

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of Study

Democracy has essential meaning for people who strengthen it because with justice, the right of the people to determine their own course of the state organization is guaranteed. Therefore, all the notions are given to the term democracy which always provides an essential position for the people because the operational implications in various countries are not still the same. Democracy as the basis of state life gives the understanding that at the last stage, the people provide provisions in the main problems concerning their experiences. Included in assessing state policy as a country that runs the principle of popular sovereignty based on law, Indonesia cannot escape from the concept of democracy.

Democracy is very carefully related to the principle of popular sovereignty where the government is run from, by and for the people. The fundamental law of a democratic state must always demand the spread of power, so that power is not centralized in one part. The energy that is concentrated in only one part is contrary to the principle of democracy because it opens up opportunities for abuse and corruption. Lord Acton stated this general doctrine that "a power tends to be corrupt, but an absolute power corrupts absolutely" meaning that power tends to be arbitrary (corrupt) and absolute power / centrally arbitrary incomplete terms.

In the state discussing how the relationship between the people and the government, the focus meant here is that the people have a right of freedom in the state, but in the land, there is a constitution or fundamental law that is the Constitution which regulates the rights and liberties of a person in the country, so it is not to disturb the freedom of others in the state.

Article 22E Paragraph (1) of the Constitution 1945 states that "Elections will be held directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly, and reasonably once every five years". One of the results of the amendment to the Constitution 1945 is the provision of general elections. In the Constitution 1945, this provision is intended to provide a stronger legal basis for elections as one vehicle for the implementation of popular sovereignty. With this provision in the constitution 1945, it guarantees regular elections (fifths of a year) and the process and mechanism as well as the quality of the holding of elections, namely direct, general, free, and confidential as well as honest and fair.

An election is an arena of the political context that involves many social elements in it, such as social organizations, non-governmental organizations, and political parties (political parties). These social elements try to win candidates who are carried through political parties; political parties play a very important role in the running of democracy.

In a country that adopts a democratic system, the general election process cannot be separated in the life of the state. To reach the executive or legislative seat, all candidates carried by the party will do anything to win the most votes. This can trigger the occurrence of many legislative or executive candidates conducting campaigns one of which is prohibited in our constitution is money politics. The phenomenon of money politics does not only occur at the central level, but also at the regional level, it often happens; it can even be said to be massive. Violations of money politics can also be anticipated if the Election Supervisory Agency is given exclusive authority more than the previous authority.

In examining the study of money politics, many experts who give an understanding of money politics are only limited to the actions taken and very few experts study it from the perspective of party identity (Party-ID). In studies of money politics, Muhtadi (2012) argues

having two opinions quoted from Susan Stokes that the party only targets money politics among swing voters or supporters of opponents who have weak "faith" of their choice. Meanwhile, Nichter (2012) argues that otherwise, parties instead of target their mine voter base to increase participation in voting. He mentions it as a turnout buying. In the sense that, the first understanding of a weak party will always do money politics to increase the excitability of its party while the second understanding of the party uses money politics to increase voters so that the party gets maximum support from party members.

Thahjo Kumolo (2018) believes that money politics is an attempt to influence others (the public) by using material or it can also be interpreted as buying and selling votes in the political process and power as well as dividing up money, to influence the votes of voters. Money politics can be interpreted as an effort to influence the votes of voters and the behavior of others by using certain rewards. Some interpret money politics become an act of buying and selling votes in the political process and power.

Another case from Duadji (2018), he argues that in addition to the actions of money politics, there is also a so-called "political dowry" (*maharpolitik*) which is understood by the public as an illicit deal, involving the giving of large amounts of funds from candidates for positions contested in with political parties that become their political vehicles.

The money politics and political dowry are interpreted because of the provisions governing the granting of money/rewards in the interests of elections and restrictions on campaign fund contributions. In Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. The phrase of "giving money and other material" is then interpreted by experts as an act of violation or crime of money politics. Meanwhile, in Article 28, paragraph (1) of Law No. 7 of 2017 for Political Parties is

prohibited from receiving compensation in any form in the process of nominating the President and Vice President. The phrase of "Receiving Rewards" is then interpreted as political dowry.

In Indonesia, the institution tasked with overseeing the implementation of elections is the Election Supervisory Agency (*BAWASLU*). Democratic elections require an independent and autonomous oversight body. This watchdog institution was formed in order to strengthen the pillars of democracy, minimize the occurrence of fraud in elections. According to Article 95 letter c of Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning general elections, one of the *BAWASLU*'s authorities is to *accept, study, and decide* on violations of money politics. It should be noted that in the practice of democracy in Indonesia, there are many irregularities in the practices of holding elections, one of which is the rampant practice of money politics.

Quoted from the Election Supervisory Agency of the Republic of Indonesia, there are 13 provinces involved in money politics cases including the provinces of Aceh, Bengkulu, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, West Java, Central Java, East Java, West Nusa Tenggara, South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, Sulawesi Central, Gorontalo and Papua. Most cases happen in the provinces of North Sumatra and West Java as many as five cases. From violations in various provinces followed up by the police to evidence of violations of money, politics have been followed up in which the evidence is in the form of money, detergent and groceries. (<https://www.bawaslu.go.id/>). However, it cannot be denied that in various other cities, there are still alleged cases of violations of money politics.

In the City of Yogyakarta, there are still alleged cases of violations of money politics. The allegation of the case occurred because of the mobilization of money distribution by parties outside the implementers, participants and the election campaign team. Related to the Election Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning about General Elections in article 278 paragraph 2 during the quiet

period as referred to in article 276, the implementing participants and / the presidential election campaign team and the vice president are prohibited from promising or giving rewards to voters, so in the case of alleged election, violations in Yogyakarta terminated because there was no evidence of an election violation despite the alleged distribution of money politics carried out by parties outside the election campaign team; it was deemed not to meet the elements of election violations. In this case, it is the duty of the Election Supervisory Agency that functions as an election supervisor to study the violations of money politics guided by the Election Law Number 7 of 2017. However, the law still has a gap to make efforts to violate money politics. Thus, the need for the attitude of the Yogyakarta *BAWASLU* in interpreting violations of money politics is required.

According to Stephanie K. Marrus, strategy is a process of determining top leaders' plans that focus on the long-term goals of the organization, along with the preparation of ways and efforts to achieve these goals, then as written in the duties, authorities and obligations of *BAWASLU* of Yogyakarta, it has the authority at point c: "Examine, study, and decide violations of money politics". Therefore, it is important for *BAWASLU* to make a strategy in tackling violations of money politics in future elections because seen from the Election Law Number.7 of 2017 there are still many legal loopholes to commit money politics crimes, therefore it is necessary to study how about the strategy of *BAWASLU*'s Yogyakarta in responding to money politics violations.

This little explanation makes a general description of the background for researchers interested in conducting this research on how the attitude of the *BAWASLU* of Yogyakarta interpret the money politics regulations contained in law no 7 of 2017, so a study was conducted on "Strategy of *BAWASLU*'s Yogyakarta in Responding to Violations. Money Politics according to Law Number 7 of 2017".

B. Formulation of the Problem

What is the strategy of Election Supervisory Agency (*BAWASLU*) in the Special Region of Yogyakarta in Dealing with Money Political Violations?

C. Objectives of the Research

Based on the problem formulation above, the objectives of this research are as follows:

1. To review and edit money politics according to the Election Supervisory Agency (*BAWASLU*) of the Special Region of Yogyakarta.
2. To find out how the strategy of Election Supervisory Agency (*BAWASLU*) of Special Region of Yogyakarta in addressing violations of money politics.

D. Benefits of the Research

This research is expected to be able to contribute to the development of science in the fields of politics, government, and knowledge in the field of law politics in the general election of money politics in the holding of elections. These benefits that can be provided in research are as follows:

1. Theoretical Aspects

This study becomes an effort to develop constitutional knowledge specifically related to the Election Supervisory Agency in law enforcement practices of money politics. If it is deemed appropriate and necessary, it can be used as a reference for subsequent researchers who study the same problem.

2. Practical Aspect

- a. For the public. It is expected to become one of the ingredients to find out how the strategy of *BAWASLU* Yogyakarta to interpreting money politics according to Law Number. 7 of 2017.

- b. For policymakers. It is expected to become as the input for policymakers who can be executive, legislative or judiciary in order to be considered in designing money politics arrangements in the future.

E. Literature Review

Literature review is a description of the theory, findings, and other resources obtained from the previous research and book to be the basis of research activities to compile a clear frame of mind from the formulation of the problem to be investigated, and then the following paragraphs are the research journal articles and books related to the author's research.

In the book entitled "money politics in Indonesia: patronage and clientelism in the 2014 legislative elections, (Sukmajati & Edward, 2015) describe money politics and patronage. The term of "money politics" refers to the notion that candidates give money or goods to prospective voters to cast their votes having a dilemma because money politics can be broadly meaningful encompassing various political practices that require money, such as bribing businessmen to the DPR to smooth business licenses, money circulating during the succession of political party election, campaign financing, political dowry to get recommendations from party chairmen and so on. After all, money politics are always present, because politics needs money.

However, it is not that simple. Moreover, understanding of the purchase of votes using the logic of exchange in accordance with market mechanisms has some serious problems. First, there is no guarantee that voters will choose candidates or parties that give money. Here, the problem is that buyers send money, and sellers do not always send goods. To overcome the problematic definition of money politics that cannot rely solely on the logic of market exchange, "vote buying" is often defined in a review of patronage and clientelism. The practice of patronage can be found when a candidate or political party gives money to voters so that they vote the candidate. Whereas,

clientelism emphasizes more on aspects of personal relationships having a power. If patronage is more generally applicable, clientelism emphasizes the personal relationships and the long relationships that have taken place between patrons and clients.

Then, the difference between this research and the author's research is that the focus of the study is to explain money politics that occurs in Indonesia and the patronage and clientelism as well as the dimensions of money politics. Meanwhile, the discussion of researchers in this study is how the *BAWASLU* of Yogyakarta implements the strategy in addressing violation of money politics. The research has a different discussion with the author's research.

In the journal article written by (Muhtadi, 2013) entitled money politics and electoral dynamics in Indonesia, Muhtadi argues that money politics turns out to be a key element of electoral mobilization in many third-wave democracies. Many experts pay too much attention to the relationship between money politics and client-patron, but very few studies from the perspective of party identity (party-ID). Money politics in Indonesia undermines the accountability of the policymaking and representation process, both in the legislative and executive branches. Trends in the closeness of voters to the party (party-ID) in Indonesia continue to decline, and this decline was contributed by the poor performance of the party in the eyes of voters. The climate of public distrust of the party continues to increase along with the opening of corruption cases involving party elites. If political parties do not clean up, voters increasingly avoid parties, and administrative costs become more expensive because voters tend to use a transactional approach with parties. Thus, the rise of money politics at the mass level is triggered by the failure of political parties themselves in increasing their performance in the eyes of voters.

The difference between this research and the author's research is that the focus of the research is the role of political parties that are poor in the eyes of the voters, that public distrust of

the party, causing the public to think pragmatically when the general election. Meanwhile, in the research study the focus on how the strategy of *BAWASLU* of Yogyakarta in responding to violations of money politics.

Furthermore, based on (Holish et al., 2018) who conducted the study entitled *Money Politics in the Practice of Indonesian Democracy*, the study provides an overview of Indonesia as a modern country in the world that also implements the Pancasila Democracy system in its government system. Indonesia has become a role model in a democratic system, for example, with an autonomous provincial head election and direct presidential elections a golden achievement of the Indonesian democratic system. However, the democratic system also has some weaknesses; one of which is financial matters that can hamper the democratic system. Not infrequently, the practice of political money takes place in the practice of democracy so that it really hurts the essence of the state, and this is what lies behind the Indonesian legal view of political money in democracy.

The difference between this research and the author's research is that the focus of the research is whether money politics is a criminal act and the factors that influence the occurrence of money politics, while the author's research discusses the strategy of *BAWASLU* of Yogyakarta in addressing violations of money politics.

Another previous study was conducted by (Marthen et al., 2018) entitled “The Impact of Money Politics in Democracy in Indonesia” explaining that money politics is recognized or not a very frightening specter for the democratic process that exists in Indonesia. Politics and money are two different things that cannot be separated because in politics, people need money, and with money, people can play politics. Moreover, it is because politics is a very lucrative arena for conducting various kinds of transactions called money politics. Money politics is not a new thing

for the existing democratic system in Indonesia because from the very beginning, the elections were directly carried out practices had already taken place, so this certainly must be watched out together. Various kinds of problems caused by political money include the situation and political climate becoming unstable, eliminating the opportunity for the emergence of qualified regional leaders, money politics influencing the political participation of the people in regional elections and general elections, and damaging democracy and harming society.

The difference between this research and the author's research is that the focus is the impact of money politics for the future of democracy in Indonesia because money politics can make the situation and political climate in Indonesia worse while the author's research discusses the strategy of BAWASLU of DIY in addressing violations of money politics.

The journal written by (Sihidi et al., 2019) entitled Political Relations of Money and Party-ID in Indonesia specifically looks at the serious implications of the low number of Party-IDs on the importance of the practice of money politics in Indonesia. The electoral democracy procession in Indonesia works with capital-intensive logic, so financial strength is one of the determinant factors in winning political candidates. This coincided with the de-idealization process that took place massively in the body of political parties and voters, so the level of Party-ID was weakened. This research shows that the failure of the function of political representation (articulation and aggregation of interests) displayed by political parties made the ideological closeness bond (Party-ID) with the so fragile community. The loss of ideological cohesion contributed to the strengthening of the floating mass typology, which often had to be tied back through the approach of money politics when the electoral moment was present (elections and local elections). Strengthening the intermediary function of political parties can be through institutional reform and ideological-political work is one of the strategic solutions to break the money politics in Indonesia.

The difference between this research and the author's research is that the focus of the research is the role of political parties that are poor in the eyes of the voters, so it causes public distrust of the party, causing the public to think pragmatically when the general election while in the research study the focus of discussion is the strategy of BAWASLU of DIY in responding to violations of money politics.

The study conducted by (Fikri & Sukmajati, 2019) entitled Concurrent Election Campaign Funding in Indonesia: Strengthening Patronage Democracy explains that the management of campaign funds by-election participants showed the strengthening of clientelism political patterns on the one hand and the waning of programmatic politics on the other. Consequently, patronage democracy also strengthens in Indonesia going forward.

The difference between this research and the author's research is that the focus of the study is strengthening patronage democracy and centralism in the simultaneous elections in 2019 while in the research study, the focus of the discussion is the strategy of *BAWASLU* of Yogyakarta in responding to violations of money politics.

Simatupang (2018) conducted the research entitled The Influence of Money Political Culture in Elections on the Sustainability of Indonesian Democracy explaining that if elections are won in a fraudulent manner, it is difficult to say that leaders or legislators elected in parliament are representatives of the people, to protect the purity of elections, which is so important for democracy that the legislators have made a number of fraudulent acts in elections as a criminal offense. Thus, the Law on General Elections, aside from regulating how general elections are held, also prohibits a number of actions that can destroy the nature of freedom and fair elections and threaten the perpetrators with criminal penalties.

The difference between this research and the author's research is that the focus of the research is the practice of money politics in Indonesia and the implications for the rise of money politics in Indonesia. The research has a different discussion with the author's research. The recent research focuses on the strategy of *BAWASLU* of Yogyakarta in responding to violations of money politics.

According to the study conducted by (Saputri & Prayogo, 2018) entitled *The Challenges of Democracy in the Era of Globalization in the Context of Preventing Money Politics in Elections*, democracy is a political concept of implementation based on the administration of government by the people. According to Abraham Lincoln's concept of democracy, he stated that democracy is from the people, by the people, and for the people. This concept is really applied in Indonesia and becomes the basis in every business affair where the people play an important role. However, this noble concept was tarnished by unscrupulous prospective candidates or successful teams who use all means to get support from the community, one of which is money politics. We certainly know that money politics has been regulated in Law Number 10 of 2016, amendments to Law Number 8 of 2015 concerning Regional Head Elections, where sanctions have been provided for those who commit actions to tarnish democratic values. However, due to their lack of legal awareness, money politics can occur. Therefore, the importance is the need for affirmation and outreach to the public, especially to prospective candidates and the success team as well as to make Pancasila democracy clean. In addition, there is also a need for officials who are ready and decisive by utilizing technological advances in the era of globalization to prevent political money in society.

The difference between this research and the author's research is that the focus of the research is how to build a clean democracy so that it can produce leaders who are clean from

money politics, while in the research, the author discusses the strategy of *BAWASLU* of Yogyakarta in responding to violations of money politics.

F. Theoretical Framework

The basic framework of the theory is the foundation that underlines the related researches in which the sources that the author gets in supporting the current research. The case study to be studied so that the theoretical foundations can strengthen the findings of this current research. It is one of the relationships between variables developed from the problem formulation and identified through interviews and literature studies related to literature in order to build a theoretical framework so that it can be used as a theoretical basis for discoveries by the researcher.

1. Money Politics, Patronase, and Clientilsm

The term of Money Politic has been widely used to describe the practices of distributing money or goods from a patron to individuals or groups. At the beginning of the reform era, the term of money politics was used to describe the practice of bribery in the legislature during regional elections. The term is also used to describe corrupt practices such as embezzlement of money from government projects or receipt of bribes from employers. At present, the term money politics is used in a narrower context, which is a practice that refers to the distribution of money at the time of an election from a candidate to voters (Sukmajati & Edward, 2015). A material that is distributed is not only in the form of money, but it can be in the form of goods, projects, or services.

Furthermore, to define the term of money politics, two concepts are used, namely Patronage and clientelism. According to Aspinall (2015), patronage is a profit-sharing among politicians to distribute something individually to voters, workers, or campaign activists, in order

to get political support (Sukmajati & Edward, 2015). Thus, Patronage can be understood as giving cash, goods, services, and other economic benefits (such as projects or jobs) distributed by politicians, both to individuals and groups or communities. Variations in the form of Patronage include:

a. Vote-buying

Vote buying is the distribution of cash or goods payments from candidates to voters systematically ahead of the election in the hope of voting for candidates.

b. Individual Gifts

Individual gifts are the gifts of money or goods to voters directly or through intermediaries (usually in the form of groceries, calendars, key chains, etc.) either when meeting in person, or when visiting homes and campaigns. However, in practice, most candidates do not consider individual gifts as money politics because they are seen as a form of social lubricant.

c. Service and Activities

Service and activities form of service provision (such as free health checks or the provision of free ambulances) and activities (usually in the form of organizing sports competitions, public parties, etc.).

d. Club Goods

The practice of patronage is given for mutual benefit for social groups rather than personal gain. This practice is divided into two categories, namely donations for community associations and donations for communities living in urban, rural, or other environments. Examples include the provision of sports facilities in the form of

volleyball courts and their equipment for volleyball communities in one village or the provision of sewing machines for groups of housewives.

e. Pork Barrel Projects

The main character of a pork-barrel is that this activity is aimed at the public and funded with public funds in the hope that the public will provide political support to candidates. Typically, these funds are referred to as aspiration funds with the idea that these funds are used to support legislators in absorption activities and respond to constituents' aspirations by giving government project rations. Incumbent legislative candidates usually provide projects like this in the hope that the community will support them in the next election.

Clientelism itself is a personalistic power relationship (the relationship is a face-to-face relationship), and material benefits are exchanged for political support. According to Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007) cited in Sukmajati & Disyacitta (2019), clientelism is the direct exchange of the voice of a citizen in return for direct payment or ongoing access to positions, goods, and services. According to Hicken (2011), by referring to Scott's ideas, there are several characteristics of clientelism. First, a two-party relationship (dyadic relationship) means where two parties (candidates and voters) develop relationships directly, face-to-face and transactional. The second is a two-way relationship (contingency), where the patron (candidate) and client (voter) give and take. The third is a hierarchy, where the position of the patron (candidate) is higher than the position of the client (voter). The fourth is iteration (iteration) which means that the relationship between the two is continuous over a long period of time.

However, not all patronage is clientelistic. This happens if a candidate gives money to a voter, he does not know, and he will not meet again so that the relationship is a single relationship.

In addition, there is no reciprocal relationship, so voters are also not burdened to reciprocate the gift of the candidate by providing political support.

2. Election

As a country that adheres to the principle of democracy, Indonesians need to have a process to elect people to fill certain political positions. The process is known as the General Election. Elections are important because elections are an instrument of determining the direction of public policy of a country. In Indonesia itself it is known that presidential elections are held once every five years, but before that, the process was not as regular as now. Elections in Indonesia began in 1955, 1955, 1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, and 2019.

This is regulated in the Constitution 1945 Article 22E Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution stating that "Elections shall be held directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly, and reasonably once every five years. One of the results of the amendment to the Constitution 1945 is the provision of general elections. In the Constitution 1945, this provision intended to provide a stronger legal basis for elections as one vehicle for the implementation of popular sovereignty. With this provision in the Constitution 1945, it guarantees regular elections (fifths of a year) and the process and mechanism as well as the quality of the holding of elections, namely direct, general, free, and confidential as well as honest and fair.

The elections in Indonesia adhere to the principle of "*LUBER*" which stands for "Direct, General, Free and Confidential". The principle of "overflow" has existed since the New Order era.

- a. "Direct" means that the voter is required to vote directly and may not be represented.
- b. "General" means that the general election can be followed by all citizens who already have the right to vote.

- c. "Free" means that the voter is required to vote without coercion from any party.
- d. "Confidential" means that the votes cast by the voter are confidential only known by the voter himself.

Then, in the reform era, it also developed the principle of "*Jurdil*" which stands for "Honest and Fair". The principle of "honest" means that the elections must be held following the rules to ensure that every citizen who has the right to vote according to his wishes and every voter has the same value to determine the people's representatives who will be elected. The principle of "fair" is the same treatment of election participants and voters, without any privileges or discrimination against individual participants or voters. The principle of honesty and fairness is binding not only to voters or election participants but also election organizers.

According to (Ibrahim, 1976) elections are a way to elect people's representatives. Therefore, for a country that considers itself a democratic country, the general election must be held in a certain period. Meanwhile, according to Bagir Manan, General elections held in a period of five years is the moment, or momentum that shows directly and real government by the people. During the general elections, all candidates who dream of sitting as state administrators and also the government depend entirely on the will or desire of their people.

In organizing elections, the electoral system becomes an essential foundation of its position because it will determine how votes will be counted and how seats will be distributed to political parties and eligible candidates (Blais & Massicotte, 2002). In general, there are several types of electoral systems, depending on the point of view used. One of them is for how to vote, where the electoral system is then divided into two variants, namely preferential votes and non-preferential votes. The non-preferential vote system is similar to the closed list proportional system. In contrast, the preferential vote system is similar to the open list proportional system in

terms of allowing voters to show their preference to candidates. In a non-preferential vote system, in general, voters are only given one vote for each type of election so that voters can only vote once for one party or candidate. Whereas, in the preferential vote system, a voter can vote more than once for each type of election. In this system, voters can vote for candidates following their priority order and can also be without preference in order of priority (Minan et al., 2019).

The electoral system in Indonesia adopts a proportional system. The main idea in this system is that the proportion of seats won by a party in an electoral district will be proportional to the proportion of votes obtained by the party in the election. The level of proportionality of votes in the acquisition of seats shows that in this system, not much noise is wasted (Rahayu et al., 2017). However, this system also has advantages and disadvantages, including:

a. Advantages of Proportional Systems.

- 1) Based on the proportionality level of representation the proportional system is considered representative because the number of party seats in parliament is by the number of votes obtained in the election. The proportional system is also considered more just because it allows all groups of people, including minority communities, to display their representatives in parliament.
- 2) The proportional system also has advantages when it is seen from the party system because using a proportional system makes it easier for minority parties to gain access to representation.
- 3) Besides, when it is viewed in terms of representative institutions, groups, it is small place of their representatives in the people's representative body.

b. Weaknesses of the Proportional System

- 1) In terms of the party system, the proportional system facilitates party fragmentation which does not encourage parties to integrate or work together; on the contrary, it tends to sharpen differences. If the conflicts arise, party members generally tend to establish new parties given the opportunity for new parties to obtain seats from the merging of the remaining votes through elections.
- 2) In terms of the relationship between elected representatives and voters, the proportional system has weaknesses. The proportional system gives a powerful position to the party through a list system. The procedure of this list system varies. However, the most commonly used is that each party offers a list of candidates to voters. By selecting one of the lists, the voters elect a party with all of the candidates for the various seats contested. This procedure is precisely the weakness of the proportional system. This is because the elected representatives (those proposed by the parties in the list) eventually tend to be less close or less familiar with voters who only choose image signs. Regarding the meant or focused person, the people do not know for sure.
- 3) Proportional systems tend to shift the principle of popular sovereignty to party sovereignty.

During the elections in 2014 and 2019, Indonesia used an "open proportional" electoral system which meant that voters were free to choose which candidates they liked. However, the candidates at the top of the party list were far more likely to be elected. The advantages of an open proportional system include the establishment of closeness between voters and candidates; voters can vote directly for the candidates who are preferred according to their preferences. It strengthens public participation and control to encourage increased party and parliamentary performance. High

internal party dynamics encourage party machines to move more effectively, and popular candidates can boost party electability.

The weaknesses of the open proportional system include the potential to reduce the role of political parties (institutionalization), the creation of contestation between candidates in private parties, opening up the space for money politics. As mentioned above, there is room for money politics to be prone to occur because legislative candidates tend to seek voters' votes without the help of parties so that the candidates are more likely to vote.

3. Election Management Institution

1) General Elections Commission

One of the results of the amendment to the Constitution 1945 is the provision of general elections in the Constitution 1945. These provisions are intended to provide a stronger legal basis for elections as a vehicle for the exercise of popular sovereignty. With this provision in the Constitution 1945, it guarantees regular elections (per five years) and the process and mechanism as well as the quality of the elections, which are direct, general, free, and confidential and honest and fair.

The General Elections Commission (KPU) cannot be equated with high state institutions whose authority is determined and granted by the Constitution 1945. The Constitution 1945 does not determine the name of the General Election Commission itself, but the law on elections. The position of the KPU as a state institution can be considered as equal to other institutions established by or by law.

In a democratic political system, the presence of free and fair elections is a necessity. Even any political system that is implemented by a country often uses elections as a democratic claim to the political system it builds. Liberal democratic systems, communist systems,

authoritarian or semi-authoritarian systems, are commonly applied in several countries in the third world; almost all of them have conducted periodic elections. Elections have become a universal part of the life of the international political community. Therefore, it can be understood if many political scientists use elections as a benchmark for implementing democracy in a country.

Election is a mechanism where the people can channel their political aspirations freely in determining national leaders, so in this context the responsibility of citizens is reflected; therefore, the people must fully understand that whatever their choice it must be based on robust, rational and critical reasons (national voters), not just political debiting - as long as they participate and as long as they choose (emotional voter), of course, they must be smart and responsible voters. Even though there is only one vote, the people's choice is significant and has significant implications which can determine the direction of the nation's destiny over the next five years, so if one chooses, then, of course, the people will also be disadvantaged.

Also, the General Election is a vital instrument in a democratic country that adopts a system of representation. Elections become a filtering tool for "politicians" who will represent and bring the voice of the people in representative institutions. Those who are elected are considered as people or groups who have the ability or obligation to speak and act on behalf of a larger group through political parties (political parties). Provisions regarding elections are regulated in the Article 22E of the Constitution 1945, which reads as follows

- a) General elections are held directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly every five years.

- b) General elections are held to elect members of the House of Representatives, the Regional Representative Council, the President and Vice President, and the Regional Representative Council.
- c) Participants in the general election to elect members of the People's Legislative Assembly and members of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly are political parties.
- d) Election participants to elect members of the Regional Representatives Council are individuals.
- e) Elections are held by a national, permanent and independent election commission.
- f) Further provisions regarding general elections are regulated by law.

The "permanent" nature of the General Election Commission is intended that the KPU as an institution which carries out its duties in a sustainable manner, not ad-hoc (temporary) as in the implementation of previous elections, especially the elections in 1999 even though specific terms of office limit its membership. However, the existence of the KPU, Provincial KPU and Regency / City KPU continues to carry out functions that are outside the implementation of general elections and carry out other tasks given by the Law. Whereas relating to the General Elections Commission which is "independent", it is intended that in organizing and carrying out elections, the KPU is independent and free from the influence of any party accompanied by transparency and clear accountability by statutory regulations to ensure the achievement of the holding of elections.

In the history of elections in Indonesia, the term election control only emerged in the 1980s. In the first election held in Indonesia in 1955, the term of election supervision was unknown. In that era, trust was built among all participants and citizens about the holding of elections intended to form a parliamentary institution which was then called the Constituent Assembly.

Even though the ideological conflict at that time was quite intense, it can say that there was very little fraud in the implementation of the stages, even if there was friction taking place outside the election implementation area. The friction that arises is a logical consequence of the ideological struggle at that time. Until now, there is still a belief that the election in 1955 is ideal in Indonesia.

The new Election Oversight Institution only appeared in the 1982 Election, under the name Election Oversight Committee (Election Supervisory Committee). At that time, distrust had begun to emerge about the implementation of the General Elections which had begun to be co-opted by the power of the ruling regime. The formation of the Election Supervisory Committee in election in 1982 was backed by protests over the number of violations and manipulation of vote counts carried out by election officials in election in 1971 because the election violations and fraud that occurred in election in 1977 were far more massive, these protests were then responded to by the government and the DPR which were dominated by *Golkar* and ABRI. Finally, the idea came up to improve the law aimed at improving the 'quality' of 1982. An election in order to meet the demands of the PPP and PDI, the government agreed to place representatives of election participants in the election committee. Also, the government introduced a new body that would be involved in electoral matters to assist the General Election Institute (LPU).

In the reform era, the demands for the formation of election organizers that are independent and free from the co-optation of the authorities have strengthened. For this reason, an independent election organizing agency was named the General Elections Commission. This is intended to minimize the intervention of the authorities in the implementation of the General Election considering that the previous Election organizer, namely the LPU, was part of the Ministry of the Interior (formerly the Ministry of the Interior). On the other hand, the Election Supervisory Agency

also changed the nomenclature from the Election Supervisory Committee to the Election Supervisory Committee (*Panwaslu*).

Fundamental changes related to the new Election Supervisory institutions made through Law Number 12 of 2003. According to this Act in the implementation of Election Supervision, an Adhoc institution was formed independently of the KPU structure consisting of the Election Supervisory Committee, the Provincial Election Supervisory Committee, the Regency Election Supervisory Committee / City, and District Election Supervisory Committee. Furthermore, the institution of election supervisors is strengthened through Law Number 22 the Year 2007 concerning Election Organizers by establishing a permanent institution called the Election Supervisory Agency.

The *BAWASLU* apparatus in the implementation of supervision is up to the village/village level in the order of the Provincial Election Supervisory Committee, Regency / City Election Supervisory Committee, District Election Supervisory Committee, and Field Election Supervisor (PPL) at the village level. Based on the provisions of Law Number 22 the Year 2007, part of the authority in forming Election Supervisors is the authority of the KPU. However, furthermore, based on the Constitutional Court's Decree on the judicial review conducted by *BAWASLU* to Law Number 22 the Year 2007, the recruitment of Election Supervisors is entirely the authority of *BAWASLU*. The primary authority of the Election Oversight according to Law Number 22 the Year 2007 is to oversee the implementation of the electoral stages, receive complaints, and handle cases of administrative violations, criminal election violations, and code of ethics.

Then according to Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning Election of *BAWASLU* is given an expansion of authority that can resolve election violations which are administrative, systematic and massive both in nature and structured. *BAWASLU* gave that authority so that election

administration violations can immediately be resolved without having to go through an extended mechanism. The form of expansion of *BAWASLU*'s authority in carrying out prevention and action against violations of money politics that is *BAWASLU* has the authority to examine, study, and decide on violations of money politics. Related to the action/handling of money politics violations, *BAWASLU* must go through several processes, namely first the reporting process which is done in writing by the subject who has legal standing and findings by *BAWASLU*. Second, the process of receiving and registering reports. The three *BAWASLU* examine, study and investigate reports. This inspection is carried out by *BAWASLU* openly for 14 working days following statutory provisions. Fourth, it is to hold a close meeting in consultation to determine the verdict on the violation. After that, the reading of the decision by *BAWASLU* and the *BAWASLU*'s decision must be followed up by the KPU by issuing a KPU decision in the form of administrative sanctions for the cancellation of the candidate.

4. Strategy

The Strategy, according to KBBI, is science and art of using all the nation's resources (s) to carry out specific policies in war and peace. Etymologically, Strategy starts from the Greek word derivative, Strategos, which means 'Military Commander' during the Athenian democracy. At first this word was used for military purposes only but later developed into different fields such as business strategy, sports (for example soccer and tennis), chess, economics, marketing, trade, management strategies, etc. The Strategy is an incremental action (continually increasing) and continuous, which is carried out based on the perspective of the expected goals.

According to Johnson and Scholes, Strategy is the direction and scope of an organization in the long run that achieves profits for the organization through the configuration of resources in a challenging environment, in order to meet market needs and complete stakeholder expectations.

Meanwhile, according to Stephanie K. Marrus, Strategy is a process of determining the plans of top leaders who focus on the long-term goals of the organization, along with the preparation of a way and efforts on how to achieve these goals.

According to Glueck and Jauch (1989), strategy is a combined, broad and integrated plan that links the company's strategic advantages with environmental challenges, designed to ensure that the main objectives of the company can be achieved through proper implementation by the organization.

Referring to the views of Dan Schendel and Charles Hofer, Higgins (1985) explains the existence of four levels of strategy. Overall, the levels are called the Master Strategy, namely: enterprise strategy, corporate strategy, business strategy and functional strategy.

a. Enterprise Strategy

This strategy is related to community response. Every organization has a relationship with the community. Society is a group outside the organization that cannot be controlled. In that open society, there are governments and various other groups such as pressure groups, political groups and other social groups. Hence, the enterprise strategy looks at the relationship between organizations and outside communities, as far as the interaction will be carried out so that it can benefit the organization. The strategy also shows that the organization is working and trying to provide excellent service to the demands and needs of the community.

b. Corporate Strategy

This strategy is related to the mission of the organization, so it is often called the Grand Strategy which covers the field that is involved in an organization. For example, the question of what business and how control that business is not solely answered by

business organizations, but also by every government organization and non-profit organization. Moreover, there should be determined that what is the primary university mission? What is the mission of this foundation, that foundation, what is the mission of this institution, that institution? What is the primary mission of the directorate general, the directorate general? What is the mission of this body. The answers to these questions are critical, and if it is mistakenly answered, they can be fatal. For example, if the answer to the mission of the university is to enter the business world to become rich, the consequences can be harmful, both for students, for the government, and the nation and country. How the mission is carried out is also essential. This requires the strategic decisions and strategic planning which should be prepared by each organization.

1) Business Strategy

Strategies at this level describe how to win the market in the community, such as how to place the organization in the hearts of the authorities, entrepreneurs, donors, and so on. All of that is intended to be able to obtain strategic benefits that are at the same time, as well as it is able to support the development of the organization to a better level.

2) Functional Strategy, which is to support the success of other strategies. There are three types of functional strategies, namely:

- a. The functional economic strategy includes the functions that enable organizations to live as a healthy economic unit, including those related to finance, marketing, resources, research and development.

- b. Functional management strategies involve management functions, namely planning, organizing, implementing, controlling, staffing, leading, motivating, communicating, decision making, representing, and integrating.
- c. Strategic issue strategy includes its primary function which is to control the environment, both environmental situations that are already known and situations that are not yet known or that are always changing (J. Salus, p 101, 1996).
- d. The levels of strategy are unified and become a signal to every highest decision-maker that managing an organization should not be seen from the point of administrative neatness alone, but should also take into account the "health" of the organization from an economic standpoint (J. Salus, p 104, 1996).

G. Conceptual Definition

Conceptual definition is the definition that limits the research conducted in the field, which contains problems or the problems that are used as guidelines in research or case studies in the field. Conceptual definitions are used to better understand and facilitate in describing or interpreting theories into research in the field. Then, some conceptual definitions will be determined that have close links to the problem to be studied.

1. Money Politics, Patronage and Clientelism

Money Politics is a practice that refers to the distribution of money during elections from a candidate to voters. Patronage is a practice of profit sharing by politicians to distribute something individually to voters in order to get political supports. Clientelism is a form of reciprocity from voters in the form of political support for the distribution of benefits distributed by candidates.

2. General Election

Election is a mechanism for how to elect people's representatives.

3. Election Organizing Agency

The Election Organizing Agency which is tasked with overseeing the implementation of the General Elections in the entire territories of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia is *BAWASLU*.

4. Strategy

Strategy is a process of determining the plans of top leaders who focus on the long-term goals of the organization, accompanied by the preparation of a way and efforts on how to achieve these goals.

H. Definition Operational

This study is to find out the pattern of how the Election Supervisory Agency of the Special Region of Yogyakarta implements the strategy in addressing money politics violations by using variables as follows:

1. *BAWASLU* of the Special Region of Yogyakarta in addressing money politics, patronage and clientelism.
2. *BAWASLU*'s strategy in responding to violations of money politics.
 - a. Strengths and weaknesses of *BAWASLU* in the Special Region of Yogyakarta in responding to violations of money politics.
 - b. Opportunities and obstacles *BAWASLU* of Special Region of Yogyakarta in addressing violations of money politics.

I. Research Methodology

1. Types of Research

This research was conducted using a qualitative descriptive method through a case study approach. According to Sugiyono (2013), qualitative research method is a research method based

on the philosophy of positivism and used to examine the natural conditions of objects where the researcher is a crucial instrument Data source sampling was done purposively and snowball, and for collecting the data, the techniques used triangulation (combined) Data analysis was inductive/qualitative, and qualitative research results emphasized more meaning than generalization (Sugiyono, 2008). Case study research is a qualitative approach whose the research explores real life; a system that is limited by cases or various cases, through the collection of detailed and penetrating data, involving various sources of information, and reports on case descriptions and case themes.

2. Research Setting

The research was carried out in several places in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, namely office of *BAWASLU* Yogyakarta. This study was to conduct the basic research on finding the strategy of *BAWASLU* in responding to violations of money politics patterns. It was to obtain information related to the *BAWASLU* of Yogyakarta strategy in responding to violations of money politics.

3. Data Analysis Unit

According to Krippendorff (2007) cited in (Tanjung, 2018), the data analysis unit is the part that is observed, recorded and considered as the data, separating based on its boundaries and identifying it for analysis. The unit of analysis is part of the content to be further investigated which is then simplified. Then, the unit of analysis in this study was the Chairperson and members of *BAWASLU* of Yogyakarta.

Table 1.1
Members of BAWASLU Special Region of Yogyakarta

No	Name	Gender	Position
1	Sri Rahayu Windiningsih, SH	Female	Staff of Violation Enforcement Division <i>BAWASLU</i> of Yogyakarta
2	Aulia Rifqi Hidayat, SH	Male	Staff of Sub-Section Legal and Public Relations

4. Type of Data

In this study, the researcher used the primary and secondary data types because the primary data were used as the latest data compared to the secondary data about the results of the same research that have been studied by others.

a. Primary Data

Primary data are data source that directly provide the data to data collectors (Sugiyono, 2008). The source of the data is obtained through interviews with informants who have a focus on the problem following the research topic. The primary data were obtained by conducting interviews with the Chairperson of *BAWASLU* of Yogyakarta and related staff.

b. Secondary Data

Secondary data sources are data sources that do not provide information directly to researchers. The data source can be in the form of further processing of the primary data

presented in other forms or from other people. The secondary data were used as supporting data from primary data sources, such as from the literature that must be collected following the subject matter to be further investigated.

5. Data Collection Technique

Data collection techniques are the method used by the author to obtain various types of data that were used in a study. The qualitative researcher must find accurate, precise and specific data. As explained by Sugiyono (2009, p.225), data collection can be obtained from the results of observations, interviews, documentation and combined / triangulation. In this study, the researcher used the interview method equipped with documentation of each study.

a. Depth Interview

In-Depth Interview is a conversation conducted by two parties, namely the interviewer (in this case, the researcher) who asks questions and the resource person who provided answers. Interview was one of the most important data collection techniques in this study. By conducting careful interview techniques, the researcher got clear and specific data because the researcher could dig up all the information needed based on research indicators

b. Documentation

The document used was a record of events that has already passed. The researcher collected documents that can be written, drawn, or monumental works from someone (Sugiyono, 2008). Thus, the documentation should also be included in one of the research data collection techniques, where this documentation technique was able to devote every moment of research that later, the data in the documentation became one of the results of research in the field.

The documentations in this research were in the form of photos, letters, souvenirs, diaries, artifacts, and reports. The advantage of the data is that it is not bound by time, so the researcher found out events that existed in previous eras.

6.Data Analysis Technique

According to (Sugiyono, 2008), what is meant by data analysis techniques is the process of finding data, systematically compiling data obtained from interviews, field notes and documentation, by organizing data into categories, describing it into units, synthesizing, arranging into a pattern of choosing which is important and studied, and making conclusions, so it is easily understood by the researcher and others.