

## Student perceptions as beginner voters against the normalization of money politics in general elections

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**Abstract:** The practice of money politics by some parties has been considered normal in elections in Indonesia. Money politics has been extensively discussed in the literature regarding voter behaviour in Indonesia from a political, sociological, psychological, and rational choice (political economy) perspective. Some studies focus on the influence of money politics in elections. Several international studies have also discussed academic explanations regarding the electoral impact of money politics. Beginner voters are a segment of voters who are considered more rational and not as pragmatic, with an increased awareness of the importance of holding elections with integrity. This study aims to determine students' perceptions as first-time voters of the normalization of money politics in elections. This research uses qualitative methods with a descriptive approach. The data used in this study is primary data in the form of structured interviews using questionnaires and secondary data. The research results show that most respondents know the prevalence and forms/types of money politics. Respondents have a perception that tends to be balanced regarding whether they agree or disagree that money politics is a common practice in elections in Indonesia. Factors that influence respondents' perceptions include elements in the respondent's self, factors on targets or objects, and situation/context factors.

**Keywords:** Student; Beginner Voters; Election; Money politics

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### Introduction

General elections are outlined in Paragraph 4 of the opening of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NRI 1945), with Pancasila democracy being the spirit of implementing elections in Indonesia (Raharja & Setiabudhi, 2020). In essence, the concept of democracy is inexorably linked to the idea of elections (Mubarok, 2021). Indonesia will hold elections again in 2024, where previously elections have been held 12 times; 1955, 1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019. Since post-reformation in 1998, the 2024 election will be the first to be held simultaneously.

Article 4 of Law Number 7 of 2017 Concerning General Elections (Election Law) stipulates that one of the objectives of regulating the Election Law is to create fair and honourable elections. The Election Law has threatened criminal action against corrupt practices which have undermined the integrity of election administration, including money politics, as stipulated in Article 523 paragraph (1) to paragraph (3) of the Election Law. Despite this, empirical evidence show that money politics still occurs in Indonesia. A survey conducted by Burhanuddin Muhtadi through the Indonesian Survey Circle in collaboration with the Australian National University has systematically described how many voters in Indonesia are exposed to money politics. The survey found that the practice was slightly lower in the 2019 election than in the 2014 election (Muhtadi, 2019b, 2019a).

On the one hand, money politics has increased since Indonesia's change to an open proportional system because legislative candidates will justify any means to gain the most votes in their party. On the other hand, voters do not hesitate to admit they have been exposed to money politics malpractice. The practice of money politics culture directly results from the fading of democratic

values (Erviyanto, 2017). This shows that money politics is not a taboo subject as imagined and has become a new standard practice that determines the rhythm of the political game in Indonesia's electoral competition, shown by the public's satirical term "Number Piro, Wani Piro" (NPWP), meaning to order numbers on the ballot paper of a legislative candidate according to how many rupiahs the candidate concerned is willing to pay. Another spoof term relating to money politics is "GOLPUT", meaning "Cash Recipient Group".

Even religious figures justify illegal money politics based on the principle of justice, arguing that the practice is permissible in order to create a level playing field for all legislative candidates. Burhanuddin Muhtadi has cited the opinions of several experts. Corstange (2017) said that one election was a "money harvesting" event. Kerkvliet (1995) explained that elections are a rare opportunity for ordinary people to "punish" and take back public rights or funds stolen by politicians. Schaffer dan Schedler (2007) explained that the recipients of money politics consider the money or gifts they receive as "amends for [politicians'] wrongdoings [committed against them] in the past". It is clear that many voters think of money politics as a routine in elections in Indonesia (Muhtadi, 2019a).

Several studies have discussed the influence of money politics in elections, including research conducted by Muhtadi (2013); Virananda et al. (2021). Academic explanations regarding the electoral impact of money politics are also discussed in the study 'International Foundation for Electoral Systems Research on Money Politics: Regulation of Political Finance in Indonesia' (International Foundation for Electoral System, 1999). With this background of research, new research concerning student perceptions as first-time voters on the normalization of money politics practices is relevant and interesting.

Beginner voters are a small segment of voters in Indonesia. The number of beginner voters participating in the 2019 Election was around five million people or 2.5% of total voters. The voting preferences of first-time voters are influenced by daily issues such as traffic jams, floods, the availability of basic commodities and public services, as well as issues on social media (Jati, 2019). Beginner voters are unique because their behaviour is highly enthusiastic, more rational, thirsty for change, and less polluted by pragmatism (Sofyaningsih, 2014; Wardhani, 2018).

Beginner voters are predicted to be decisive in the 2024 election, which makes them an up-and-coming niche of voters (Dwi, 2022). The assumption that beginner voters, as a social group, are more rational and less pragmatic should lead to them having an awareness of the importance of holding elections with integrity. This assumption is worth testing, considering that money politics has become routine in elections. This study aims to determine the perceptions of students as first-time voters towards the normalization of money politics in elections, which has never been done in previous studies.

## Literature Review

### Perception

According to Robbins and Judge (2017), perception is a process in which a person organizes and interprets sensory information to give meaning to their surrounding environment. What a person perceives can differ substantially from objective reality. This makes it very difficult to find universal agreements on something across all people. Many factors shape and sometimes even distort perception. These factors can be in the perceiver, the object or target that is interpreted, or the situation in which the perception is made. Robbins and Judge (2017) further explain the factors that shape perception (Figure 1).

The first factor that forms a perception is in a perceiver. When someone sees a target, the interpretation of what is seen is influenced by the personal characteristics of the perceiver, including attitudes, personality, motives, interests, past experiences, and hopes. In some cases, a person hears what they want to hear and sees what they want to see, not because it is the truth but because it is what they think.

The second factor is the characteristics of the object or target, which can also affect one's perception. One does not see the target in isolation but within a relationship between the target and the background. This affects the formation of perceptions; for example, a person tends to group

closely with those who have similar characteristics. A person may also view certain genders, skin colours, nationalities, or group members differently based on having similar (though often irrelevant) characteristics.

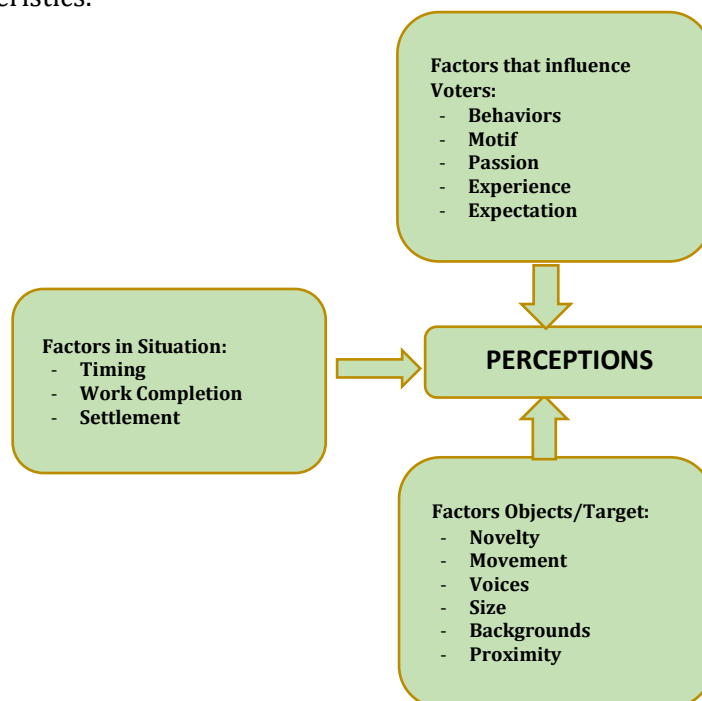


Figure 1. Background of the perception

Situation and context are also important factors. The time a person sees an object or event can affect that person's attention, as can location, light, heat, or other situational factors. For example, a student dressed very formally to attend lectures on campus will attract everyone's attention because it is unusual. People need to be aware of the factors affecting their perception of reality. Awareness and an objective attitude can reduce the distortion of one's perceptions. For example, when people are more aware of racial bias, they are more able to control prejudices (Robbins & Judge, 2017).

### Student & Beginner Voters

Article 1 Number 15 of Law Number 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education defines students as students at the higher education level. Lisa Dwi Lastary and Anizar Rahayu quoted Damar Adi Hartaji's opinion, explaining that a student is one who is gaining knowledge or studying and is registered as undergoing education at one form of higher education, whether academic, polytechnic, college, institute or university. Siswoyo also defines students as individuals who are studying at the tertiary level both public and private. Students are considered to have a high level of intellect in thinking and planning action. Critical thinking and acting quickly and precisely, complementary principles, are traits that tend to be inherent in students (Lastary & Rahayu, 2018).

Article 198 of the Election Law emphasises that Indonesian citizens who are 17 years old or older on voting day, are married, or have been married have the right to vote. Voters in Indonesia are divided into three categories: (1) Rational voters, who choose a party based on in-depth assessment and analysis; (2) Emotionally critical voters, who are still idealistic and uncompromising; (3) Beginner voters, voting for the first time because they have just entered voting age (Sijabat et al., 2021).

Wasisto Raharjo Jati explains several characteristics of first-time voters in Indonesia, including (Jati, 2019): (1) Voluntarism, young people who do not like hierarchies and institutions and often choose to be involved in volunteer movements rather than political parties; (2) Logicity, meaning their voices and attitudes do not represent individual but group voices; (3) Apolitical ideology/Political Apathy. Differences in socio-economic and socio-political factors include the

availability of jobs and accessibility of information. Both impact the formation of an apolitical character more driven by pragmatic factors. Regime change or survival does not directly affect their lives.

### Money Politics

In some literature, money politics is often called electoral corruption. In sociology, money politics is commonly referred to as venality (Hariyanto, 2021). According to Eward Aspinall and Mada Sukmajati, money politics is defined as vote buying (Wardhana, 2020). According to Pahlevi, money politics is the primary tactic when producing a leader who is pro certain individual and group interests (Atmojo & Pratiwi, 2022). The practice of money politics has become increasingly widespread since implementing the post-reform era elections.

According to Hariman Satria, money politics is not in line with the three objectives of holding elections. First, money politics will never strengthen the constitutional system because democracy is hijacked through electoral corruption. Second, *mutatis mutandis* cannot realize elections that are fair and have integrity, nor are they effective or efficient. Third, money politics will erode democracy in the constitutional system. This practice ultimately becomes antithetical to the purpose of holding elections in Indonesia (Satria, 2019). The practice of money politics is a crime in elections and is punishable by criminal penalties as stipulated in Article 523 of the Election Law. Topo Santoso and Ida Budiati explain that an election crime is any act/action (active or passive) that violates provisions in the stages of holding an election and is punishable by criminal sanctions under the Election Law (Susanti, 2021). Regarding a person's adherence to the prohibition of money politics under the Election Law, such adherence cannot be separated from political ethics and morals (Kasim & Supriyadi, 2021).

Burhanuddin Muhtadi has put together a theoretical framework that explains the background of money politics (Muhtadi, 2013). According to him, many political scientists believe that the patron-client relationship is the cause of the widespread practice of money politics in developing countries. Burhanuddin Muhtadi identifies three streams of scholarly literature into the study of clientelism.

The first is the determinist flow that parallels modernization theory. Clientelism is described as a legacy of pre-modern times in socio-political relations. Patron clients are considered to be intrinsically part of the Third World, relatively poor and with high illiteracy rates. The focus of this intellectual camp is conceptualization and case studies. The theoretical assumption is that the patron-client relationship can be overcome if the country is modern, both economically and politically. It is not surprising that the practice of buying and selling votes has become endemic because patron-client networks have contributed to cultivating and maintaining money politics for the continuation of the status quo.

The second stream is the cultural argument. Patron-clients are considered as socio-cultural products in which groups that have certain privileges (patrons) provide money or benefits in return for the loyalty of their followers (clients). Clientelism is considered not just a social relationship, but also a "political sub-culture". This second intellectual stream is potentially trapped in essentialism, a tendency to believe that clientelism's culture is unique, fixed, and unchanging, thus paying more attention to social development, culture, and politics. As a result, it is impossible to eliminate money politics and corruption because they are considered an integral part of the culture itself (though studies in Sweden and England show the opposite).

The third intellectual stream in the study of clientelism is the institutionalist approach. This camp emphasizes that the design of political institutions has a role in spreading patron-client practices. For example, competitive elections and multi-party systems are suspected to be the cause of the rise of political patronage both in a decentralized election system and in decision-making processes, both in the legislature and the executive. In this stream, the patron-client is increasingly attractive to politicians in countries where political system integration is still poor, ethnic divisions are strong, and economic performance is weak. This institutionalist argument is prone to falling into a "which came first, the chicken or the egg" paradox, or the dilemma of causality between patron clients and political institutions (which is the cause for the other?)

Another weakness of the institutionalist approach is that it is overly critical and unsympathetic to the patron-client.

### Methods

This study uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. This is the method researchers use to achieve goals and determine answers to the problems posed. According to Vanderstoep and Johnson (2008), the characteristics of a qualitative approach are in the form of a narrative explanation of phenomena and an identification of topics that are general, broad, and thematic. Sudjarwo explains that descriptive research is patterned research describing something that happened in the field. It describes data in a systematic, factual and accurate manner regarding the facts of an event and specific characteristics, or tries to describe phenomena in detail (Sudjarwo, 2001). This research will therefore provide an overview of student perceptions as first time voters towards the phenomenon of the normalization of money politics in elections, analyzed based on relevant theories.

The data used in this research is primary data and secondary data. Primary data is data obtained by researchers directly from the object of the data, here interviews with researchers. Secondary data is data obtained by researchers indirectly from the object, through other pre-existing sources such as books, research results, scientific journals, and materials available on the internet. The selection of respondents, namely Hasanuddin University students who came from 15 faculties and were currently studying in the undergraduate (S1) program, used a purposive sampling technique based on the criteria provided by the researcher. Based on the specified criteria, 142 students were selected as research respondents.

Based on the minimum sample formulation of the Slovin method, a minimum sample is obtained with a population of 21,554 Hasanuddin University students and a sampling error rate of 10% which is:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2} = \frac{21554}{1 + (21554) * (0.1)^2} = 99.5$$

The minimum number of samples obtained was around 100. Therefore, the total sample of 142 respondents used in this study fulfilled the minimum sample size. Table 1 shows the demographics of the respondents.

**Table 1.** Demografi Responden

Faculty	Gender			Age							
	M	F	Prefer Not Say	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Faculty of Engineering	7	0	0	1	0	2	1	2	0	0	1
Faculty of Economy and Business	4	6	0	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	0
Faculty of Law	16	15	0	10	5	4	4	5	1	2	0
Faculty of Arts	3	3	0	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
Faculty of Teacher Training and Education	3	4	0	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	1
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences	7	21	0	4	3	11	3	4	2	1	0
Faculty of Medicine	0	5	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0
Faculty of Dentistry	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Faculty of Forestry	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Faculty of Public Health	1	34	0	12	9	10	2	3	2	0	0
Faculty of Science	2	4	0	0	1	0	4	1	0	0	0
Faculty of Agriculture	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	45	94	3	30	22	32	23	20	6	5	4

Researchers used structured interviews with questionnaires to obtain research data. Structured interviews are a systematic procedure for gathering information about respondents under conditions where a set of questions are asked in the order prepared by the interviewer and the answers are recorded in a standardized form. Retrieval of data in this way was selected with the consideration that the questions are more focused and have relevance. The researcher compiled an Indonesian-language questionnaire using the Google Form service. The next researcher



used the features on Google Form to identify and map patterns of answers from respondents. Researchers then used the Microsoft Word and Microsoft Excel applications to describe and present data in the form of tables and diagrams.

Given that the research respondents were not homogeneous, the researchers chose the respondents based on age, gender, and the origin of the respondent's faculty, so that the sources of information in the research could be directed correctly and as expected by the respondents. Choosing the respondents based on age was done to find out the perceptions of respondents who have and have not been previously given voting rights in general elections. Choosing the respondents based on gender was because regarding perception, male respondents rely more on motor skills (the five senses), while female respondents prioritize memory and social conditions. Choosing the respondents based on the origin of their faculty was related to lecture material that is relevant to the object of research.

## Result and Discussion

Based on the data obtained through the answers to the semi-structured questionnaire, four main rubrics will be reported in this research (Table 2). The first rubric relates to the participation of respondents in elections. The second rubric relates to respondents' knowledge of the prevalence of money politics in elections in Indonesia. The third rubric concerns respondents' knowledge of forms/types of money politics, constituting an election crime. The last rubric is about respondents' perceptions of the practice of money politics in elections in Indonesia.

### Participation of Respondents in Elections

Based on the first rubric, data was collected regarding respondents who had and had not cast their vote in a previous election. 84 respondents voted in the 2019 Election and five respondents voted in the 2014 Election, meaning the total number of respondents who had voted previously is 89 respondents (62.6 %). Of this group, on average, 56 respondents (62.9%) participated at all levels of the General Election, including the Presidential/Vice-President Election and Legislative Elections (DPR/DPD/Provincial/Regency/City DPRD), as well as Regional Head Elections (Governors and Mayor/Regent). The remaining respondents only participated at one or two levels of the election.

53 respondents had never voted in an election (37.3%). These respondent's non-participation was caused by several factors: (1) Administrative factors (not registered in the final voters list, not getting an election card or not having an ID card) = 41 respondents (77.4%); (2) Internal factors (health reasons, business or choosing to abstain) = 4 respondents (7.6%); (3) Other factors (lack of socialization) = 3 respondents (5.7%); and (4) Not willing to give reasons = 5 respondents (9.4%). Concerning the prospective participation of respondents for the next election, the data (Table 2).

**Table 2.** Respondents' Participation in the 2024 General Election

	Will Vote	Not Vote	Uncertain
2014/2019 Election	77	-	12
Never Cast a Vote	50	-	3
TOTAL	127	-	15

### Respondents Knowledge of the Prevalence of Money Politics Practices

The first data collected from the second rubric relates to respondent's knowledge of the prevalence of money politics in Indonesian elections. The majority of 133 respondents (93.7%) stated that they knew money politics often occurs in elections in Indonesia, while four respondents (2.8%) said no and five respondents (3.5%) stated they were unsure.

The second rubric data further explains the respondent's knowledge of the prevalence of money politics practices. The majority of respondents stated that they knew of the prevalence of money politics practices based on the following: (1) Respondents have heard from other people about the practice of money politics; (2) Respondents have personal experience; they have received offers/been involved in money politics or have seen the practices of money politics

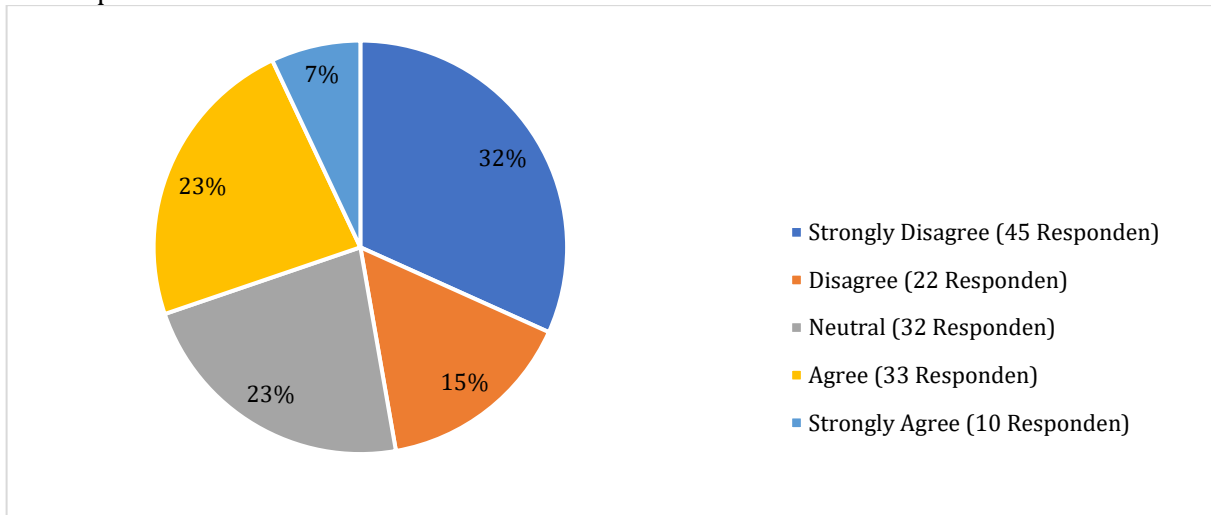
themselves; (3) Respondents have read literature, participated in socialization or obtained information from the media (print/broadcast/internet) related to the widespread practice of money politics.

The third rubric relates to the respondent's knowledge of the form/type of money politics, which constitutes a crime or election crime. 133 (93.7%), stated that they knew the forms/types of money politics, while the remaining nine (6.3%) said they did not know. The forms/types of money politics known to the respondents were: (1) Giving cash/goods/gifts directly to prospective voters; (2) Services and social activities accompanied by the provision of cash and other materials; (3) Giving cash or goods to specific groups/communities/associations from society; (4) Government projects or project promises ahead of the election.

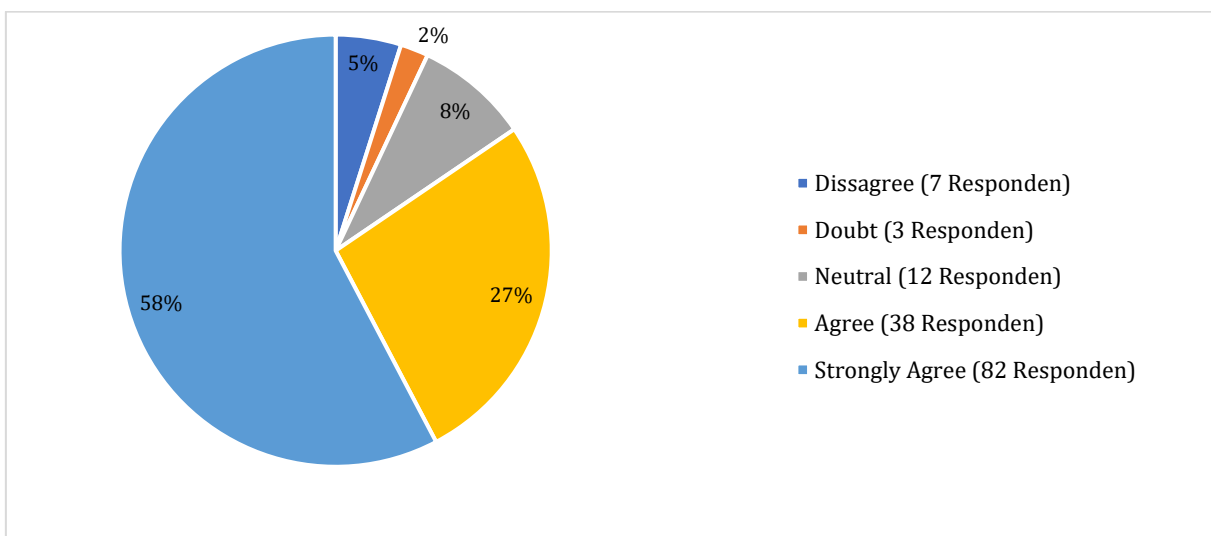
123 respondents (86.6%) also knew that the practice of money politics is a prohibited act and constitutes a crime/election crime, while of the rest, 13 respondents (9.2%), expressed doubt and six (4.2%) stated that they did not know it was a prohibited act and constituted a crime.

### Respondents' Perceptions of Money Politics Practices

The final rubric to be reported relates to respondents' perceptions of whether money politics, which is clearly considered regular practice in elections in Indonesia, can injure the integrity of elections. The following data contains respondent's perceptions of money politics, its prevalence and its perceived effect on fair elections in Indonesia:



**Figure 2.** Respondents' Perception that Money Politics is a Normal Practice in Elections in Indonesia



**Figure 3.** Respondents' Perception that the Practice of Money Politics can Injure the Integrity of Elections in Indonesia

Furthermore, as many as 53 respondents (37.3%) are willing to provide further explanations regarding their perceptions of the practice of money politics in elections in Indonesia. After data reduction, the following are some of these explanations: (1) The practice of money politics still occurs even openly in society; (2) In the life of the people in my area, money politics is seen as a normal thing because there is a view that we should take the money because whoever we choose or whoever wins, the election won't change our lives; (3) Money politics has become a normal practice in elections, especially in Indonesia, where we can receive news on social media, from the level of regional elections to higher levels; (4) Because in real life, every year, I hear stories from neighbours in every neighbourhood/ district where there are bribes to vote for a particular candidate; (5) The above (d) often occurs in districts during gubernatorial elections, where people's votes are mostly bought; (6) Money politics has become a cultural tradition approaching elections and has even become ingrained among the people, who now believe that it is inevitable that every time there is an election, there will always be an element of money politics; (7) Most people also choose to take the money and even make it part of their business; (8) Since it is common knowledge that there is corruption every time an election is held, it is not surprising; (9) The practice of money politics seems commonplace in society and is very structural, so it isn't easy to get rid of; (10) Since elementary school, my teacher told me that money politics often occurs, but I did not know anything about elections at that time. This means that I have always seen directly in the community around me how money politics often occurs; (11) In my opinion it is no longer a secret that today's officials have been successfully elected by buying people's votes; (12) In Indonesia there have been many instances of money politics and people are used to it, so they are seen as normal; (13) As a prime voter in 2019, I often heard about a term called dawn attack. This term was very commonly used before I became a voter.

### Analysis

Previous research has found that money politics is routine in elections in Indonesia. The patron-client theory explains that the rise of money politics in developing countries is due to the legacy of pre-modern times in socio-political relations (determinist school), the socio-cultural division of society (cultural flow), or the result of the design of political institutions (institutionalist approach). This research found that the prevalence of money politics practices was known by the majority of respondents (93.7%), who stated that they knew about the occurrence of money politics in elections in Indonesia. In addition, a clear majority of respondents (93.7%) indicated they knew the forms/types of money politics.

After further analysis of data related to respondents' knowledge of the prevalence of money politics practices based on age, gender, and the faculty of the respondents, the following results have been obtained Table 3.

In addition, after further analysis of the data related to the respondents' knowledge that money politics is a crime (again based on age, gender, and the faculty of the respondents), the following results were also obtained Table 4.

Based on the data in Table 4, it was found that more female respondents answered that they did not know or doubted that money politics was a crime compared to male respondents. When viewed based on the origin of the respondent's faculty, respondents from the faculties of social sciences knew more that money politics is a crime than respondents from the faculties of science. This could be due to the lecture material at the faculty of social sciences discussing general elections, for example political science and constitutional law.

Regarding respondents' perceptions that money politics has become a usual practice in elections in Indonesia, it was found that 45 respondents (31.6%) stated that they strongly did not agree, 22 respondents (15.46%) said they did not agree, 32 respondents (22.5%) declared themselves neutral, 33 respondents (23.2%) agreed, and 10 respondents (7.04%) stated that they strongly agreed. After further analysis of the data, the following results were obtained Table 5.



**Table 3.** Respondents' Knowledge of the Prevalence of Money Politics Practices by Age, Gender, and Faculty Origin

	Understand	Doubt	Do not know
Age:			
18 Years Old	28 (21,5%)	0 (0%)	2 (50%)
19 Years Old	19 (14,29 %)	2 (40%)	1 (25%)
20 Years Old	29 (21,80%)	2 (40%)	1 (25%)
21 Years Old	23 (17,29%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
22 Years Old	20 (15,04%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
23 Years Old	6 (4,51%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
24 Years Old	5 (3,75%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
25 Years Old	3 (2,25%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)
Gender:			
Male	43 (32,33%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)
Female	87 (65,41%)	3 (60%)	4 (100%)
Prefer Not Say	3 (2,25%)	0 (0%)	0 %)
Faculty:			
Faculty of Engineering	7 (5.26%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Economics and Business	9 (6.76%)	0 (0%)	1 (25%)
Faculty of Law	30 (22.56%)	0 (0%)	1 (25%)
Faculty of Arts	5 (3.75%))	0 (0%)	1 (25%)
Faculty of Teacher Training and Education	7 (5.26%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences	26 (19.55%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Medicine	5 (3.75%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Dentistry	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Forestry	1 (0.75%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Public Health	35 (26.32%)	2 (40%)	1 (25%)
Faculty of Sciences	6 (4.51%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Agriculture	2 (1.50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

**Table 4.** Respondents' Knowledge that Money Politics is a Crime Based on Age, Gender, and Faculty

	Understand	Doubt	Not Understand
Age:			
18 Years Old	26 (22.03%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)
19 Years Old	20 (16.95%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)
20 Years Old	25 (21.19%)	3 (30%)	2 (33.33%)
21 Years Old	20 (16.95%)	1 (10%)	2 (33.33%)
22 Years Old	16 (13.56%)	0 (0%)	2 (33.33%)
23 Years Old	4 (3.39%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)
24 Years Old	4 (3.39%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
25 Years Old	3 (2.54%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Gender:			
Male	35 (29.66%)	2 (20%)	3 (50%)
Female	80 (67.80%)	8 (80%)	3 (50%)
Prefer Not Say	3 (2.54%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Faculty:			
Faculty of Engineering	5 (4.23%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.67%)
Faculty of Economics and Business	9 (7.62%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Law	26 (22.03%)	1 (10%)	2 (33.33%)
Faculty of Arts	6 (5.08%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Teacher Training and Education	5 (4.23%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.67%)
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences	21 (17.80%)	4 (40%)	1 (16.67%)
Faculty of Medicine	4 (3.39%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Dentistry	1 (0.84%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Forestry	1 (0.84%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Public Health	33 (27.97%)	3 (30%)	1 (16.67%)
Faculty of Sciences	5 (4.23%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Agriculture	2 (1.69%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

**Table 5.** Respondents' Perceptions that Money Politics is a Normal Practice in Elections in Indonesia Based on Age, Gender, and Faculty

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Disagree
<b>Age:</b>					
18 Years Old	10 (22.2%)	4 (18.18%)	5 (15.62%)	8 (24.24%)	3 (30%)
19 Years Old	6 (13.33%)	4 (18.18%)	5 (15.62%)	7 (21.21%)	0 (0%)
20 Years Old	13 (28.8%)	3 (13.64%)	7 (21.88%)	7 (21.21%)	2 (20%)
21 Years Old	4 (8.88%)	2 (9.09%)	8 (25%)	6 (18.18%)	3 (30%)
22 Years Old	6 (13.33%)	3 (13.64%)	5 (15.62%)	4 (12.12%)	2 (20%)
23 Years Old	4 (8.88%)	2 (9.09%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
24 Years Old	0 (0%)	3 (13.64%)	2 (6.25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
25 Years Old	2 (4.44%)	1 (4.54%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.03%)	0 (0%)
<b>Gender:</b>					
Male	14 (31.1%)	6 (27.2%)	7 (21.88%)	13 (39.3%)	5 (50%)
Female	30 (66.7%)	16 (72.7%)	24 (75%)	19 (57.5%)	5 (50%)
Prefer Not Say	1 (2.22%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.12%)	1 (3.03%)	0 (0%)
<b>Faculty:</b>					
Faculty of Engineering	4 (8.88%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.12%)	2 (6.06%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Economics and Business	1 (2.22%)	2 (9.09%)	4 (12.50%)	3 (9.09%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Law	10 (22.2%)	5 (22.73%)	5 (15.62%)	8 (24.24%)	3 (30%)
Faculty of Arts	3 (6.66%)	0 (0%)	0 (6.25%)	0 (3.03%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Teacher Training and Education	1 (4.44%)	1 (4.54%)	2 (6.25%)	1(3.03%)	1 (10%)
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences	9 (20%)	4 (18.18%)	7 (21.88%)	5 (15.15%)	3 (30%)
Faculty of Medicine	0 (0%)	1 (4.54%)	1 (3.12%)	2 (6.06%)	1 (10%)
Faculty of Dentistry	1 (2.22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Forestry	0(0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.03%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Public Health	15 (33.3%)	6 (27.27%)	7 (21.88%)	8 (24.24%)	1 (20%)
Faculty of Sciences	0 (0%)	2 (9.09%)	3 (9.37%)	1 (3.03%)	0 (0%)
Faculty of Agriculture	0 (0%)	1 (4.54%)	0 (0%)	0(3.03%)	0 (0%)

Based on the data in Table 5, it was found that the younger respondents (under 23 years old) are most strongly of the view that money politics has become a usual practice in general elections in Indonesia. When viewed from gender, more female respondents disagreed that money politics has become a usual practice in general elections than male respondents. Regarding the faculty of the respondent, most of the respondents from the faculties of science were also of the view that money politics has become a normal practice in general elections, compared to respondents from the faculty of social sciences.

The data relating to respondents' perception that money politics can damage the integrity of elections in Indonesia showed seven respondents (4.92%) said they strongly? did not agree, three respondents (2.11%) said they did not agree, 12 respondents (8.45%) declared themselves neutral, 38 respondents (26.76%) agreed, and 82 respondents (57.74%) stated that they strongly agreed. After further analysis of the data, the following results were obtained (Table 6).

The patron-client theory as a socio-cultural product explains the background of money politics practices. Patron clients are considered socio-cultural products when groups with specific privileges (patrons) provide money or benefits in return for the loyalty of their followers (clients). Clientelism is regarded as a social relationship and a "political sub-culture". Most respondents stated that they knew that money politics had occurred, the form/type of money politics that had occurred, and that it was a crime or election crime. This shows that the practice of money politics has indeed become routine in elections in Indonesia. Respondents also stated that money politics had become a culture in Indonesia. Contrastingly, respondents have a balanced perception about whether they agree or disagree that money politics can undermine the integrity of elections in Indonesia.

**Table 6.** Respondents' Perceptions that the Practice of Money Politics can Injure the Integrity of Elections in Indonesia Based on Age, Gender, and Faculty

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Usia:					
18 Years Old	2 (28.57%)	0 (0%)	2 (16.67%)	9 (23.68%)	17 (20.7%)
19 Years Old	1 (14.29%)	2 (66.67%)	2 (16.67%)	7 (18.42%)	10 (12.2%)
20 Years Old	1 (14.29%)	0 (0%)	5 (41.67%)	10 (26.3%)	16 (19.5%)
21 Years Old	0 (0%)	1 (33.33%)	1 (8.333%)	5 (13.16%)	16 (19.5%)
22 Years Old	2 (28.57%)	0 (0%)	2 (16.67%)	3 (7.89%)	13 (15.8%)
23 Years Old	1 (14.29%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (6.09%)
24 Years Old	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (10.53%)	1 (1.22%)
25 Years Old	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (4.87%)
Gender:					
Male	1 (14.29%)	0 (0%)	5 (41.67%)	8 (21.05%)	31 (37.8%)
Female	6 (85.71%)	3 (100%)	7 (58.33%)	29 (76.3%)	49 (59.7%)
Prefer Not Say	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.63%)	2 (2.43%)
Faculty					
Faculty of Engineering	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (16.67%)	1 (2.63%)	4 (4.87%)
Faculty of Economics and Business	0 (0%)	1 (33.33%)	0 (0%)	2 (5.26%)	7 (8.53%)
Faculty of Law	3 (42.86%)	0 (0%)	3 (25%)	8 (21.05%)	17 (20.7%)
Faculty of Arts	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (8.33%)	2 (5.26%)	3 (3.65%)
Faculty of Teacher Training and Education	0 (0%)	1 (33.33%)	0 (0%)	2 (5.26%)	4 (4.87%)
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences	2 (28.57%)	1 (33.33%)	3 (25%)	10 (26.3%)	12 (14.6%)
Faculty of Medicine	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.22%)
Faculty of Dentistry	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.22%)
Faculty of Forestry	2 (28.57%)	0 (0%)	3 (25%)	8 (21.05%)	25 (30.4%)
Faculty of Public Health	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5.26%)	4 (4.87%)
Faculty of Sciences	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.63%)	1 (1.22%)
Faculty of Agriculture					

Referring to the perception theory according to Stephen P. Robbins and Timothy A. Judge, the first factor influencing the respondent's perception is a factor within the respondent, namely the respondent's experience of the practice of money politics, namely having heard from other people or having experienced it themselves through getting offers or becoming involved in the practice of money politics. The second factor is related to the target or object (the rise of the practice of money politics), namely the similarity factor in which most respondents know about the occurrence of money politics in elections in Indonesia. Situation/context factors also affect respondents' perceptions, as some respondents believe that the practice of money politics is rife during elections.

### Conclusion

Based on the results and analysis of the research, our conclusions are as follows: **First**, Most respondents know that money politics has occurred, know the forms/types of money politics, and know that this is a crime or an election crime. Respondents think that money politics has become a culture in Indonesia. Factors that influence respondent's perceptions include elements in the respondents themselves (respondent's experiences related to money politics), factors of the target or object (respondent's common knowledge about the practice of money politics), and situational/context factors (money politics is rife during elections). **Second**, Respondents have a perception that tends to be balanced about whether or not they agree that money politics can harm the integrity of elections in Indonesia. This shows that younger respondents (under 23 years old) think that money politics is a usual practice in general elections in Indonesia, and are aware that this can damage the integrity said elections.

## Suggestions and Recommendations

Based on the research results, there are two suggestions that can be implemented as a solution to the issue of money politics: **First**, The University is a place for developing the potential of students to become human beings who believe in and fear God Almighty and have noble character, are healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, skilled, competent, and cultured. Therefore, universities need to develop an Anti-Corruption Education Curriculum, to educate on matters regarding the holding of elections with integrity (for example citizenship education). **Second**, Other stakeholders such as the Corruption Eradication Commission, the Election Commission, and the Election Supervisory Board need to be more active in conducting socialization or workshops for first-time voters, especially students, in order to educate on fair and honourable elections and minimize the practice of money politics in the future.

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