Money Politics and Political Participation in the 2019 Legislative Elections in Banjar

Politik Uang dan Partisipasi Politik pada Pemilu Legislatif 2019 di Kota Banjar

Teguh Anggoro^{1*}, Tina Cahya Mulyatin², Nova Chalimah Girsang³, Riza Purnama⁴, Tofan Ibrahim⁵

1-5STISIP Bina Putera Banjar, Sumanding Wetan – Kota Banjar, Indonesia *corresponding author E-mail: goeh.an77@gmail.com

Received: January 7, 2022; Revised: February 5, 2022; Approved: February 19, 2022

ABSTRAK

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis pengaruh politik uang terhadap partisipasi politik masyarakat dalam Pemilu Legislatif tahun 2019 di Kota Banjar Jawa Barat. Hasil dari penelitian ini diharapkan dapat memberikan rekomendasi strategis yang dapat berkontribusi langsung terhadap pemecahan masalah bagi KPU Kota Banjar dalam pengambilan keputusan terutama mengenai politik uang di Kota Banjar. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pendekatan kuantitatif, teknik pengumpulan data dengan studi kepustakaan dan studi lapangan dengan instrumen kuesioner. Jumlah sampel sebanyak 399 orang responden yaitu bagian dari Daftar Pemilih Tetap Pemilu Legislatif Kota Banjar Tahun 2019 dengan menggunakan teknik Proportionate Stratified Sampling. Teknik analisis data dalam penelitian ini adalah dengan menggunakan analisis product moment method. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan kondisi politik uang (Money Politic) yang dilakukan oleh oknum calon legislatif DPRD Kota Banjar 2019 didapat angka 23% pernah ditawari uang atau barang; partisipasi politik masyarakat pada pada Pemilu Legislatif 2019 di Kota Banjar tertinggi berdasarkan faktor sosiologis dengan angka 80,5%. Besarnya pengaruh Money Politic terhadap partisipasi politik dalam Pemilu Legislatif tahun 2019 di Kota Banjar adalah 4,40%. Praktik politik uang berpengaruh tidak signifikan terhadap partisipasi masyarakat untuk ikut aktif dalam pemilihan legislatif Kota Banjar tahun 2019, hasil survey menjelaksan secara implementatif jika ada oknum calon legislatif yang melakukan praktik politik uang kepada masyarakat/pemilih, uang-nya diterima tapi tidak menjamin masyarakat memilih oknum calon legislatif tersebut.

Kata kunci: Politik Uang, Partisipasi Politik, Pemilihan Umum

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to analyze the influence of money politics on people's political participation in the 2019 Legislative Election in Banjar, West Java. The results of this study are expected to provide strategic

Politicon Vol.4 No.1 2022 | 53

Copyright (c) 2022 **Teguh Anggoro et.al**

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

recommendations that can contribute directly to problem-solving for the KPU in Banjar City in making decisions, especially regarding money politics in Banjar. The method used in this research is a quantitative approach, data collection techniques with literature studies, and field studies with questionnaire instruments. The number of samples was 399 respondents who were part of the Permanent Voters List for the 2019 Banjar Legislative Election using the Proportionate Stratified Sampling technique. The data analysis technique in this research is to use the product moment analysis method. The results of the study show that the condition of money politics (Money Politic) carried out by unscrupulous candidates for the 2019 Banjar City DPRD legislative candidates found that 23% had been offered money or goods; Community political participation in the 2019 Legislative Election in Banjar City was highest based on sociological factors with a figure of 80.5%. The magnitude of the influence of Money Politic on political participation in the 2019 Legislative Election in Banjar City is 4.40%. The practice of money politics has no significant effect on public participation to actively participate in the 2019 Banjar City legislative election, the survey results explain an implementation that if there are legislative candidates who practice money politics to the public/voters, the money is received but does not guarantee that the public chooses the person. the legislative candidate.

Keywords: Money Politics, Political Participation, General Elections

INTRODUCTION

The 2019 elections held in Indonesia are different from previous elections. This election is a simultaneous election that combines presidential elections, DPD elections, and legislative elections at both the central and regional levels. Some observers even say that simultaneous elections in 2019 are the most complicated election in the world (Andiraharja, 2020). This election is the first election held simultaneously following the Constitutional Court Decision (MK) No. 14/PUU-XI/2013. It is said that the Presidential Election is held in conjunction with the election of representative institutions (Nurhasim, 2020). According to the Constitutional Court, it is in line with the original intent, article 22 E paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution (1945 Constitution) and systematic interpretation of Article 6A Paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution (Abhipraya et al., 2020). In the decision it is explained that the election is held in one breath, namely, "Elections are held to elect members of the House of Representatives; Regional Representative Council; President

and Vice President; and the Regional House of Representatives.

As in Anggoro's research (2019) which explained that there are candidates by putting forward a pattern of patronage and clientelism in winning legislative elections (Pileg) (Anggoro, 2019). The pattern was chosen because the current elections, especially legislative elections use the Propositional Open system. With the implementation of the system, legislative candidates will compete to introduce themselves to the community with a pattern of giving something so that constituents know and they want to choose the candidates. This political pattern according to Bayart in Aspinal (2019) is called "belly politics" in which political actors from various circles try to distill the material benefits of the existing political system (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019). At this level, politics is often run on a very pragmatic basis, with the sale and sale of aid, cash, material goods, and other benefits in return for political support.

The behavior of candidates by putting forward the political path of money seems to be becoming increasingly rife in legislative elections in Indonesia. Various forms of money politics are run by candidates for them to be elected. Starting from the giving of personal items, group giving to the promise of giving projects if they are selected. As revealed by Harjanto's research (2012) Caleg who comes from nationalist and Islamist political parties, at the level of the central DPR and provincial DPRD, is a form of patronage provided in the form of money, goods, services, and other promises of assistance after being elected as a tool for candidates to get voter support (Harjanto, 2012).

The political model of money in elections seems to have been a mainstay since the post-reform elections. It's just that the question arises, will the politics of money have an impact/implications on voting behavior? Whether the constituent will choose a candidate who has given money/goods or the constituent already has his preferences before the election begins, or even the constituents make a choice when there is a candidate who gives

something. This phenomenon also becomes interesting because there will be many factors that can determine the behavior of choosing. People who vote because of the influence of money then ignore the identity factor and the vision factor of the candidate's mission, meaning he only sees the gift from the candidate against him.

Later after the New Order era elections, it turned out that there had been a significant shift in the electoral model in Indonesia. The reform period was more open but also showed a shift in money politics in the form of patronage and clientelism. Analysts and policymakers say that in the last decade the clientelism model has taken root in several countries, especially third world countries such as Indonesia. Recent political studies ranging from Eastern Europe to Africa, Asia to South America are centralities of clientelistic exchange in shaping the interaction of citizens and countries (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019).

The form of political exchange of money by voice, became common in the city of Banjar, although with a different level of giving from each candidate. Depending on the ability and level of popularity of Caleg. However, not all citizens who were given by The Candidates want to vote for them, many candidates have spent money for one area but he only gained a few votes in Pileg 2019, some even did not get votes. It becomes a question whether the political behavior of money carried out by Caleg has implications for voter behavior in The City of Banjar West Java. This is interesting even though research on the influence of money politics on voting behavior has been done by other researchers, including in Banjar City. Like the research conducted by STISIP Bina Putera Banjar in 2014. This study tries to repeat the legislative elections in 2019, whether there is a change in the results of the study or will remain the same. For this reason, this research becomes important because it wants to know the level of significance of money's political influence on the voting behavior of west Java Banjar city residents in legislative elections in 2019.

The study of the political influence of money in the 2019 General Election was one of the categories studied through a survey by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI). As a result, 40% of respondents received money from the participants of the 2019 Election but did not consider voting for them anyway. Meanwhile, another 37% admitted to receiving money and considering the giver to choose (LIPI, 2019).

Other studies on post-reform elections in 1998 have been widely conducted, such as Slater's research (2018) and Ambardi (2009) discussing the theme of cartelization of Indonesian political parties by emphasizing the distribution of material sources (Ambardi, 2009; Slater, 2018). Mietzner's 2013 study focused on the issue of financing political parties, seeing the linkage between the oligarchic phenomenon and weak state subsidies for political parties as more important variables than the variables of how political parties and candidates attribute economic resources to voters and their supporters (Mietzner, 2013).. While studies with Oligarchy thesis such as the study of Robison and Hadiz (2004) and Winters (2011) argue that wealthy actors dominate democracy in Indonesia, also emphasize the theme of patronage as a political glue (Hadiz & Robison, 2004; Winters, 2011). While the study of voting behavior as in the study of Liddle and Mujani (2007) explains the tendency of voter turnout decreases and the tendency of political choices from election to election (Liddle & Mujani, 2007).

The research to be made by researchers is a follow-up study in 2014 with significant results obtained the large influence of vote-buying on political participation in legislative elections in Banjar City in 2014 is 7.70%. The research team will try to compare back through the same topic about the Political Influence of Money on voting participation in the 2019 Legislative Election in the Banjar City of West Java.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research approach used in this research is the quantitative approach. The method in this study is a survey method with an explanatory technique. The explanatory method is expected to explain the community's response regarding the absence of money politics in Banjar City in the 2019 Legislative elections, the extent of the political participation of the people of Banjar City in legislative elections, as well as the contribution or magnitude of the political influence of money on the political participation of the community in the Legislative Election in Banjar City 2019. The operation of this research variable is spelled out as follows Table 1:

Table 2. Number of Samples Using Proportionate Stratified Sampling Technique

	abic 2. Numbe	i oi sampies (osnig Proportionate Sti	-	ing reci	inique
No.	District	Population Members	Village	Subpopulat ion Members	%	Sample (People)
			Desa Balokang	7.240	4,91	20
		42.055	Desa Cibeureum	1.720	1,17	5
			Desa Jajawar	1.945	1,32	5
1.	Banjar		Desa Neglasari	3.796	2,57	10
1.	Dalijai		Kelurahan Banjar	11.935	8,09	32
			Kelurahan Mekarsari	12.301	8,34	33
			Kelurahan Situbatu	3.118	2,11	8
			Desa Mekarharja	3.818	2,59	10
		harja 16.981	Desa Raharja	3.864	2,62	11
2. Purwah	Purwaharja		Kelurahan Karang Panimbal	3.293	2,23	9
			Kelurahan Purwaharja	6.006	4,07	16
		43.636	Desa Kujangsari	8.909	6,04	25
	Langensari		Desa Langensari	6.879	4,66	19
			Desa Rejasari	7.850	5,32	21
3.			Desa Waringinsari	6.954	4,71	19
			Kelurahan Bojongkantong	7.703	5,22	21
			Kelurahan Muktisari	5.341	3,62	14
	Pataruman	44.881	Desa Batulawang	3.200	2,17	9
			Desa Binangun	3.772	2,56	10
			Desa Karyamukti	4.421	3,00	12
4.			Desa Mulyasari	4.772	3,23	13
4.			Desa Sinartanjung	3.107	2,11	8
			Desa Sukamukti	2.905	1,97	8
			Kelurahan Hegarsari	10.908	7,39	29
			Kelurahan Pataruman	11.796	7,99	32
	Jumlah					399

Resource: data processing results (2021)

The population in this study is the Permanent Voter List of Banjar City Legislative Elections in 2019 with a turnout of 147,553 people (Source: KPU

Politicon Vol.4 No.1 2022 | 58

Copyright (c) 2022 *Teguh Anggoro et.al*

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

Of Banjar City, 2021). Using the slovin formula, with a standard error of 5%, the number of respondents was 398.92 and rounded to 399 respondents. Researchers use the Proportionate Stratified Sampling technique, which is a sampling technique of population members that is done by paying attention to the strata in the population. This sampling technique is used to determine the number of samples when the population is literarily literary (Sugiyono, 2015). Here are the calculation data using proportionate stratified sampling techniques in Table 2:

Table 1. Operational Research Variables

Table 1. Operational Research Variables					
Variable	Dimension		Indicators	Scale	
Money Politics Vote- a. Dawn raid (goods/money)					
(Aspinall & buying		b.	Giving money		
Sukmajati,	, ,				
2015)	Gift	b.	Provision of worship equipment		
		c.	Provision of household supplies		
		d.	Feeding/drinking	Ordinal	
	Services	a.	Organizing sports matches, tournaments		
	and		(volleyball, soccer, chess, dominoes).		
	Activities	b.	Implementation of studies		
		c.	Cooking demo organizers		
		d.	Mass circumcision		
		e.	Free car provision		
		f.	Service		
		g.	Garbage collection service		
		ĥ.	Sound system lending service		
		i.	Services help to access the scholarship program		
	Club Goods	a.	Provision of worship equipment		
		b.	Provision of sports equipment		
		c.	Giving music tools		
		d.	Sound system		
		e.	Provision of kitchen utensils		
		f.	Gifting of tents		
		g.	Provision of agricultural equipment/seedlings		
		h.	Home of worship repair donations		
		i.	Bridge repair donations		
		j.	Drainage repair donations		
		k.	Road repair donations		
		l.	Donation of repairs to street lighting		
		m.	Donation of repairs to the manufacture of citizen		
			wells		
	Pork Barrel	a.	Promising village infrastructure development		
		a.	projects (roads, bridges, village halls, etc.)		
		1.			
		b.	Promising increased APBDes		
		c.	Promising nursery projects for farmers		
Political		a.	Vote because they were rewarded with money.		
Participation	Voter	b.	Entering the election because it is given	Ordinal	
(Brady, 1999)	Turnout		something from the candidate (personal	Orumal	
			belongings)		

Variable	Dimension	Indicators	Scale
		c. Entering the election because of the service and	
		activities of the candidate	
		d. Entering the election because they were given	
		group goods	
		e. Voted for the election because of promised	
		projects.	
		f. Entering the election because of off-duty	
		g. Enter the election because of the candidate's	
		mission vision (rational choice)	
		h. Entering the election due to sociological factors	
		(there are similarities in identity)	
		i. Entering the election due to psychological	
		factors (personal awareness)	

Resource: Author (2017)

By using the calculation of the stratified random sampling method above, researchers get the number of samples that will be respondents, namely 113 respondents from Banjar District, 46 respondents from Purwaharja District, 119 respondents from Langensari District, and 121 respondents from Pataruman Subdistrict so that the total respondents who became a sample as a whole amounted to 399 people.

The data collection technique used in this study is the study of literature by reading and studying various literature and reading sources related to the issues being studied, namely money politics and community political participation. As well as with field studies conducted by directly conducting research on the people of Banjar City with the research subjects of the 2019 Legislative Election Permanent Voter List through questionnaire techniques with a choice of answers for each variable using the Likert scale.

Data analysis techniques use validity tests and reliability tests. Next, the correlation coefficient is used to determine test the relationship/correlation between the two variables and the size used to determine the degree or strength of the relationship/correlation. The correlation coefficient is expressed with r, using the Formula Correlation Product Moment. After the coefficient value is obtained, the next is to determine the magnitude of the effect of variable X on variable Y by using the coefficient of determination. After knowing the influence between variables then tested the hypothesis to find out the significant level of the study, then the

researchers used the t-test. To simplify the calculation of researchers, we will use the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 25.0 program.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Money Politics

In this study, money politics variables through measurement of the dimensions of vote-buying, individual gifts, services and activities, club goods, and pig projects. Based on the results of the survey, in the dimension of vote-buying (offered goods and money) of 399 respondents, there were 306 respondents (76.7%) stated in legislative elections never offered goods ahead of the vote/dawn attack, and 70.4% of respondents said they were never offered money ahead of the Banjar DPRD election. A total of 5% of respondents on average said they had been offered several items or money by candidates in the lead-up to the vote, an average of 19% of respondents had also been offered one or two items or money.

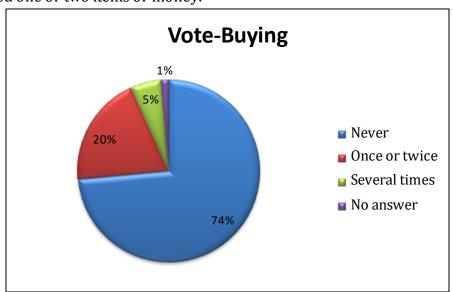


Figure 1. Recapitulation of Vote-Buying

Based on the overall data, it can be concluded that 74% of the citizens of Banjar City stated that they had never been involved in voting buying efforts conducted by prospective members of the DPRD while 20% of the people of Banjar City claimed to have once twice and 5% stated several times to receive money in return if choosing a candidate as his political choice in legislative

elections, while 1% of the public did not answer. Vote buying is a phenomenon that occurs almost all over the world, research by Vicente and Wantchekon (2009) revealed that vote-buying is a major obstacle in development, but the fact can be Increased political participation (Vicente & Wantchekon, 2009). Recapitulation of the vote-buying dimension is presented in figure 1 as follows:

The results of the analysis for the dimensions of individual gifts (giving "sembako", prayer tools, household appliances, cigarettes) from 399 respondents as many as 79% stated that the community was never offered "sembako", prayer tools, household appliances or food/drink/cigarette, but 15% of the community stated once twice had been offered these items and 4% stated several times offered goods in the form of food, beverages, and household appliances. From the results of the distribution of questionnaires in the field, the provision of free food/drink/cigarette during the meeting to choose the party/candidate of the Banjar DPRD member becomes the phenomenon that most often appears even though the intensity falls into the category several times and once or twice, but if the number can be 19%. While the provision of prayer tools became a constrained indicator, which was only 8.3% of 399 respondents. The following is presented in figure 2:

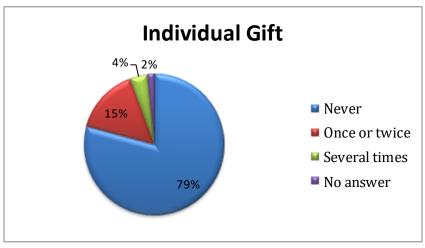


Figure 2. Recapitulation of Individual Gifts

The results of a survey on the dimensions of service and activities (the

implementation of sports, studies, cooking demos, mass activities, free car provision, health services, garbage collection, sound system loans, and scholarship access) from 399 respondents as many as 69% stated that the community had never been involved in social activities organized by prospective members of the DPRD, as many as 17% stated once or twice ever involved, and 6% admitted to several times involved in social activities organized by prospective members of the DPRD. The existence of the implementation of studies by parties/candidates of Banjar DPRD members became the highest phenomenon involving the community, namely as many as 32.1% of respondents stated once or twice and 7.3% stated that they had been involved several times in studies organized by parties/candidates of DPRD members. From the data processed it can be concluded that the approach of parties/candidates of DPRD members through social activities in the religious field becomes a phenomenon with the highest level of community participation when compared to garbage collection services as much as 7.5% of the total 399 respondents. The following is presented in figure 3:

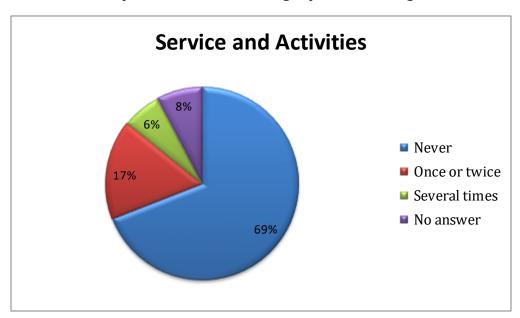


Figure 3. Recapitulation of Service and Activities

The results of the analysis for the dimensions of club goods (providing worship equipment, sports, music equipment, sound systems, kitchen utensils, tents, agricultural tools, donations of the house of worship improvements, bridge repairs, drainage, roads, lighting, and citizen wells). of 399 respondents, as many as 70% answered never received gifts or donations from parties/candidates, 16% answered once or twice received donations from parties/candidates, And 5% answered several times, the rest did not answer. Based on data from the table that the highest percentage of the dimensions of club goods is in the activities of giving worship equipment to mosques, which is 32.6%. While the lowest percentage is about 7.1% of respondents answered that they had received donations for repairs to people's wells. The following is presented in figure 4:

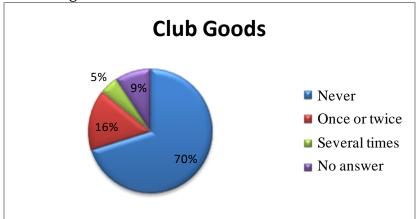


Figure 4 Recapitulation of Club Goods

Referring to the results of data processing, in the dimensions of pig projects (promises of infrastructure projects, increases in APBDes, nursery projects for farmers) of 399 respondents there were 61% of respondents stated in legislative elections never promised projects by parties/candidates, 20% had been promised once or twice projects by parties/candidates, 10% of respondents had been promised several times infrastructure development projects, increased APBDes, and breeding projects for farmers. But interestingly as many as 29.3% or 1/3 of Banjar people who were respondents stated that once twice promised the development of village infrastructure in

the form of roads, bridges, village halls, etc. in the surrounding environment by the party/candidate, 19% stated that they had been promised a nursery project for farmers and 13% of Banjar city people who were respondents were promised an increase in APBDes. Presented in the following figures 5:

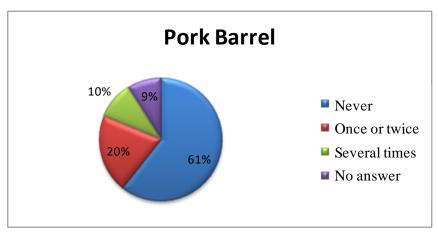


Figure 5 Recapitulation of Pork Barrel Project

Political Participation

The participation or participation of the public in politics is the activity of a person or group of people to participate actively in political life, by choosing the head of state, and directly or indirectly influencing government policy, public policy. Conventionally these activities include actions such as voting in elections, attending rallies, being a member of a party or interest group holding approaches or relationships with government officials or lawmakers, and so on. Based on the results of a survey on indicators of public political participation in the 2019 Legislative Election in Banjar City of West Java if converted into diagrams generated in figure 6:

The political participation of the community participated in choosing members of the Banjar City DPRD in 2019 if you look at the table of results of processing variable data Y above that 90.5% is based not on being rewarded with money, but other factors encourage attitudes to participate in legislative elections, one of which is the level of welfare of the people of Banjar City which touched the figure of 94.5% (BPS, 2019), So that the money factor is not one

of the dominant to base voters into the voting booth during the general election. However, that does not mean at the time of 2019 there is no money politics or money politics. Based on the results of data processing in the table above there are 9.5% who come to the voting booth due to monetary rewards. According to Agustino (2009), several factors cause money politics or money politics, one of which is the poverty factor (Agustino, 2009) this is relevant to the poverty rate of Banjar City which is at 5.5% (BPS, 2019). Where the condition of people who are in poverty forces them to meet basic needs to survive, this condition is utilized by prospective legislative candidates to practice money politics or money politics against community groups that are in the poverty line, there are about 9.5% of voters coming to the voting booth because of the encouragement of money rewards.

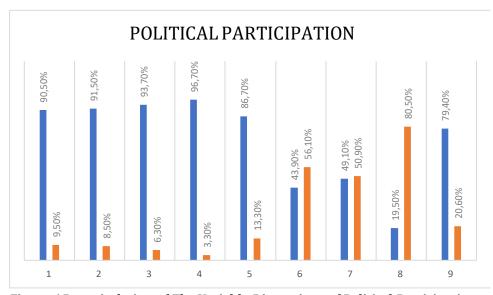


Figure 6 Recapitulation of The Variable Dimensions of Political Participation

The next indicator in dimension Y (community political participation) is to participate in the election of members of the Banjar DPRD 2019 because it was given something from the candidate (personal goods) resulting in 91.5% answering no, so they came to the voting booth at the time of "pileg" 2019 just carrying out their obligations. If associated with the characteristics of respondents based on education that 67.6% consisting of high school graduates / D3 / Bachelor / Post-Graduate. According to (Hermanto, 2009) in

his research explained that the level of education has a significant effect with a large percentage of 62.57% (Hermanto, 2009), meaning that the people of Banjar City have a rational characteristic, and they easily understand what should be done at the time of the election, namely exercising their rights and obligations to be able to choose legislative candidates in Banjar City in 2019. However, there are 8.5% or based on the results of data processing, people come to the voting booth for reasons that have been given something by prospective members of the legislature in the form of personal goods (Anggoro, 2019).

The services and activities provided by legislative candidates to the public in the run-up to the legislative election are not an open secret anymore, one of the reasons is that they get significant votes from the community according to their election (Kaunar et al., 2020). Although the people of Banjar City 93.7% answered not in the indicator of participating in "pileg" on the grounds of the services and activities provided by prospective members of the Banjar City legislature in 2019. But there are still 3.3% answering to participate in choosing legislative candidates in the Banjar City legislative election in 2019 based on the provision of services and social activities organized by prospective members of the legislature. As the research conducted (Sepriansyah et al., 2021) services are provided such as free health services, cheap "sembako" services, mass circumcision, and others (Sepriansyah et al., 2021).

The next indicator on the question, I participated in the election of members of the Banjar DPRD 2019 because I was given group goods as much as 96.7% answered no and 3.3% answered yes. If you look at the results of data processing, the people of Banjar City still exercise the right and obligation to choose candidates for the legislature based on the release of obligations.

Interesting attention is on the question indicator, I participated in the election of members of the Banjar DPRD 2019 because of off obligations. Based on the results of data processing obtained the results of 56.1% answered yes

and the remaining 43.9% answered no. This means strengthening the analysis of previous indicators where the majority answered to participate in the election of candidates for the Banjar City legislature in 2019 not because it was based on the lure of money, the provision of personal goods, services, and activities, and the provision of group goods, but based on duty alone.

The next factor that has a different result than before is the question of participating in legislative election 2019 due to the vision and mission of the candidate. Where respondents mostly answered yes at 50.9% this is natural because of several factors such as the area of Banjar City 13,197.23 Ha which is relatively accessible consisting of 4 sub-districts and 25 villages supported by road access that is good enough to facilitate prospective legislators to socialize their vision and mission to the people of Banjar City so that the message conveyed in the form of mission vision can be understood easily by the people of Banjar City, Different from districts or regions that have a very wide range. The next factor is that candidates for legislative candidates take a religious approach as a channel to socialize their mission vision to the community, such as studies, tabligh akbar, tahlilan, alms distribution labeled the vision of the mission of prospective legislators.

The culture of the people of Banjar City is homogeneous and follows the direction of the ruler in responding to politics because the ruling political party in Banjar City is the Golkar Party. So that the dominance of political parties also affects the similarity of voter identity in holding elections. This can be seen from the results of processing data respondents by 80.5% answered yes to the question of participating in legislative elections based on sociological factors. The similarity of self-identity encourages a group to remind each other and voice that its group wins in the election, although in the legislative election elects individual members of the legislature, in fact, if many individual legislative candidates from his group succeed in winning the election then the interests of the political party are achieved, namely the majority of the same identity in parliament. The last indicator is to participate in the election of

members of the Banjar DPRD 2019 because psychological factors (personal awareness) obtained the number 79.4% answered not based on psychological factors. This reinforces indicators of off-obligation and identity similarity.

Overall, political participation in voting in Banjar City is very good compared to other regions, for example in South Tangerang only 57.98% in the 2015 election, and not much different from the 2015 election. In 2010, it was only 57% (Yandri, 2017).

The Influence of Money Politics on Voting Behavior

The magnitude the influence of money politics (X) on voting behavior (Y) in the 2019 Legislative Election in Banjar City can be seen from the indicators used by each variable using static analysis, namely statistic parametric product-moment method (simple linear regression) where the data scale used is ordinal converted into an interval scale to meet the prerequisites of parametric tests. Before being analyzed to know the magnitude of influences between variables and hypothesis tests, the data must be the goodness of fit that meets the applicable rules including passing the normality test using the Kolmogrov Smirnov Test and each statement item is declared valid and reliable.

Hypothesis testing uses the t-test to test whether there is a significant influence between variables where data processing results using the SPSS program version 25.0. Here are the results of the t-test::

Table 3. Model Summary

	Tuble of Flouer building					
Model Summary						
			Adjusted R	Std. Error of		
Model	R	R Square	Square	the Estimate		
1	.211a	.044	.038	4.50142		
a. Predictors: (Constant), X						

Source: research results (processed SPSS)

Based on the table 3 above, the relationship of money politics with public political participation in the legislative elections of Banjar City amounted to 0.211 in the low category. The influence of money politics on people's political participation in the legislative elections of Banjar City by 4.40%, meaning that 95.6% is influenced by other factors.

Next to test the regression coefficient and hypothesis test is explained through the following table 4:

Tabel 4. Coefficient

Coefficients ^a							
				Standardized			
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Coefficients			
Model		B Std. Error		Beta	t	Sig.	
1 (Cor	ıstant)	22.645	.839		26.975	.000	
	X	011	.009	061	-1.211	.227	
a. Dependent V	ariable: Y	•					

Source: research results (processed SPSS)

Based on the regression equation shows the constant of 22.645 stating that if there is no money politic (X = 0), then political participation is 22,645. Money politics has a negative value of 0.011 indicating that an increase in money politics (1%) will not affect the increase in public participation.

To find out whether there is no effect of free variables on bound variables is done t-test or ANOVA test is done. The test is conducted to find out the influence of money politics on public participation. With the criterion, if t table < t calculate or sig < 0.05, then Ha is accepted and Ho is rejected.

Based on the results of the analysis of the table above obtained sig 0.227 > 0.05 means that there is an insignificant influence of money politics on public participation in legislative elections in Banjar City. This means that the practice of money politics does not affect the political participation of the community in the city of Banjar in 2019. Candidates who practice money politics do not change the attitude or behavior of voters to choose the candidate, because based on the results of research on political participation variables, the factors that encourage people to come to the voting booth are:

- 1. Sociological Factor (Similarity of Identity) with a percentage of 80.5%.
- 2. Liability Factor with a percentage of 56.1%
- 3. Vision and Mission Factors of Caleg with a percentage of 50.9%

These three factors reflect the rationality of voters to participate in the election of Banjar city candidates in 2019, this is in line with what canes-wrone & shotts (2007) revealed that someone participated in the election because of awareness about the importance of elections, and usually relatively educated people (Canes-Wrone & Shotts, 2007). Speaking of Education, poor and poorly

educated voters tend to demand patronages, such as jobs and money, rather than national programs like free education and universal health care, whereas wealthy, better-educated voters tend to prefer national policies (Shin, 2015). Other researchers revealed that relatively resource-poor countries participated more than the more resource-rich countries on the African continent (Isaksson, 2014). Banjar city has a homogeneous cultural culture so sociological factors have a role in increasing public participation in elections, especially in 2019, including the similarity of identity, especially social class, religion, and ethnic groups. The area of Banjar City is relatively small so it is easily accessible to legislative candidates to socialize their mission vision to the community so that the community knows the mission-vision of the candidates. On the other hand, vote-buying seems to be effective and has broad electoral support (Vicente & Wantchekon, 2009).

CONCLUSION

The condition of participation in the 2019 Legislative Election in Banjar City, based on the recapitulation of each indicator obtained the highest number based on sociological factors with a figure of 80.5%. The magnitude of the political influence of money / political money on voting behavior in the 2019 Legislative Election in Banjar City, based on data processing is at 4.40%. The political practice of money does not have a significant effect on the participation of the public to participate actively in the legislative elections of Banjar City in 2019, the results of the survey explained effectively if there are legislative candidates who practice political money / political money to the community/voters, the money is accepted but does not guarantee the public chooses the legislative candidate. This study corroborates previous research entitled the influence of vote-buying on political participation in legislative elections in Banjar City in 2014 where the magnitude of influence was only 7.7%.

ACKNOWLEDGE

This research is a collaboration between the Election Commission (KPU) of Banjar City and STISIP Bina Putera Banjar. This research is fully funded by the KPU of Banjar City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abhipraya, F. A., Sadayi, D. P., & Putri, F. A. (2020). Peran Komite Independen Sadar Pemilu (KISP) sebagai LSM Kepemiluan dalam Melawan Praktik Politik Uang. *Politicon: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 2(2), 165-190.
- Agustino, L. (2009). Pilkada dan dinamika politik lokal. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Ambardi, K. (2009). *Mengungkap Politik Kartel*. Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Andiraharja, D. G. (2020). Politik Hukum pada Penanganan Tindak Pidana Pemilu. *Khazanah Hukum*, 2(1), 24-31.
- Anggoro, T. (2019). Politik Patronase dan Klientelisme Purnawirawan Tni Pada Pemilu Legislatif. *JIP (Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan): Kajian Ilmu Pemerintahan Dan Politik Daerah*, 4(1), 64–74.
- Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for Sale: Pemilihan Umum, Klientelisme, dan Negara di Indonesia*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Aspinall, E., & Sukmajati, M. (2015). *Politik Uang di Indonesia: Patronase dan Klientalisme pada pemilu Legislatif 2014*. PolGov.
- Brady, H. E. (1999). Political participation. *Measures of Political Attitudes*, 737–801.
- Canes-Wrone, B., & Shotts, K. W. (2007). When do elections encourage ideological rigidity? *American Political Science Review*, 101(2), 273–288.
- Hadiz, V., & Robison, R. (2004). *Reorganising power in Indonesia: The politics of oligarchy in an age of markets*. Routledge.
- Harjanto, S. L. (2012). Pemilu, Politik Patronase dan Ideologi Parpol. *Jurnal Administrasi Dan Kebijakan Publik*, 1(2), 81–102.

- Hermanto, T. (2009). Pengaruh tingkat pendidikan dan pekerjaan terhadap partisipasi politik dalam pemilihan umum (Studi korelasi di perumahan Joho Baru kabupaten Sukoharjo). UNS (Sebelas Maret University)
- Isaksson, A. S. (2014). Political participation in Africa: The role of individual resources. *Electoral Studies*, 34, 244–260. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2013.09.008
- Kaunar, A. L. A., Upara, J. M. S. A., & Tan, F. (2020). "Pipi Kasa Ngom Kage" Potret Politik Uang Dalam Pemilihan Legislatif 2014 Kota Ternate. *Ejournal KAWASA*, *10*(Nomor 3), 1–17.
- Liddle, R. W., & Mujani, S. (2007). Leadership, party, and religion: Explaining voting behavior in Indonesia. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(7), 832– 857.
- Mietzner, M. (2013). Money, power, and ideology: Political parties in post-authoritarian Indonesia. NUS press.
- Nurhasim, M. (2020). Paradoks Pemilu Serentak 2019: Memperkokoh Multipartai Ekstrem di Indonesia. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 16(2), 125–136.
- Sepriansyah, M., Yazwardi, Y., & Zalpa, Y. (2021). Strategi dan Marketing Politik Caleg Anwar Al Sadat Dalam Pileg 2019 Dapil Palembang II Sumsel. *Ampera: A Research Journal on Politics and Islamic Civilization*, 2(2), 157–167.
- Shin, J. H. (2015). Voter demands for patronage: Evidence from Indonesia. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 15(1), 127–151. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1598240800004197
- Slater, D. (2018). Party cartelization, Indonesian-style: Presidential power-sharing and the contingency of democratic opposition. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 18(1), 23–46.
- Sugiyono. (2015). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D*. Alfabeta.
- Vicente, P. C., & Wantchekon, L. (2009). Clientelism and vote buying: Lessons from field experiments in African elections. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 25(2), 292–305. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grp018
- Winters, J. A. (2011). *Oligarchy*. Cambridge University Press.

Yandri, P. (2017). The political geography of voters and political participation: Evidence from local election in Suburban Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Geography*, 49(1), 57–64. https://doi.org/10.22146/ijg.11315