

Political Transactions and Expensive Costs on Regional Head Election

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ABSTRACT

The regional head elections in Indonesia recently reveal many of Indonesian people are interested to become a head of the region because of a recognition within the community, in which the great contestation at the moment came from either the bureaucrats, the privates, or the legislatives. However, the political costs incurred are not noted so that it is very difficult to identify how much each party pegs the price, depending on the number of seats in the legislature and support available in the region as well as the networks to the village. Likewise, if using an independent way, much money must exactly be spent to get administrative support from either certain groups or individual in the community. The number of cost must not be mentioned by the candidate pair. In fact, it is not match, if calculated by the salary of a regional head, but it is still many who are interested to become a governor or mayor/regent. Moreover, various studies conducted by many experts show, even though democracy is something that deserves to have aspired, it turns out that democracy produces many problems, even new problems that would not exist if not practiced democracy. Legislation has not regulated and limited the expenditures of candidates before and after the campaign in which it cannot be supervised. A supervision conducted by Banwaslu, PPATK and law enforcement officers is still not effective due to there are still many gaps that can be conducted by a regional head in different ways and tactics.

Keywords: *Money politics; democracy; political monitoring.*

ABSTRAK

Pemilihan kepala daerah di Indonesia saat ini mendorong banyak aktor terlibat dalam kontestasi, mulai dari birokrat, legislator hingga pengusaha. Dorongan itu karena ingin mendapatkan pengakuan dari masyarakat. Namun, permasalahan yang menjadi krusial adalah dana politik (*political cost*) yang tidak tertulis secara detail sehingga sulit mengidentifikasi berapa banyak uang yang dikeluarkan setiap partai, berdasarkan jumlah kursi di legislatif dan dukungan masyarakat mulai dari desa. Pastinya itu

berbeda dengan partai-partai baru. Disisi lain, jika melalui jalur independen, dana yang dibutuhkan tidak sedikit untuk lolos administrasi karena butuh dukungan dari masyarakat baik dari kelompok tertentu atau perorangan. Fakta yang muncul, kandidat tidak harus menyebutkan ongkos politik dan secara otomatis bertolak belakang dengan gaji yang didapatkan, tetapi masih banyak saja yang tertarik menjadi kepala daerah. Selain itu, banyak peneliti berpendapat, meskipun demokrasi adalah sesuatu yang dicita-citakan, ternyata demokrasi menciptakan banyak masalah, bahkan masalah baru yang sebenarnya tidak akan ada jika demokrasi tidak dipraktikkan. Perundang-undangan belum mengatur dan membatasi pengeluaran kandidat sebelum dan sesudah kampanye. Pengawasan yang dilakukan oleh Banwaslu, PPATK dan aparat penegak hukum masih belum efektif karena masih banyak cara yang dapat dilakukan oleh kepala daerah dengan cara dan taktik yang berbeda.

Kata Kunci : Politik Uang; Demokrasi; Pengawasan Politik.

INTRODUCTION

The regional head elections in Indonesia recently shown that many of our people were interested in becoming a regional head who had a higher value, in particular of recognizing their existence within the community in order for they competed from either the bureaucrats, the private, or the legislative circles. Specifically, for a civil servant, he/ she is willing to release him to the name of a regional head, either the governor, regent, or mayor.

But, in my view, it becomes ironic that the costs incurred by a head candidate of the region are quite high, even to get recommendations from political parties or through independent channels. For information, if we look at several cases handled by the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) such as the Mayor of Makassar mentioned, those must pay eight- billion rupiah to the *Prosperous Justice Party* (PKS) and 2.5 billion to the Hanura Party for the process of procuring and winning in the 2014 governor's general election in South Sulawesi, ([Awaludin, Moo, Okajima, & Ohsaka, 2013](#)). The modalities that must be possessed by candidates if they want to fight, not only political capital, but also economic, social and cultural capital. As in the 2015 elections in Gowa regency, the family of politician, Yasin Limpo, showed that the most influential capital is

basically a resource inheritance owned by a senior member of the family who served as the previous regent for two periods. The mastery of sources, which are then inherited, has an impact on public support for the candidates of the family in the regional head elections in 2015, ([Rusnaedy & Purwaningsih, 2018](#))

In Aceh, the dynamics of legislative elections with various patterns of victory in 2014 were carried out by political parties and legislative candidates in the legislative elections on 9 April 2014, where violence became one of the instruments to pressure voters choosing the candidates they supported. In fact, various dynamics developed in the implementation of each stage of general election in Aceh. During the campaign period, the practice of violence against political opponents and money politics to constituents became a massive and organized phenomenon. ([Fahmi, 2014](#)).

However, with direct election in 2005, some researchers viewed it positively, but the corrupt behavior was also a concern for researchers. Warren's concept of democratic corruption is a two-face exclusion that benefits a handful of parties by harming others who are excluded from collective decisions and actions. Taking the post-conflict local election in Lampung as a case study, it was successfully identified other locations of corruption namely political parties. It was then marked by the centralism of political parties in recruiting and selecting candidates for regional heads. If seen in public, democratic norms are upheld with good morality, but secretly undermined and violated to achieve the desired goals. The slogan is anti substantiated, but when taking office also secretly takes advantage of returning the capital already spent so that politicians are often caught by the problem of legal corruption, ([Irham, 2016](#)).

The transition from post-conflict regional election indirectly becomes logically straightforward to cut money politics where the candidates will have difficulty in buying the votes of the

people because the numbers are quite large. But what happens instead is that the many votes are not affected, considered profitable because they can directly deal with voters and make a transaction, even though the cost becomes more expensive. This could be seen as happened in the Warudoyong Sub-district, North Sumatra, in 2008, about 147 residents of Bantarpanjang village, received Rp.10.000 - to choose one participant in the regional head, (Kompas, 10 April 2008). The costs, that must be incurred, start from determining the political parties, carrying out the campaign, and the large-scale campaign to the efforts to influence peoples choices, ([Fitriyah, 2013](#)).

The political budget incurred are not written so that it is very difficult to identify how much each party fixes the price is not the same, depending on the number of seats in the legislature, support in the area, and the networks owned to the remote villages will be different from the new party. Likewise if through independent channels much money must be spent to get administrative support from both certain groups of organizations and individuals, there is not to mention the campaign costs that must be spent by the candidate pair. It is almost not comparable if calculated by the salary of a regional head with costs incurred, but it is still a lot of people who are interested in becoming a governor or mayor.

On the contrary, if there is one candidate who has high electability there is a possibility that the political costs are slightly different or there are no fees because being proposed by a political party as the only of the sponsor who finances, but in the end must be able to provide the opportunity to return to the supporters in terms of work or activities. There is to be submitted as a substitute for the costs incurred. If it is counted, even you do not pay the dowry that is usually called, but there is still a refund fee as well as a lot of costs.

Therefore, the position of a regional head is more strategic due to all policies are in his hands encouraging people to

become supporters of each candidate with the hope that if they are already they will reap the rewards because the opportunity to get a job, for example will be wide open and will reap compared to investments planted before. However, it is not surprising if a businessman does not hesitate to provide support both materials and facilities to a candidate in the hope that he/she will also be able to enjoy the latest results through projects available in the government.

This phenomenon does not cause a regional head to have a problem with the law because he has to return a large enough political cost in the target of several years. It has not yet finished the term of office that must think about how the budget should be collected again, if they have to advance in the second round so that the time is too much drained to count math for and loss. Other impact is that the interests and services of society are often forgotten in order to achieve desires and ambitions never go out.

Actually, many studies carried out by many experts show that even though democracy is something which is worthy of aspiration, democracy actually results in many problems, even new problems that would not exist if democracy were not practiced. The problem of democracy presupposes political parties are interested in aggregation, ([Wibowo, 2011](#)).

In the electoral process, it was marked by an increasing trend of suspicious financial transactions according to the PPATK (Financial Transaction Analysis and Reporting Center). There is also the use of regional development bank funds to finance the campaign of regional heads, and such granting credit is not in accordance with the rules and the allocation of funds which is not measurable in the form of grants to one of the mass organizations to get sympathy and support. All is done in order to achieve the ultimate goal of power.

Paying attention to the phenomenon is that the community has become accustomed to what the candidates have done in both the post-conflict local election and legislative elections through a similar pattern. It is starting from the personal approach or community institutions or community organizations pretending to be democratic heroes upholding morality. These approaches are believed will not be corrupt by sweet promises and the foremost in defending the interests of the poor, but this is contrary to the fact that the field is chosen so that the direction of the clock changes its orientation on how to utilize all facilities for personal and class interests.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. The concept of democracy

Democracy in the west comes step by step. In the beginning, democracy was not for all citizens, only for those who had, the poor did not participate in the election. In Britain, a regulation from 1430 governed only adult men 'who owned land and earned shillings' who could participate in choosing members of the House of Commons. In France, only people who had property and paid taxes were allowed to participate in the election. In Belgium, it was only in 1919 that all adult men without exception were allowed to vote. The United States, until the 1930s poor people who received state aid were not allowed to participate in the general elections ([Wibowo, 2011](#)).

The interactions are mortal but also live very long in which they develop and adapt in people life as well as they are very influential. Realities can truly survive for a long time, however their uniqueness and main essence are their long historical continuity. Civilization is a historical fact that stretches over a very long period of time. 'Strengths develop and fall, governments come and go, civilizations remain and indeed political, social, economic and even ideological life'.

For international history, Bozeman concludes that it is actually a thesis record stating that political systems stretch on the surface of the periphery, and have the aim of unifying linguistically, and in civilization, certain important ideas inherited from generation to generation that are the possibility of symbolizing the continuity of a society, ([Huntington, 1996](#)).

The direct elections that have been implemented so far are considered as a manifestation of the return of people's basic rights in the region by providing complete benefits in the context of the recruitment for regional leaders as to improve democratic life at the local level. The success of direct local elections produces democratic regional leadership in accordance with the will and demands of the people and highly dependent on the critical power and rationality of the people themselves.

Since in June 2005, the Indonesian people entered a new phase relating to the implementation of governance at the local level, the regional head, Regent, mayor and governor who was previously elected by the DPRD (House of Regional Representative) since June 2005 they have been directly elected by the people through the process of regional head elections which are often abbreviated as direct elections way. The direct election of regional heads and deputy regional heads is regulated in Law number 32 of 2004 concerning regional government regarding procedures for the election, ratification, appointment, and dismissal of regional heads and deputy regional heads, ([Zaini, 2018](#)).

Hence, political parties are a necessity in a modern democratic political life. As an organization, political parties are ideally intended to activate and mobilize the people, represent certain interests, provide a compromise path for competing opinions as well as providing a means of the legitimate and peaceful succession of political leadership. Therefore, *“political parties in the modern sense can be*

defined as a group that proposes candidates for public office to be elected by the people so that they can control or influence government actions". The complete limitation is stated by Mark N. Hagopian in which political parties are an organization formed to influence the shape and character of public policy within the framework of certain ideological principles and interests through the practice of direct power or popular participation in elections, ([Duverger, 2012](#)).

Politics has never been autonomous from the foundation, whether it is economics, proletarian morality, general will, or the highest good (*summum bonum*). Political dependency on the foundations above is caused by the failure of political philosophy to distinguish between politics (*la politique*). Recoeur tried to address the failure in his essay entitled "*Political Paradox*" (1965). He wrote the essay as a philosophical response to the invasion of the Warsaw Pact against Hungary to break the revolution that was taking place there. The event shows how politically divided is two perfectly between nationality and crime.

In the other, politics is divided between political, rationality, crime, harmony and disharmony, public space, and participation. Politics is rational when it is understood as a polity or a state regulated by a constitution that guarantees the geographical unity of the law, connected to the history and traditions of the community as it guarantees intergenerational integration. The Republic of Indonesia, for example, is regulated by a constitution that guarantees that there are no rules under it which are contradictory or if there can be submitted to the Constitutional Court, linking to the old history and political traditions and guaranteeing intergenerational ties based on constitutional values, ([Adian, 2010](#)).

In the questions of democracy, are democracy the best form of government? should we respect freedom more than

equality? And which party should we choose? is a matter of value and subjective consideration?. Like other sciences, political comparative science will not answer values questions or things that are subjective opinions, although it can provide evidence that helps some people to make decisions, ([Newton & Van Deth, 2016](#)).

The 1999 election was a concession and a bribe to revolutionary demands which eventually led to political products the elite along with its political awareness and actions that were still corrupt and not populist which depicted a political reality, almost contained only theatrical scenes from its political figures. Starting with the demands of people who are increasingly marginalized and embraced only for the campaign. Meanwhile, at the level of the movement it also still does not fulfill the conditions to become a revolutionary movement, ([Pahlevi, 2018](#)).

Thus, political marketing as a consequence of technological progress can indeed be understood. This can be seen from the pace of the development of social media in Indonesia until it is considered 'a twitter nation' because of the many social media like facebook, twitter and blog users. But it still has not been directly proportional to the amount of use of singing in post-1998 general elections. With the victory of Jokowi and Basuki Tjahaya Purnama in the 2012 Jakarta's regional election, there is a new chapter in the development of political marketing in Indonesia. As the big influence of social media is in creating opinions for the community, social media is an effective tool for organizing citizens and mobilizing voters, ([Utomo, 2013](#)).

As a result of reform, decentralization and regional autonomy, many created local elites or local political dynasties has established because of the electoral system's implementation. As ([Purwaningsih, 2015](#)) in his research focused more on the quality aspects of candidates for family politics. There are

aspects contained in modalities such as social capital and symbolic capital, but the derivative aspect of the modality used to win regional head elections as derivative political capital. Capital is held into four categories, namely economic capital (wealth, money, and property), cultural capital (knowledge, educational qualifications, academic degrees, and language), social capital (types of relations and networks), and symbolic capital (prestige, honor, and charisma), ([Bourdieu, 1989](#); [Jenkins, McCauley, Heffron, Stephan, & Rehner, 2016](#)).

In the view of ([Wahyuni, 2014](#)), money transactions occur in a competitive manner. Until someone asks, how much do you want to pay? if there is a higher pay, the offer will be taken. Money transactions tend to increase both with voters and some organizers at the village and sub-district levels. The practice of money politics has become a new trend in the post-conflict region as well as providing cash and goods, the incumbent funding pattern, and the development program through the budgeting function as social assistance is also a trend as in the former Bireuen conflict in North Aceh, Lhokseumawe, Bener Meriah and Aceh Timur, ([Fahmi, 2014](#)).

The tendency of political parties to sell ticket candidates for regional heads to external actors is triggered by the needs of the party for operational funds and large political costs. External actors have more ability to provide contributions to those needs. According to ([Mietzer, 2007](#)), analysis and transactions between external candidates and top political party elites are possible because of the exclusivity built by them with excluding aspirants from lower-level cadres.

Based on the perspective of ([Eko, 2004](#)), money politics occurs because of the strong perception that the regional general election is a political celebration, short-term pragmatism culture, weak dialectics to find ideal values in building a common vision, and weak playing rules. At least

it can be seen from the research of [\(Gunawan & Yani, 2008\)](#) finding the tendency of the community prefer an open campaign because they will get pocket money when each campaign is carried out with a range of around Rp. 50.000 up to Rp. 100.000.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research is carried out through a literature approach or literature review in which some of the literature in the form of existing books are studied to become material in the preparation of research as well as literature from internet sites. The existing problems are formulated to look for theories, generalizations and basic concepts of the high cost of politics in Indonesia.

The type of research is qualitative way to see a set of concept in the phenomenon of the high cost of politics to become a regional head that has systematically occurred in the community, through variable relations (community/ individual, legislative, government, and political parties) for building lobbies politics for their respective purposes. Using deductive theory gives information that starts from an estimate or certain speculative thinking in the direction of the data will be explained.

The technique of data collection benefits through secondary data such as books, magazines and data from either internet sites or observations occurred so far in the community. That was through participant observation, looking at the behavior of candidates for regional heads and members of existing political parties.

Data analysis is done after all data has been collected from all sources, namely from the literature of existing books, magazines, articles, internet and participant observation results. Data is processed to produce simpler data so that it is presented and arranged neatly to facilitate data analysis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Decentralization of Corruption

Political transactions occur in the community if we see it is no more like a financial transaction in the market, where political parties as providers of goods offer buyers, in this case, the regional head and regional representatives to transact and bargain how much is the price of the agreement to use the existing party's boat. But the transaction can only be felt but it cannot be proven because it is hidden and there is usually no written agreement and only a few people know. To the extent that it has not talked about the vision and mission and work program, but the transaction has been done in order for there is an opportunity to socialize the candidate.

There are various efforts carried out by the government through the Election Supervisory Institution (Bawaslu) so that there is transparency in the financial matters of each candidate for the regional head and deputy regional head, namely by submitting a wealth report and the number of campaign costs of each candidate. However, the fact is that it is only a prerequisite which there are still many who are not yet honest to convey how much the real costs must be incurred. If you see the results of the report there are only a few, but the reality in the field is very different.

With the enactment of regional autonomy, the leaders of small regional are formed whose policies and rules sometimes contradict the existing regulations in the central government, partly because of lack of detention or indeed intentional, due to there were interests of the political elite. Subsequently, the regions are freed to explore local revenues as an effort to increase the national budget or give investment permits to foreigners gaining the greatest profit without going through the central government, so that the investment promised is never realized.

The number of political costs faced today and there are also those who argue that there should be a change in the regional head elections from direct to indirect, namely the province to be directly elected but for the regency/city, the governor is enough to choose and through career description so that it will greatly reduce political costs and government efficiency. But this is certainly contrary to the ideals of democracy and reform in 1999, which hopes that the election must be direct, so the people themselves choose their leaders.

2. Politics of Dowry and Repression

The language used by the political elite in the transaction of the regional election head and deputy head in the region is made with a name like containing '*halal*' in Islam, namely dowry as in the case of a bond of marriage. Then, the impression conveys to the wider community that is a natural thing and does not conflict with the rules of a religion when in fact there is no more than an economic transaction as it is done on the market. This is between the party and the candidate pair of regional heads and deputy regional heads.

Bawaslu to oversee the implementation of direct election activities commonly called *Pemilukada* (Direct Regional Head Elections) to track political crimes. The two institutions together have the aim to supervise and act so that the implementation can run smoothly. If there are indications of fraud after being clarified by Bawaslu, then the PPATK will check the accounts of the regional head or deputy regional head for clarification, but even then it also experiences difficulties because PPATK only sees normatively, sometimes inadequate evidence. As consequent, many political dowry cases who escaped and did not get sanctions as disqualified from being unable to participate in the regional head elections.

3. The Unavoidable Political Transactions

The occurrence of money politics in the regional head election cannot be avoided because the long process passed by the candidate pair, starting at the time of socialization to the community. It is oriented to increase electability already requiring a small amount of money, and the support of the same community organization must have a meeting with its members. However, that is just the stage socialization which is not to mention the next stage of the candidate must be able to communicate with the party getting support from various ranging levels as both branches to the center also require a long process, especially if the number of seats is still not enough, there must be a coalition between parties, increasing costs again. The circumstance is what makes money free from politics.

Conversely, there are also political parties that state it is not money politics or dowry, but rather political costs. Unfortunately, these political costs are not transparent in spite of any standards as they are more just happy and happy transactions in order for no one can participate in the competition despite having high electability, for example.

From 2017 to early 2018, there were 1.119 reports of suspicious transactions alleged to be related to the Pilkada in 2018, this was conveyed by representatives of the Head of the PPATK in Jakarta, on 9 September 2018. Based on the suspicious funds flow, there were several transactions totaling tens of billions of rupiah, (tirto.id/temu-1119-transaksi).

4. Optimizing the Role of Election Supervision

The number of arrests related to the case of money politics in several regions such as Garut regency, consisted of the chairman of the Bawaslu and the Commissioner of the KPU (General Election Commission) arrested by the Anti Money Politics Task Force Criminal Investigation Police

Headquarters and Garut District Police, the Regional Police of West Java. They indicated that the threat of money politics in the regional election head really happened. In eradicating money politics during elections on both presidential election and legislative election, the work of the Anti Money Politics Task Force, Criminal Investigation Headquarters, must be accompanied by other targeted efforts. The Bawaslu clearly cannot possibly work alone to dispel money politics because it does not have adequate instruments.

Through Law in number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government as the basis for direct local election implementation, it should be a step forward in the democratic system in Indonesia because the public can directly choose candidates who according to their conscience have the capability and capability, and are preferred. By direct elections, it is expected that there will be no more practice of giving money or political dowry in the regional elections, so that democracy becomes a character and identity of a nation. and at the same time becomes a pride because no one pays and is paid, all according to their choice, the creation of government good, clean and authoritative. It is expected that unlike the ongoing regional head elections, while using Law number 22 of 1999 regarding there are always conflicts such as in Jakarta, Lampung, West Java, Madura and other areas. This is due to the same irregularities, namely a distortion of public aspirations, a game of money politics, an intervention of the central leadership of a party in determining candidates for the supported regional heads. But even with the implementation of direct local elections we do not get a solution to the money politics problem, the comparison of the model of choosing the regional head through regional legislators is much cheaper, besides the participants who have to spend a lot of money on the regional government must also bear the burden of financing the post-conflict local election. The data shows that

Bank Indonesia estimated that the regional elections simultaneously in 2010 where it costed around 2.4 trillion of the 244 regions that carried out the elections, (antaranews.com).

There are various kinds of efforts being made to get the most votes in post-conflict local elections such as the success team immediately distributes money to voters shamelessly with different ways through worship activities providing assistance with reasons to help with operational costs, providing assistance to the team sports teams in the form of sports equipment and match assistance costs, assistance of worship facilities and infrastructure. Unequally, they are more religious and have better attention with other participants and the latter usually through the team to distribute cash to constituents maintaining one or two days before the election, by taking place or assistance with basic necessities to the community under the pretext of assistance for religious holidays for example. All is done to get the most votes in later selection.

In fact, the actors operating in the practice of money politics when seen first are circles between capital owners and candidate pairs to regions. They will be decision makers if they win in the post-conflict local election between political parties supporting the elected regional head between candidates and teams campaign with officers who have authority in vote counting and between campaign teams and prospective voters.

The practice of buying and selling votes is considered normal by the public because they feel that there are no severe sanctions so that from year to year it continues to be run and it is considered when the community feels what is called a democratic party. Because it is considered a party, it will roll out to enliven with the practice of taking advantage of activities and as a sense of revenge. When the post-conflict local election implementation has been completed, people

feel that they are not being considered anymore. As the promise of staying promises will not be kept, they are used to the elites when there is interest will be approached but when it is finished it will never come back.

CONCLUSION

The number of public interests to be a leader in both the provincial and regency/ city heads resulted in a lot of things being done in order to pass the selection in the party and to get a very large sympathy from the community. The impact is that the money politics process can run well and difficult to detection.

The laws and regulations have not regulated and limited the expenditure of prospective candidates before and after the campaign, how much money is spent before and after the campaign so that it could not be monitored.

Political parties in carrying out their duties as a regeneration and political recruitment machine are still not going well, even though the Pilkada funds are not justified from sources of crime, including corruption and other unclear funds. This is the amount of political costs that must be taken so that a regional head after being elected, seeking to explore the potential and returning the capital that has already come out. Therefore, the potential for curvature becomes greater.

Supervision carried out by Banwaslu, PPATK and law enforcement officials is still not effective because there are still many gaps that can be done by a regional head in different ways and tactics.

It is time for Indonesia to change and get out of actions that are not commendable and it is only to get a power that must try in ways or actions which are not commendable in ways that are inappropriate and will sacrifice the interests of many people.

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