISPE**  
**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INDONESIAN SOCIAL & POLITICAL ENQUIRIES**  
“Embracing Global Transformation: Collaborative Innovations through Social and  
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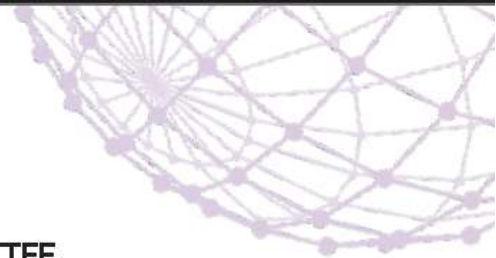
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# The 7<sup>th</sup> ICISPE International Conference on Indonesian Social and Political Enquiries

"Embracing Global Transformation: Collaborative Innovations through Social and Political  
Research  
September 7<sup>th</sup>- 8<sup>th</sup> 2022

## FOREWORD




Research should be a valuable tool for finding solutions to existing problems faced by a country. This belief is reflected to ICISPE 2022 conference. Our world is constantly being challenged by global, massive, and fast changes, starting from the development of the digital era which causes disruption in all aspects of the industry until the world suddenly stops due to the Covid-19 pandemic. But humans continue to show their ability to overcome all these problems by implementing new ideas so that problems can become opportunities. Collaboration in innovation is the key to success in the connected era. We realize that we cannot work alone, we need help from others to achieve the objectives quickly and effectively. Therefore this year's ICISPE is here to accommodate collaborative innovation ideas from various parties to accept the ongoing global transformation.

The 7<sup>th</sup> ICISPE Proceeding is a summary of the research results presented at the 2022 ICISPE Conference by academics and researchers. This activity was carried out with the cooperation of all committee members at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Diponegoro. Carrying the theme "*Embracing Global Transformation: Collaborative Innovations through Social and Political Research*", this conference was held on 7<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> September 2022 at the Orange Faculty of Social Sciences Campus.

Over 50 articles were submitted, this year we received some collaborative works of Indonesian authors and some authors from Russia, The Philippines, Germany, Malaysia and China. All were reviewed and refined to meet scientific work standards. We hope that the articles published through this conference will contribute to the improvement and development of society in various social aspects. We would like to thank all the speakers, writers, participants, reviewers, and committee members for their contributions to this conference.





On behalf of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Diponegoro, we would like to thank all speakers, writers, participants, reviewers, and committee members for this conference.

Semarang, 8 September 2022  
Dean of Social and Political Sciences Faculty  
Universitas Diponegoro

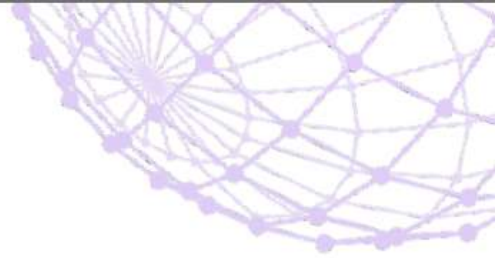
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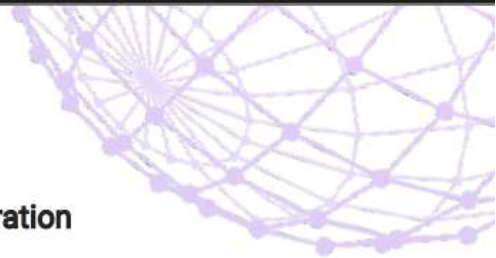


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# Local Government



# Vote Buying: The Practice of Support Mobilization on Village Head Election

Dewi Erowati<sup>1</sup>, Puji Astuti<sup>2</sup>, Turtiantoro<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract.** The 2021's Village Head Election in Kemiri Village, Sumpiuh District, Banyumas Regency has shown that vote buying, a practice commonly done by politicians of exchanging money and other private material benefits for support, was openly practiced on a massive scale. Under this context, the vote can be seen as a contract or action in which the voters sell their votes. The issue of vote buying has become a problem and threat to the health of the election process and democracy. This research aims to examine why the practice of vote buying is now more open and massive in village head elections and why people are more tolerant of this phenomenon. Moreover, the behavioral pattern of the voters to base their votes on money or other material exchange and the implication of vote buying in the village democracy process as a whole is also the focus of this research. By adopting descriptive study, this research utilizes in-depth interviews as the main instrument in collecting data and information from the informant. The finding of research shows that there are several facts why vote buying is more open and common: 1) According to the voters, vote buying is something that usually happens in the village head election process, thus they don't see it as a wrong practice in our political realm; 2) Vote buying is often practiced by candidates that are least likely to be the winner due to their lack of popularity and good track records in the community. They are also the main actor in why the practice is now more open and massive; and 3) All candidates that give incentives to the potential supporters get their votes as the exchange, with the range of money given and distributed being the main difference. The practice of vote buying is a threat to our future democracy, especially on the smaller scale such as village head elections. Therefore, it is recommended for our political education to fight against vote buying as a moral movement that involves all elements of society. It is also recommended to build collective awareness to enlighten people about the negative effect of vote buying for a better and much healthier political environment in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Vote Buying, Democracy, Village Head Election, Political Education

## 1 Preliminary

Quality leaders are needed for the implementation of good governance at various levels of government, including in the administration of village governance. Therefore, to produce good leaders, an honest and fair election mechanism is needed. The election of village heads in Indonesia's history has been recorded as a form of genuine village democracy, where since the Dutch government era direct village head elections have been carried out and the Dutch government recognizes and submits the autonomous village head election model to the village government. However, since the enactment of Law No. 5 of 1979 on Village Government, the village head election mechanism is no longer fully the right of the village community, mainly because the administrative requirements for village head candidates are determined by the government above. Village leadership based on cultural functions and local character shifts to leadership with more dominant administrative functions, because the leadership of the village head is also part of the government level above it. A prospective village head candidate must pass the administrative selection before competing through the election process, which is also the beginning of the strengthening of the money politics phenomenon in the village head election process. Money politics that occurs in the electoral process in Indonesia is not something new. Burhanudin Muhtadi (2021) in his book that examines money politics in the electoral process in Indonesia illustrates that money politics that leads to buying and selling votes is a phenomenon that is not difficult to find in either the Legislative Election, Regional Head Election, and Presidential Election [6].

The phenomenon of money politics and vote buying is also a common occurrence in the village head election process, but what is interesting is the occurrence of money politics and the increasingly open and massive sale and purchase of votes carried out by candidates for village heads. Since the launching of the Village Fund Program by the government, villages receive a fairly large flow of APBN funds and the position of village heads has become increasingly attractive for politicians or people with resources alike. For people with high ideals, dreaming

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of becoming a village head is a form of dedication so that they can make changes through the use of village financial resources that are quite large at this time. However, not a few also dream of the opposite, that with the large flow of funds entering the village, they think there is an opportunity to enrich themselves. Therefore, village head elections are often an arena of competition and battle that is partly colored with fraud, including money politics and vote buying and selling. For candidates who want to win the competition instantly but lack social investment in the community thus their electability level is low, buying and selling votes is one of the shortcuts to winning the election.

Money politics and vote buying and selling have become factual conditions that are difficult to control if there is a gap of practical interest, both from the candidate and the voters' side. Based on those factual conditions, this research provides an examination of why the practice of buying and selling votes to mobilize support was very open and massive in the Pilkades, specifically the one that was held in December 2021 in Kemiri Village, Sumpiuh District, Banyumas Regency. This research also highlights how the pattern of buying and selling votes are is being carried out, whether money and the provision of other materials are determining factors for voters to provide vote support for the candidates, and what implications of the practice of selling votes are for village democracy.

## **2 Research Method**

This research is a descriptive-qualitative study with the intent to describe, explain, and answer in more detail, systematically, factually, and accurately regarding the facts, characteristics, and relationships between the phenomena studied. The main instrument used to obtain data is in-depth interviews with sources of information determined purposively, including the candidates for village heads namely Imam Mudzakir and Surasdi, the success team, Mr. Slamet, Mrs. Musiah, Mr. Kaswani, community leaders namely Mrs. Sri Umi Khasanati, Mrs. Sri Nurhamdiyah, and also several voters. The interviews are in a semi-structured manner, thus the implementation is freer than structured interviews. The purpose of this type of interview is to find problems more openly and interviewees are asked for their opinions and ideas.

## **3 Research Results and Discussion**

### **Implementation of Kemiri Village Pilkades**

Villages have a strategic position because, in reality, the majority of Indonesian people live in rural areas. Villages have also long been a dynamic area because of their cultural strength. Although the entry of various state systems into rural areas through various regulations in the fields of politics, law, economy, society, culture, and defense, does not thoroughly eliminate the nature of village authenticity, including in terms of choosing village leaders. The practice of Pilkades, which more closely reflects the process of producing leaders at the local level who can become an extension of the government above it, does not completely turn off communitarian democracy as a reflection of communitarian self-governing entities. Village communitarian democracy itself, according to Sutoro (2013:40) rests on three substances, namely: 1) political democracy in the form of joint decision-making through deliberation; 2) social democracy with mutual solidarity through cooperation; and 3) economic democracy, namely the existence of communal land ownership [3].

In the context of implementing village governance, the village head is indeed a determining actor and the main driver of development and services at the village level. Because of the importance of the position of the village head, the election of the village head has always been the center of attention, not only by the village community concerned but also by people from outside the village. The election of the village head is one of the real forms of the village as a legal community unit that has the authority to take legal actions, one of which is to elect the village head [7]. Once the position of the village head is attractive, the mobilization of support by the candidate for the village head becomes a very common thing to do. However, what is quite detrimental to the village election process is the effort to mobilize support, which is accompanied by money politics transactions. In conditions like this, capitalism is open in the village head election process because capital owners play a significant role in helping village head candidates to use money as a way to win elections. The practice of money politics and vote buying in village head elections has become a worrying factual condition because it hinders the involvement of candidates who have the capacity to compete but scarce capital support in form of money. It also indirectly destroys the values of the common good as a tradition of local wisdom, as well as undermines the moral integrity of the village community.

The Pilkades of Kemiri Village which was held on December 15, 2021, was a simultaneous Pilkades in Banyumas Regency, which included 27 villages from 14 sub-districts. However, Kemiri village was the only village in the Sumpiuh sub-district that organized the Pilkades. What needs to be watched out for when the Pilkades in one sub-district is only organized in one village is the admission of gamblers who can injure the implementation of honest, fair, and clean Pilkades. The success of holding the Pilkades actually cannot be separated from the work of the election committee which was formed on October 7, 2021. The Election Committee consisting of 11 electoral

experts has the responsibility to prepare the entire election process, from setting a schedule. preparation to implementation, compiling regulations, carrying out screening and screening of prospective candidates, organizing and distributing logistics, determining prospective candidates and announcing them to the public, carrying out voter registration and compiling a Provisional Voter List and ratifying the Permanent Voter List, organizing a Campaign and Voting, up to making a Minutes of Determination of the Elected Candidates. The Pilkades in Kemiri Village was followed by three candidates, namely Surasdi as the incumbent who has served for two terms because he won the Pilkades in 2010 and 2015, then Imam Mudzakir, a contractor who in the 2015 Pilkades also ran as a candidate, and Suedi, a retired civil servant as a new face in the race because he has been domiciled in Purwokerto. However, Suedi, who had not widely known to the public of Kemiri Village, managed to win the election with 1401 votes, followed by Imam Mudzakir with 899 votes, while the incumbent Surasdi got 775 votes. Openly, Suedi's campaign team distributed some money to voters in exchange for votes on the polling day. The money given ranged from 50 thousand to 100 thousand per vote. However, the amount of money can be greater if the person who is given is someone who has a big reputation in their environment. Suedi was not the only candidate who gave money to prospective voters as the other two, Imam Musdakir and Surasdi, also did the same practice, with the only difference being the amount given by each candidate. Imam Mudzakir admitted that throughout the 2021's Pilkades race, he and his team spent around 700 million rupiahs, smaller than what they spent in 2015 which was more than 1 billion rupiahs. Surasdi as the incumbent, however, was the candidate who spent the least amount of money with around 150-180 million rupiahs.

### **Analysis and Discussion**

Money and Pilkades are two inseparable things. Distributing money from the prospective village heads to the community is a practice that has been done for a long time to an extent that it has even become a tradition known as 'wuwur' in Banyumas. Usually, the candidate for the village head or their partner pays a visit to the villagers' houses to ask for the blessing of the candidate's candidacy. Then, when they return, they would leave a sum of money or other materials for the villagers. The amount of money given is also not big and is suitable to be interpreted as a 'thank you' to the villagers. There is no upfront or explicit request with the gift that has been given for a return in the form of votes on polling day. However, 'wuwur' in the last two decades has experienced a shift as it is now practiced in a more direct and less-vague manner. Now, they give money to prospective voters at the same time as they ask for a return of votes on polling day. If that does not look concerning already, it's not their only method to win people's votes. When someone declares himself to be a candidate for village head, then they must be ready for what is called 'opening a shop'. 'Opening a shop' does require money because the candidates are openly visited by people who want to provide support. Within months, a candidate would have to provide food, drink, and cigarettes, all of which cost money. Not to mention the addition of giving some money to prospective voters who are willing to support their vote on polling day.

The politics of money and buying and selling of votes in the Pilkades of Kemiri village in 2021 were indeed very strong, especially since the figure of Suedi came forward as one of the candidates. As a newcomer, Suedi was not a well-known figure at that time, as he spent most of his years in Purwokerto. Although he was born and raised in Kemiri Village, he did not spend much time there to have a strong kinship root within the community unlike the other two candidates, namely Imam Mudzakir and Surasdi. On the other hand, Surasdi was known as a simple and honest man with a high social spirit and strong kinship ties in Kemiri Kulon, where his grandfather, Surasantika, was an important figure there. Imam Mudzakir, however, had a prominent root thanks to his father, Mr. Saring, who was a retired teacher, a takmir of a mosque, and a person who was prominent and had a base of kinship ties in Kemiri Kidul. Even though Imam did not live in Kemiri village, he owned a house in Kemiri village and was known as a contractor who worked on almost all projects that were part of the village government's program. How money is distributed to voters was done long before polling day. This was acknowledged by Mr. Kaswani as part of Suedi's campaign team, who in an interview stated as follows:

"So we formed a campaign team from each RW (Rukun Warga) and we chose one person with a character. Then, the RW team selected 1 person from each RT (Rukun Tetangga), whose main responsibility is to ensure that they approach prospective voters who do not have a definite choice. Because we all know that in this village, kinship ties are very strong and it is not easy to influence people who have had the choice from the start to change their choices. If there is an agreement with the prospective voter, then the candidate voter and the campaign team made an agreement, the money will be given 50 thousand rupiahs before the election, and 50 thousand rupiahs more after the election. Thus, we can identify the chances of victory when the campaign team on the field works well. In addition to approaching voters who are still neutral, of course, we also maintain relationships with potential voters who have supported Pak Suedi from the start" (Transcript from the interview, Sunday, June 22, 2022).

Compared to the other two candidates, Suedi was indeed the most aggressive. His campaign team came to the villagers' houses to offer money in exchange for voting support. Although money has its attraction, regarding Suedi's candidacy, it turned out that for the voters, the figure of Suedi who has a master's education background



and is also a former employee at BPN also had its value. People hoped that if Suedi were elected, there would be a free certification program and the presence of better leadership as he has experience as a bureaucrat. This aspect, in fact, was the determining factor to beat the incumbent and an honest village head. Having a social spirit and being humble was not enough, because Surasdi was considered to have weak leadership so he couldn't mobilize village officials to provide good services for the community. This was conveyed by Mr. Saeran, who expressed his opinion in the interview as follows:

"Honestly, when it comes to integrity, honesty, and closeness to the community, Pak Surasdi is second to none. The village head is always there in the community whenever there is a problem, someone is sick, someone dies, or there is a flood disaster. Two Pilkades ago I chose Pak Surasdi, but Mr. Surasdi's weakness is that he cannot lead the apparatus to discipline in providing services to the community. The village hall as the center of village government activities does not have certain working hours, so we are often disappointed when we need service. In Pilkades 2021, I chose Pak Suedi, even though I don't know what he is doing. But what can be seen is that he has a master's degree education, so logically he has a better capacity. He is also a retired BPN so he has experience working in government, and one of his campaign promises is that he wants to give a free certificate. But it is undeniable, in a situation that is still being felt due to the pandemic, the gift of money means a lot to us. If Suedi's team didn't give me money, I would choose Mr. Surasdi because his integrity has been proven, and Mr. Suedi's master's education would not be taken into consideration" (Transcript from the interview, Sunday, 15 May 2022).

From the results of the interview above, it can be explained that money was the main capital of choice for Suedi. Through the campaign team, the mobilization of support was carried out in a transactional way in the form of buying and selling votes. Transactions were also carried out openly because the money given at the beginning before voting day served as a down payment. Such practice is very dangerous because it indirectly damages the moral values of the community, as well as destroys the foundations of village democracy. People make choices not because they believe in the proven capacity of candidates, especially in terms of the behavior of a prospective leader. Quite a lot of research shows that regional heads whose election was suspected of paying money to mobilize support were later caught by the KPK for acts of corruption. It is not easy for a leader who has been elected through an electoral process to avoid the trap of corruption to recover the capital that has been spent during the election.

Vote buying and selling that is carried out openly seems to be a phenomenon that is increasingly found in any electoral process in Indonesia. It should be that the longer the open practice of buying and selling votes decreases in line with increasing education and public awareness of the importance of an honest and fair election process to produce quality leaders. The electoral process is not cheap because money is always needed, especially for political campaigns. Money is needed during the campaign period by a candidate to convey various information about his work program, but money becomes a dangerous thing for democracy if it leads to transactions to gain support through buying and selling votes [1]. But unfortunately, what happens in many electoral processes is that money is used as an instant way to gain support through buying and selling votes. Money politics and buying and selling votes have become a barrier to the birth of true democracy because what is produced is only pseudo-democracy [2]. Money politics is also an unfavorable behavior, a dangerous practice in the process of selecting officials because it will prevent the birth of good governance [5].

In the context of the electoral process, the practice of buying and selling votes varies widely in various countries due to differences in historical, cultural, and political aspects, and also the election model [8]. The concept of buying and selling votes also has a variety of meanings such as Etzioni-Halevy, who provides an understanding of buying and selling votes as "the exchange of private material benefits for political support" [4]. This definition emphasizes the personal gain of the voter in exchange for political support. In the other words, buying and selling votes is the provision of benefits in the form of gifts or incentives in exchange for the recipient voting for the giver or candidate. Buying and selling votes is very likely to be done by candidates who have ambitions to win the election but have a low level of electability. The only way to increase electability is to buy support, especially from voters who also have a strong desire for money or other material benefits. Such voters are usually a group of voters who do not have a candidate to choose from, their political awareness is still low, and their value in life is more influenced by momentary pragmatic interests. They only calculate the benefits that can be received in the near future, regardless of whether their actions can prevent the birth of a quality leader.

In fact, a candidate in the election process also calculates that the material that has been issued must be a surefire way to win the election contestation. In the end, when the victory is in hand, then the natural law that occurs is to want to return the capital that has been issued. That is why it is said that money politics and the practice of buying and selling votes in elections will become embryos for the birth of a corrupt leader. At the national, regional, and local levels at the village level, not a few members of the DPR, Ministers, Regional Heads, and Village Heads have been entangled in corruption. The implication of buying and selling votes in elections, including the election of village heads, is the potential for village heads to abuse power and corruption, either through mark-ups or

buying and selling positions such as in the selection of village officials. Therefore, fighting and eradicating the practice of buying and selling votes in the implementation of the Pilkades is the responsibility of all elements of society, especially to raise awareness about the bad impact of money politics and vote buying and selling.

#### 4 Conclusion

In the implementation of the village head election in Kemiri village, Sumpiuh sub-district, Banyumas district, several facts or research findings were found as follows:

1.) The more open and massive practice of buying and selling votes is due to the pragmatic interests of both candidates and voters. Candidates who are most aggressive in giving money and other benefits to voters are candidates who initially do not have electoral capital, especially because they are not well known by the voting public. The elected candidate, Suedi, spent 900 million to be able to mobilize support. This amount is certainly very large and is not comparable to the amount of crook that will be received for 6 bau or which if auctioned the price per 1-year smell is 14,000,000. This means that the income of the village head from crook per year is 84,000,000. For the voters themselves, receiving money from the candidate for village head is considered a normal thing and not something wrong. Voters in general will only accept money from candidates who really become their preference, and they tend to reject money from candidates who will not be their choice. For those whose preference is for candidates who have kinship relations, their choice will not be changed even if they are offered a large amount of money. Therefore, the main target of Suedi's campaign team is a group of voters who are still neutral and have not made a choice.

2.) The pattern of the money distribution is given directly to voters through the campaign team. For candidates who have strong kinship capital such as Imam Mudzakir and Surasdi, more money is distributed to core supporters who have provided support from the start, especially neighbors and relatives. The amount given is also not large because it is not more than just an appreciation and gratitude for providing support. However, for candidates who do not have kinship capital like Suedi, the money needed is quite large. On average they admit to getting money per vote between 50,000 and 100,000. However, the amount can be greater when the person who is given is someone who influences the environment where they live.

3. The most obvious impact of the practice of buying and selling votes in the village head election of Kemiri Village is the absence of democracy based on the implementation of honest, fair, and clean elections. What is more worrying is that when the elected leader spends a large amount of money, he has the potential to become a corrupt leader because he has to return the capital.

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