# LEGAL COMPLIANCE AND THE PRACTICE OF MONEY POLITICS IN ELECTIONS: THE CASE OF PILKADA IN INDONESIA

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#### ABSTRACT

The practice of money politics that occurred in the Pilkada shows the waning of public compliance with the law in Indonesia. This practice, in the Pilkada Law, is categorized as a prohibited practice and has legal implications in the form of sanctions for the perpetrators. Existing studies still focus on the perspective that places money politics as a legal issue. This study takes another side that has not been widely studied where the practice of money politics is seen from the perspective of legal culture which emphasizes that this practice continues also driven by community traditions and perceptions of a gift. Through observations, interviews, document studies and surveys, it is used to build an analysis as shown in this paper. The data is categorized and then analyzed to provide an explanation of the whole of the political practices of money on elections. This study clearly shows that there is a non-linear condition between the wishes of the law and the practice of the people in the elections. Even though the practice of money politics is prohibited, people still accept it as something legal. In other words, the cultural justification of society has protected this deviant practice. In the future, political literacy to the general public needs to be done to emphasize the awareness-awareness on the importance of abiding to the law and leave various deviant practices though has a legal basis from the aspect of culture.

Keywords: Political Money, Law, Local Elections, Violations, Culture

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Practice transactional in the elections in the form of political money still commonly occurs despite governance means organizing the elections are already regulated in Law Number 10 Year 2016 concerning the elections in particular Article 187A Paragraph (b). In the article is clearly no prohibition against the practice of political money, even be threatened with sanctions in administrative and criminal. However, the practice of money politics still occurs massively at various levels of regional head elections (Sugiharto et al., 2018). Bawaslu find no cases of political money as many as 92 cases at the time period of the campaign, 311 cases in the period of calm, and 90 cases occurred on the day of elections simultaneously in 2017 (Sihidi et al., 2019). It's one of them triggered by the reality that political money is part of the culture of politics prevailing in Indonesia (Abdurrahman et al., 2020). Over time, the practice of money politics has even been considered as a matter of course for various cultural and structural reasons that seem to legalize the practice of violations in the political contestation.

Studies on money politics so far still tend to examine it from a legal perspective (Amanu, 2015; Umar, 2018; Fajroni, 2019; Jalilah, 2019; Solihah, 2016). In this case, money politics is clearly a detrimental act in addition to being a criminal act (Fajroni, 2019). Other studies take a position that is outside the realm of law by looking at the practice of money politics as part of political culture (Hariyani, 2018; Simatupang, 2018; Lukmajati, 2016; Satria, 2019; Rozy et al., 2020). Political practice

This money, in fact, cannot be separated from Indonesian culture (Lukmajati, 2016). So far, there are not many studies that examine in depth the practice of money politics, especially from the perspective of legal culture where the occurrence of violations is caused by low compliance with the law. Suparnyo (2018); Jayus (2019) assert that the low level of legal compliance of the community, as part of the legal culture, has led to deviant practices in political contestation. Posts this is a continuation of the last two studies with a comprehensive look at the factors driving the practice of politics of money, although it has been governed by strict.

The purpose of this paper is to complement the shortcomings of existing studies by carefully examining how the construction of legal culture forms the basis for money politics practices. In other words, this paper shows three things. First, how the violation of the law is a reflection of the level of legal compliance in the community. This question concerns the fact that the practice of money politics continues to occur in the midst of various regulations that govern it. Second, that the legal culture of society tends to be manipulated to legitimize actions. Political interests are confronted with the needs of the community where the economy is very poor. Third, the inequality structure of society causes the practice of money politics to be considered normal and justified. Running or not is very much determined by the legal tradition that applies in a society.

This paper is based on an argument that violations of regulations regarding regional elections are driven not only by issues involving the law, but also the problem of people's meaning in interpreting money politics itself. In this case, the legal certainty for cases of violations that exist so far is still very worrying. Money politics cases that are rife are not being resolved properly. People position money politics as a medium to get something from the election, not to be interpreted as a medium to make democracy a way to improve all lines of national life. The elections are aiming to get a quality leader even marred by political practices bertolak- back with a mission democracies Indonesia.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Money Politics**

Political parties are getting closer to business – *i.e.*, the temptation to maximize revenue and the war chests – thereby opening the door to vested interests and the exploration of influence (Sachsenröder, 2018). This has resulted in the spread of money politics which at the same time has conditions that bring together the political interests of the elite or parties with the economic conditions of the people who are slumped. Gomez (2012) mentions money politics as another term for money-based factionalism. Party factionalism itself is based not on ideological differences, but on political leaders who have the greatest capacity to distribute funds to gain support at the grassroots level. Furthermore, Onah & Nwali (2018) reveal that money politics is the practice of consolidating elite government and isolating politics from non-elite. In other words, the practice of money politics allows the ruling elite to remain in power and others must participate in developing the elite character (Onah & Nwali, 2018). Correspondingly, Sachsenröder (2018) states that politics is increasingly expensive so it is not no party that can survive without the money that is where the money that will be used as the cost of political activities, the running of the party organization, the branches and headquarters of the party, and especially the running of the campaign.

Political power has provided access to funding from public to private/individual sources (Sachsenröder, 2018). Still & Dusi (2020) equate politics of money to purchase a voice that represents their malpractice elections which ironically has become a major feature of the election culture. This practice has taken place in India. Even in Nigeria, money politics is at the heart of the general crisis of democracy and governance (Onah & Nwali, 2018). As a result of the practice of money politics, there are efforts to reform and curb political system anomalies so that they will not produce the desired results. Abdurrachman, et al., (2020) shows a similar

situation in Indonesia where political culture is still dominated by money politics, kinship politics, and serial number politics. The study of political culture can be carried out by paying attention to behavior that focuses on attitudes and individual cultural orientations towards the political system (Siddiqi, 2020). This is because political culture is never uniform and homogeneous, but stratified into various competing political sub-cultures (Siddiqi, 2020).

#### Legal Compliance

Examination of compliance needs to look at the combination of alignment between events in law and events in the implementation process (López et al., 2020). In traditional, compliance with the law can be proved by using the document law that describes how the various operations and activities have to follow a series of certain obligations (Pandit et al., 2018). It's just always there is no evidence that treatment of fair-in procedural-against citizens of the country, especially by the police or representatives other than the system justice criminal who changed the perception of citizens about the legitimacy and legality (Nagin & Telep, 2017). This then triggers a lack of legal compliance due to ineffective supervision and a poor social security system (Ishimaru et al., 2020). Compliance with legal norms is indeed a shared practice that is sensitive to social influences (Hoeft, 2019). In line with that, Sharma (2020) also revealed the importance of legal compliance as a reinforcement of social integration. Meanwhile, according to Hoeft (2019), the judiciary can contribute to this common practice in a way that cannot be reduced to be an incentive pure.

The extent to which knowledge of the law can influence whether the law is followed or not is a separate issue (White et al., 2017). In order to comply, an institution can make regulations by limiting policies to individuals in making choices (López et al., 2020). This is because legal compliance cannot be achieved easily because generally legal regulations do not provide clear parameters to determine when compliance requirements are met (Bartolini et al., 2017). Still related to compliance, Bartolini, et al., (2017) added that the application of compliance standards can help create compliance arguments in favor of implementing parties in accordance with regulations. However, this kind of identification is the process of a complex that was complicated by the fact that the relationship that has been set can be changed over the passage of time (Bartolini et al., 2017) such a decision the court more recently that changed the interpretation of the legal provisions specified.

### Legal Culture

Legal culture is a source of law that forms legal norms and determines the impact of legal norms on society (Petersen, 2017). Basically, legal culture consists of values, attitudes, and opinions related to the legal system (Kurylo, 2020; Toharia, 2011). The legal culture is characterized by the existence of a certain level of legal knowledge and active activity in its practical reality (Kurylo, 2020). This legal culture is an important component in the law enforcement process (Sutrisno, 2019). In addition, legal culture is also a basic component that is universal (Sergeeva et al., 2019). Regarding the importance of legal culture, expressed by (Gude & Papic, 2020) where the joint legal culture of political tradition and system identities justice criminal join to form the practice of justice that is restorative. According to Milyaeva (2014), legal culture is distributed through interpretive institutions and actions. In its journey, the legal culture underwent several changes, for example related to awareness of rights, from men to women, from young to old, and from whites to colored people (Friedman, 2012). On the other hand, the rule of law—over time— plays an important role in determining how space and time are shaped (de Villiers, 2014).

Lawrence Friedman suggests the study of comparative legal culture should be more cross-cultural to explore the similarities and differences in the various legal cultures (Petersen, 2017; Nelken, 2017). Nafstad Studies (2019) to the group Sweden as a national minority Roma

show that the legal culture of Roma amid the face of 'gagging law' by the courts-not given significance and attention are essential but actually alienating culture. Meanwhile, the poverty factor in developing countries, including Indonesia, is the cause of the birth of a negative legal culture and apathy towards understanding the values of protection and empowerment which are the goals of legal norms (Sutrisno, 2019). From the world of education, legal culture should be able to grow one's opinion and attitude towards the implementation of the law in general (Sergeeva et al., 2019).

#### METHOD

This research was conducted in Palembang in 2018 when the regional head election was completed. Palembang selected for the study based on the grounds that the area is a base culture of the people of Malay who had ties of kinship and religion are very strong. In the 2017 regional elections, the involvement of Malay figures and ulama in the regional elections was an event that had not publicly happened before. In other areas, the role of figures and ulama is only in their position as 'legitimacy' for their participation in the pilkada process. However, in Palembang they were actively involved and even entered the structure of the winning team for regional head candidates. In this case, there is also a capitalization of culture (even religion) in the regional elections in this area.

Data were obtained through observation, interviews, and document studies. Observations focused on the implementation of the Election of the Head of Regional are filled with dynamics, especially concerning the practices of successful candidates team approach to community voters. Interviews were conducted with community leaders and community recipients of money when the period leading up to the Regional Head Election took place. Several informants were contacted *via* telephone due to the difficulty of meeting time to conduct face-to-face interviews. Documents also be the data that is used as material analysis. There are two products of legislation that are used as data; Laws regarding the implementation of Pilkada and regulations concerning elections concerning the prohibition of the practice of money politics. In addition, survey data were also used as material for analysis. The survey was conducted on the population of people who exercised their right to vote in the Simultaneous Regional Head Elections in Palembang City in 2018 with a sample size of 400 people. As secondary data, research reports and information from survey institutions were also collected to complement the primary data obtained from the research field.

Data were collected through various sources are grouped relied tendency respectively. Observation data used as a backdrop for the chronology of the practice of politics of money on elections in the city of Palembang. The interview data that had been transcribed were also grouped by importance to answer the research questions. Likewise, document data and survey results are treated the same, classified based on need. This data is then processed and displayed in the form of narrative and tables to show ketercocokan the data with the questions that exist. After the data is displayed (display), the next step is to provide context or meaning as outlined in the analysis/writing.

#### RESULTS

Law Number 10 Year 2016 concerning the elections are still violated in the cases of money politics. The practice of money politics (money politics) in the local elections still continue to occur. This practice is categorized as a form of constitutional violation. Political money that occurs other than driven by not the certainty of law against violations that exist, also caused by a factor of culture or the culture of the people in the meaning of a form of administration. Likewise, the practice of money politics occurs due to structural problems where there is still high inequality (economic) in the community.

# Not There Compliance Law because of Some Alleged Case over Allegations of Political Money

Based on the results of a survey of researchers on violations and sanctions of money politics in the people of Palembang City, which states that money politics is a violation of Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning Simultaneous Regional Elections in Palembang, the majority answered yes as a violation as follows.

| Table 1<br>MONEY POLITICS IS A VIOLATION OF THE 2016 REGIONAL HEAD<br>ELECTION LAW |     |       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|-----|-------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Community Answer Number of Respondents Percentage                                  |     |       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Yes  | 255 | 63.8  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| No   | 140 | 35.0  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Don't Know/No Answer 5 1.3   |     |       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total  | 400 | 100.0 |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Source: Results of processed Researcher, 2019

Table 1 memperlih at can bahwa may or it a s respondents that giving money to the election is a violation legislation. In the table, it is shown that 63.8 % or 255 respondents stated "YES" or knew about the category money politics in the election as a form of unlawful practice. However, knowledge of the category of practice as deviant is not followed by knowledge of the sanctions for the violation. In Table 2 below provides an overview that 'knowledge of the respondents about the sanctions the practice of politics of money is varied, even the majority of them stating "Not to Know". Regarding respondents' knowledge of money politics criminal sanctions can be seen in the following table 2.

| Table 2<br>RESPONDENTS' KNOWLEDGE OF MONEY POLITICS CRIMINAL<br>SANCTIONS |     |       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|-----|-------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Community Answer Number of Respondents Percentage                         |     |       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Know  | 61  | 15.3  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Do not know   | 327 | 81.7  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Don't Know/No Answer  | 12  | 3.0   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total   | 400 | 100.0 |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Source: Results of processed Researcher, 2019

Research on public opinion related to money politics in the elections Kota Palembang in 2018, clarifying that a violation of Law Election in Palembang has occurred based on the data of respondents at the bottom of this:

| Table 3<br>PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT THE 2018 PALEMBANG REGIONAL ELECTION        |                   |                |                        |            |                  |               |  |  |
|---|-------------------|----------------|------------------------|------------|------------------|---------------|--|--|
| Opinion   | Strongly<br>Agree | Agree          | Don't Have<br>Attitude | Not Agree  | Very No<br>Agree | ST/TJ         |  |  |
| Socialization Election Law Number 10 of 2016<br>about Pilkada not maximized | 37(9.3%)          | 212<br>(53.0%) | 54<br>(13.5%)          | 25(6.3%)   | 3<br>(0.8%)      | 69<br>(17.3%) |  |  |
| The practice of money politics is considered normal                         | 33(8.3%)          | 199<br>(49.8%) | 52<br>(13.0%)          | 90(22.5%)  | 4<br>(1.0%)      | 22<br>(5.5%)  |  |  |
| Giving money by candidate<br>as a substitute for transport and time         | 12(3.0%)          | 187<br>(46.8%) | 50<br>(12.5%)          | 135(33.8%) | 6<br>(1.5%)      | 10<br>(2.5%)  |  |  |
| Giving souvenir by the candidate as a sign of gratitude                     | 10(2.5%)          | 190            | 58                     | 131(32.8%) | 5                | 6             |  |  |

|   |           | (47.5%)        | (14.5%)       |            | (1.3%)      | (1.5%)       |
|---|-----------|----------------|---------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| Choose candidate who gave money/groceries/<br>souvenir  | 22(5.5%)  | 154<br>(38.5%) | 52<br>(12.0%) | 150(37.5%) | 7<br>(1.8%) | 15<br>(3.8%) |
| Political money is<br>crime   | 74(18.5%) | 261<br>(65.3%) | 33<br>(8.3%)  | 17(4.3%)   | 1<br>(0.3%) | 14<br>(3.5%) |
| Receiving political money is a sin prohibited religion<br>Money is a sin, and religion is forbidden | 81(20.3%) | 271<br>(67.8%) | 26<br>(6.5%)  | 8(2.0%)    | 0           | 14<br>(3.5%) |

Source: Results of processed Researcher, 2019

Table 3 shows public opinion regarding the 2018 Palembang election. The majority of the community agrees regarding the socialization of Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning the Regional Election, it is considered that the community has not reached a maximum of 53.0%; The practice of money politics is considered normal (49.8%). The community agrees that the money given by the candidate is a substitute for transportation and time (46.8%); Most of the voting community agreed to vote for the candidate who gave money/groceries/souvenirs (38.5%). What is interesting is that most respondents agree that money politics is a crime (65.3%); Likewise, they agree that political money is a sin and is prohibited by religion (67.8%).

Based on the data that is obtained from the Board of Trustees Election (Bawaslu) showed a total of 35 cases of alleged money politics in local elections Simultaneously in the year 2018 include the cases that occur on Election Governor, Regent/Mayor in provincial and regency/city. In detail, the cases or violations that occurred can be seen in Table 4 below.

|    | Table 4<br>CASES OF MONEY POLITICS IN THE 2018 SIMULTANEOUS<br>REGIONAL HEAD ELECTIONS BY NUMBER PER PROVINCE |                 |  |  |  |  |  |
|----|---|-----------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| No | Province  | Number of Cases |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1  | South Sulawesi  | 8               |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2  | West Sulawesi   | 2               |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3  | Southeast Sulawesi  | 1               |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4  | North Sumatra   | 7               |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5  | Bangka Belitung   | 1               |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6  | Lampung   | 7               |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7  | Central Java  | 5               |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8  | West Java   | 1               |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9  | East Java   | 1               |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 | Banten  | 2               |  |  |  |  |  |
|    | Total   | 35              |  |  |  |  |  |

Source : Detik News, Wednesday 27 June 2018, 19.09 WIB.

Overall a case such as that shown in Table 4 has been processed with the development of different as are summarized in Table 5 below.

|     | Table 5  |    |   |  |  |  |  |  |
|-----|--|----|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| DEV | <b>DEVELOPMENT OF CASE PRACTICE OF POLITICAL MONEY IN ELECTIONS 2018</b> |    |   |  |  |  |  |  |
| No  | No Information Case Development  |    |   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1   | 11th Inquiry   | 11 | Finished                                  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2   | P21  | 3  | Stage to 2 Process Court                  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3   | Investigation  | 9  | Process                                   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4   | Investigation/sp3  | 2  | Discontinued due to insufficient evidence |  |  |  |  |  |
|     | Total  | 25 |   |  |  |  |  |  |

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Source: http://tirto.id, 2018.

In Table 5 appears that as many as 11 cases of declared finished after through tahapanstages of the investigation; as many as 9 cases are still in the process stage; as many as 3 cases processed in court, and as many as 2 cases the investigation was stopped because it was stated that there was insufficient evidence. As many as 25 cases above are in the realm of criminal acts so that the completion stage is delegated to the police.

## Manipulation of Community Culture for Political Interests

The culture of the Indonesian people who really "appreciate" gifts from outsiders is very evident even in the case of Pilkada. The results of Dian Permata's research on money politics in the 2019 Simultaneous Elections, which involved 400 respondents, showed that the majority of people accepted (money) from the candidate for Regional Head. The results of this study show that in Sumatra it is 62.95%; in Kalimantan by 64.77%; and in Java 60% of the people stated that they had "received money" from the giver/prospective regional head. This finding is consistent with what happened in the elections in Palembang in the year 2018. In detail, the attitude of the public about the practice of political money, can be seen in Table 6 below.

| Table 6       STATEMENTS OF ATTITUDES OF THE PEOPLE OF PALEMBANG REGARDING MONEY POLITICS   |               |                   |               |                |                   |              |  |
|---|---------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------|--|
| Statement   | Agree         | Strongly<br>Agree | No<br>Blissp  | Not<br>Agree   | Very not<br>Agree | ST/TJ        |  |
| Commonplace politics occurs<br>when money is  | 33<br>(8.3%)  | 199<br>(49.8%)    | 52<br>(13.0%) | 90<br>(22.5%)  | 4 (1.0%)          | 22<br>(5.5%) |  |
| If none of the candidates give<br>money in order to have, instead<br>of transport for the people<br>who come to the time of the<br>campaign and<br>time is reasonable | 12<br>(3.0%)  | 187<br>(46.8%)    | 50<br>(12.5%) | 135<br>(33.8%) | 6 (1.5%)          | 10<br>(2.5%) |  |
| If a candidate gives a souvenir to be<br>chosen, as a form of gratitude for<br>coming to the campaign<br>event and at that time<br>reasonable                         | 10<br>(2.5%)  | 190<br>(47.5%)    | 58<br>(14.5%) | 131<br>(32.8%) | 5 (1.3%)          | 6 (1.5%)     |  |
| Most of the people/voters to<br>choose candidates who give<br>money/groceries/souvenirs othe<br>r than<br>right candidate who did not give<br>what- what              | 22<br>(5.5%)  | 154<br>(38.5%)    | 52<br>(12.0%) | 150<br>(37.5%) | 7 (1.8%)          | 15<br>(3.8%) |  |
| Money politics is a crime laws  | 74<br>(18.5%) | 261<br>(65.3%)    | 33 (8.3%)     | 17 (4.3%)      | 1 (0.3%)          | 14<br>(3.5%) |  |
| Money politics is a<br>sinful act, and is prohibited<br>by religion   | 81<br>(20.3%) | 271<br>(67.8%)    | 26 (6.5%)     | 8 (2.0%)       | 0                 | 14<br>(3.5%) |  |

Source: Research Results Data, 2019

On the table at the top, the respondents know that the politics of money is the act that is forbidden. Their understanding of "gift" is something that must be accepted. Reception communities on the practice of politics of money such as that illustrated in the table at the top

also recognized by several people (recipients of money) in the 2017 pilkada in Palembang. Tati, residents who live in the Village 3 Ilir subdistrict Ilir East 1 Palembang say,

"I needed money, so I accepted the money. The matter of choosing or not is a later matter, the important thing is to receive the money first" (Interview, September 2020).

The tradition in the community allows receiving administration in the form of money open space on the practice of politics of money is continuously repeated. Zainal, a teacher who is domiciled at KM 14 Village Tanah Mas Subdistrict Talang Kelapa Palembang said,

" I think money politics is wrong. But it is true because the money is used for daily needs" (Interview, September 2020).

#### More Zainal said,

"My life is not that hard. Because of work as a civil servant teacher. But because given the money, then I accept. Affairs chose the affair is different again " (Interview, September 2020).

Drawn from interviews at the top of that there is the assumption that giving money politics at the time the election is correct, although it law is prohibited. The people's need for money to meet their daily needs is the driving force for receiving money even though the receipt does not affect people's choices.

#### **Economic Structure and Inequality of Society**

The economic condition of the community is part of the sustainability of the practice of money politics in the pilkada. As a result of the condition of the poor, people look at the money that is given is not something wrong (sin), precisely payments are "fortune" that should not be rejected. Suryani, a resident who lives in Kelurahan 20 Ilir D3, Ilir Timur 1 Palembang, said:

"Political money in my opinion is sustenance. The local community also thinks so. The money was bought for groceries and other daily necessities (Interview, September 2020).

More advanced Suryani said,

"Money politics is usually given to residents of the community directly by way of holding events in the village and the local district. If campaign activities are carried out at mosques, candidates usually provide goods, namely snacks (snacks) and aid items such as headscarves, sarongs, caps and so on" (Interview, September 2020).

The reason that political money is accepted by the community is to meet basic needs. The results of an interview with Tati who lives in Kelurahan 3 Ilir, Ilir Timur 1 Palembang, said,

"Because of economic factors, I received the political money given by the candidate" (Interview, September 2020).

Although money politics is wrong, it is accepted with the excuse of making ends meet. Septi, a resident of Sukabangun 2 KM 7, Sukajadi Village, Talang Kelapa Subdistrict, Palembang said,

"According to my political money was wrong, not honest because not correspond liver conscience. Because it is needed for the necessities of life at this time, the money is accepted" (Interview, September 2020).

Contrary to Septi's statement. Tati, domicile in Village 3 Ilir subdistrict Ilir East 1 Palembang give reason to accept the political money, the reciprocation of the giver and money politics was not wrong.

"Money politics is not wrong. The person gave money because he asked for his vote to be chosen. So what 's wrong to choose, because it had to love in return in the form of " (Interview, September 2020).

Same opinion with Septi. Suryani, a resident who lives in Kelurahan 20 Ilir D3, Ilir Timur 1 Subdistrict, Palembang, said,

"The reason I and other people want to support candidates is because they want to receive political money. Because if we don't get anything, we don't support it" (Interview, September 2020).

The statements of informants in the top line with the results of the study Syndicate Elections and Democracy (2020) as illustrated in Table 7 below.

|  | Table 7     SOCIETY'S CONCEPTION OF ''MONEY'' |        |        |     |        |                                 |  |  |  |  |
|--|---|--------|--------|-----|--------|---------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| No Province Sustenance<br>is not Adding Daily<br>Needs Reply Services To<br>Choose Want<br>to Receive Money Main |   |        |        |     |        | Choosing<br>Money over<br>Goods |  |  |  |  |
| 1  | Sumatra                                       | 34.66% | 16.25% | 57% | 62.95% | 64%                             |  |  |  |  |
| 2  | Borneo  | 36.84% | 9.09%  | 60% | 64.77% | 64.26%                          |  |  |  |  |
| 3  | Java  | 45.83% | 9.09%  | 50% | 60%    | 76.72%                          |  |  |  |  |

Source: Election and Democracy Syndication Survey (SPD), katadata.co.id

Both statements of informants and information from surveys Syndicate Elections and Democracy at the top illustrates the perception that people receive the money on the grounds that the money is "sustenance" that must be accepted.

#### DISCUSSION

This paper shows that the practice of money politics is increasingly prevalent in regional head elections in Indonesia. This practice, by law, is categorized as a practice that deviation or violation of the law. In Law Number 10 of 2016 concerning Regional Elections it is expressly stated that money politics is a prohibited practice. There are several factors that trigger the rise of this practice. The absence of settlement of money politics cases has so far resulted in no deterrent effect for the perpetrators. In 2018, there were 35 cases of money politics in Indonesia. However, only 25 cases were handled by the police with various developments, including two cases that were deemed to have no complete evidence. Public perceptions of "gifts" also perpetuate this lawlessness. A gift must be received. Culturally, giving in the traditions of Indonesian society is not only something that is given, but also has something to do with "sustenance" which is considered to come from God. Refusing a gift, in this case money from candidates for regional heads, is the same as refusing sustenance from God. In addition, the problem of the community's economic difficulties has become a condition where the practice of money politics is increasingly finding its breeding ground. The reason pragmatic people who receive with open every gift (money) is driven by the economic conditions of deprivation. This is what triggers their relationships are mutually beneficial between the giver with the public took place simultaneously in spite of breaking the law.

The rise of money politics not only affects the erroneous perception on an offense, but it also happens that any construction on a provision of money politics is basically a condition in which the public still leaning his life on things that are instant without the process that good. Many members of society consider money politics as a seasonal sustenance that is unfortunately rejected (Zen, 2015). Political money has been positioned as something that is "normal" that will create conditions that are less favorable society itself. In the end, the election of the leader is no longer rely on the suitability of ideology but has shifted to the leader which distributes the money to have the support to the roots of grass (Gomez, 2012).

In the constitutional, political money has been set up along with the sanctions laws are surrounding them. However, each violation only reaches the investigation stage and in the end does not have legal clarity. Plus, always there is no evidence of treatment are fair-in procedural

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law against citizens of countries that are involved in the practice of money politics that has changed the perception of citizens about the compliance of the law itself (Tom Tyler in Nagin & Telep, 2017). Supervision are not effective and the system of social security is not good also took part in the perpetuation of non-compliance with the law, as was said Ishimaru, et al., (2017). This, in fact, directly provides space for the perpetuation of practices that violate the law in the community. This condition, once again, will continue to maintain opportunities for similar practices to occur in the future. In fact, it can turn into a political tradition that gets legitimacy from the people who enjoy it.

This paper no longer focuses on whether money politics is an unlawful act (Fajroni, 2019; Jalilah, 2019). However, this paper focuses on whether cultural constructs have an influence on the continuation of this practice in the midst of tight regulations. In this case, community compliance with the law is very weak (Suparnyo, 2018; Jayus, 2019). Compliance is no longer based on things that are substantive, but rather on something that is pragmatic and even opportunist. Society in every election really looking forward to the money that is in circulation and can be obtained with easy even without the effort that serious. However, the study of Suparnyo and Jayus did not broadly provide an explanation of the public's perception of the money given by the candidate for regional head, including the condition of the community experiencing economic pressure even though the study of political culture cannot be separated from behavior that focuses on people's attitudes (Siddiqi, 2020) is included in the decision to accept political money or not.

The rise of the practice of money politics in every election has an influence on the sustainability of democracy in Indonesia. writing this gives an explanation on the meaning of important a compliance particularly against the norms of law that exists. The case of the practice of money politics is one of the problems that are present in every pilkada. Explanation of writing this at the same time provide an explanation that there is a relationship that is mutually beneficial economic relations between prospective head region (giver) to the public (receiver) in the practice of politics of money. Writing this in addition to filling the spaces blank study on the sustainability of democracy in general, also gives criticism on the lack of law enforcement and the nation's commitment to make plikada as a process of selection of regional leaders of quality.

Responding to the widespread practice of money politics in the implementation of local elections in Indonesia leaves a threat to the sustainability of the democratic process in general. What happened in the election shows that there are problems that must be overcome. The public's low understanding of money politics is directly related to the political appetite for power of potential leaders in the regions. By because it is very necessary to do strengthening-reinforcement which are institutions and individuals to provide an understanding of the consequences of money politics in the elections. In this case, it is necessary to carry out a massive "political literacy" movement targeting all levels of society.

#### CONCLUSION

It turns out that the practice of money politics is also influenced by the culture and structure of society. Research is showing that the culture has been manipulated by elite politics for the sake of gain the seat of power in the administration area. Money is considered as a form of gratitude from the candidate pair to people who come to the campaign event. The decision to accept money is limited to wanting to appreciate the gift. In the end, the practice of giving money became a natural thing so that it continued to occur in people's lives. In addition, the structure also contributes to the perpetuation of the practice of money politics. In this case, socio- economic inequality makes the political elite still have room to continue to give money with the aim of raising votes in the Pilkada. Because, as the political elite of the party holding assets in the form of money, can still have a reason to give the money that the community roots of grass with economic status are much lower.

The practice of money politics that continues to occur in society has reflected lawlessness in political contestation. To that end, the concept of compliance helps to prove the existence of a gap between das sollen (Law on Election 2016) and the reality that occurs in society related to the practice of money politics. The concept of legal culture/culture of society that appreciates someone's gift and returns the favor. This kind of culture is manipulated by the candidate/team to get votes in the Pilkada. The concept of social inequality structure. Voters who receive political money mostly derived from the level of middle to lower (selector roots of the grass). Factors of poverty and low levels of formal education and lack of knowledge about law and politics, causing them to accept political money. Legal compliance can menyelesai issue of the gap that, by way of making how people adhere to the prohibition of money politics in the elections by conducting socialization of law related to political money, the elections, and the elections. The concept of community culture can improve the structure of social inequality due to economic factors. Thus, the tradition of giving and receiving that has existed in the community so far, they can distinguish it at the level of law and religion. Thus, law enforcement prohibiting the acceptance of money politics provides legal certainty.

Limitations of the study is only seeing a violation of law to the Law No. 10 Year 2016 concerning the election among voters-roots level, the grass (grass root) in the city of Palembang in the elections in 2018, the legal culture and the structure of inequality of society to the practice of money politics. Thereby selanjutya studies are advised to examine violations of the laws of the Law No. 10 Year 2016 concerning the elections in among the organizers of the elections Kota Palembang at the elections in 2018 based on the aspects of the culture of the legal and structural inequality of the society in the practice of politics of money.

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