

## **BIBLIOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH ON MONEY POLITICS IN INDONESIA: CHALLENGES AND INTERESTING ISSUES**

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*Submitted: 23 August 2023, Reviewed: 29 June 2024, Published: 3 July 2024*

### **ABSTRACT**

This study aims to describe the issue of money politics in elections in Indonesia. The method used in this study is qualitative, using a literature review. The research data is sourced from the Scopus database in July 2023, using the keywords politics elections, and money. Data analysis used Bibliometric Biblio Shiny R 4.3.1 and Scopus data analysis. The research results show many issues in studying money politics in Indonesia from various perspectives. Aspects of power, money, and elections are three keywords that influence the practice of money politics in Indonesia. Then in terms of actors, money politics in Indonesia is driven by political parties and candidates driven by the capitalist elite network. Some of the significant issues above the opportunities for money politics can be examined in the future through various fundamental perspectives. The relationship between patrons and clients and networks between election participants and elite financier networks (konglongmerat) is a challenge for further research. This research contributes to providing space and new perspectives in studying the practice of money politics in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Money Politic; Indonesia; General Elections; Power; Biblioshiny

### **ABSTRAK**

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan isu politik uang dalam pemilu di Indonesia. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah kualitatif, dengan menggunakan kajian literatur. Data penelitian bersumber dari database Scopus pada Juli 2023, menggunakan kata kunci politik dan pemilu, dan uang. Analisis data menggunakan Bibliometric Biblio Shiny R 4.3.1 dan analisis data Scopus. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan banyak kajian politik uang di Indonesia dari berbagai perspektif. Aspek kekuasaan, uang, dan pemilu merupakan tiga kata kunci yang mempengaruhi praktik politik uang di Indonesia. Kemudian dari sisi aktor, politik uang di Indonesia dimotori oleh partai politik dan kandidat melalui jaringan elite kapitalis. Beberapa isu signifikan mengenai politik uang dapat ditelaah ke depan melalui berbagai perspektif fundamental. Hubungan antara patron dan klien serta jaringan antara peserta pemilu dan jaringan elit pemodal (konglongmerat) menjadi tantangan penelitian selanjutnya. Penelitian ini berkontribusi dalam memberikan ruang dan perspektif baru dalam kajian praktik politik uang di Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Politik Uang; Indonesia; Pemilu; Kekuasaan; Biblioshiny

**BACKGROUND**

Money politics is the beginning of the emergence of democratic liberalization that makes the public a "corporate society" by making corporations (money) influence policymaking (Barley, 2010). The main actors are politicians and businesses network to open up political space to pursue profit (Nyberg, 2021). In addition, political brokers also become political initiatives (political parties, brokers, and election campaign teams) which harm the essence of democracy in elections (Sari Soleha et al., 2023; Dzulhidayat, 2022).

Money is an essential component in every election that is usually needed in campaign finance. Ideally, the campaign is carried out by offering programs that will be implemented if they are elected to a certain position, both in the legislature and the executive. Public support is based on the program offered and the quality of the candidate's track record. In reality, especially in a candidate-centered election system, the figure of the candidate is the main determinant. Candidates who are not yet known to the public tend to require larger campaign costs, both for campaign operations and technicalities and in the form of vote buying. Money in politics is often associated with cases of money politics and corruption (Hodess, 2004). Money politics and corruption also have a close relationship, where one of the causes of corruption is the practice of money politics. Money politics is often interpreted as giving money, goods, gifts, or other benefits used to influence support in elections, political decisions, and government decision-making processes (Weiss, 2016). Money politics is one of the practices that undermine

democracy because money politics as a form of bribery and coercion in politics is an act that degrades politics (Still & Dusi, 2020). Qualified candidates can be eliminated with less qualified candidates because the power of money is more dominant in determining political support and money is used to mobilize public support (Michele Ford & Thomas B. Pepinsky, 2013).

In practice, there is a wide variety of money politics. There are three forms of money politics: vote buying and election financing associated with political campaigns; use of public funds on behalf of candidates or parties to gain public support; patronage that leads to rent-seeking that directly benefits the party or elite in the form of corruption, collusion and nepotism, contracts, and money laundering (Saravanamuttu & Mohamad, 2020). There are many factors in the practice of vote buying, including those related to candidates (Aspinall et al., 2017; Samani and Charles, 2020), political parties (Ali, Bukar, and Babagana, 2019), electoral system (Hellmann, 2014; Huang, 1996), and accountability (Gomez, 2012).

The issue of money politics in Indonesia has become stronger since the reform. In a candidate-centered electoral system, such as in majoritarian votes and an open-list proportional electoral system, the figure of the candidate is the determinant. Consequently, candidates emerged from political and economic elites with solid financial capital. In the open-list proportional election system, the competition is not only among political parties but also intra-party competition among candidates in the same party. As a

result, the relationship between candidates and parties and between candidates and voters tends to be more transactional (Busari, 2020).. Money politics is giving money or goods or promising unique benefits to supporters to gain vote support (Weiss, 2016). In the 2019 election, research results from Muhtadi (Muhtadi, 2019) showed that around 19% - 33% of voters were exposed to money politics. This data puts Indonesia as the third largest country in the case of money politics. The high level of money and political insecurity in Indonesia supports this. From the mapping conducted by Bawaslu, 34.2% of all regions in Indonesia are included in the high risk of money politics; and 65.8% are in the money politics category. No region in Indonesia is prone to low-money politics. This research shows that money politics is a common phenomenon in elections in Indonesia, even though money politics is a form of violation in elections.

Elections relying on money politics undermine the electoral goal of electing the best legislature and executive leaders. The political power of money in elections causes free and fair elections not to materialize. The election results in Indonesia show that it has strengthened the oligarchy of power. In addition, money politics leads to high-cost politics, and this is the cause of corruption and abuse of power after occupying political and government offices (Oklobdzija, 2019). Therefore efforts to prevent and minimize money politics need to continue (Chen & Han, 2019).

In its realization, this money politics also has a strong network in making political decisions (money) for personal and group interests (Richter & Wunsch, 2020). Then in

other respects, the legitimacy of the elite (rulers) will also turn to the trap of stagnant democratization. The event was supported by a release also by the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI), which stated that as many as 21.9% of research respondents had been offered money once or twice to choose a gubernatorial candidate, and 22.7% of respondents said they had been offered money to choose a specific candidate for regent or deputy regent (Bayu, 2021).

Several studies have also studied the phenomenon of money politics in Indonesia. Study of money politics correlated with elections (Ghaliya and Sjafrina, 2019; Muhtadi, 2018; Sukmajati, 2015). The study of local elections (Sukmajati and Disyacitta, 2019), electoral financial accountability (Sarwani, Zetra, and Koeswara, 2022), and electoral reform (Jatri and Azalia, 2022).

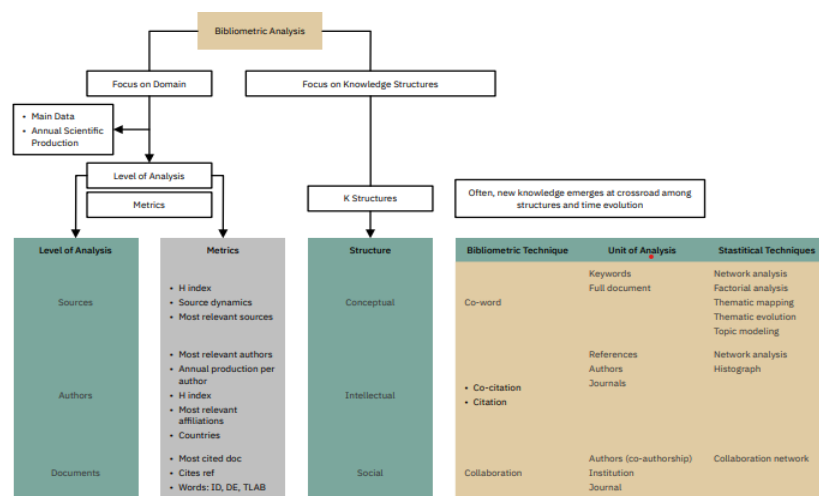
From some of the literature collected by the author above, the author fills the gap in research to examine money politics in Indonesia from the mapping perspective of the research conducted so far. This is due to the massive issue of money politics in the field at the level of regional head elections and legislative elections. So, this research will explain trends and research topics related to the study of money politics in elections in Indonesia so that further research is possible. This study aims to determine the research development with the theme "money politics" in Indonesia. In analyzing research development, the author uses bibliometric analysis combined with biblioshiny bibliometric. This research will also identify the factors that cause money politics.

## METHOD

This research is qualitative research with a literature review approach using bibliometric analysis. Data collected in July 2023 derived from the Scopus database with keywords TITLE-ABS-KEY (money AND politics AND Indonesia) AND PUBYEAR > 1999 AND PUBYEAR < 2024 AND ( LIMIT-TO ( SUBJAREA, "SOCI" ) OR LIMIT-TO ( SUBJAREA, "ARTS" ) ). From the search results, there were 51 documents from the sample documents in this study, limited to documents during the reform period, namely between 2000 and 2023, which amounted to 41 documents. The data is converted into Bibteks format

and then imported into bibliometric R 4.3.1. Biblioshiny for bibliometric analysis is software that maps literature from Scopus metadata sources for the Web of Science (WOS) (Aria & Cuccurullo, 2017). This bibliometric analysis is combined with biblioshiny bibliometrics so that the analysis can be more complete, which includes documents, sources, and authors (Thakuria, A., Chakraborty, I. and Deka, 2023). From these three aspects, various analyses were carried out consisting of graphic data, citation data, collaboration, word analysis, inter-research networks, and research mapping. For more details, can review the following biblioshiny literature:

Figure 1. Bibliometric Analysis for Systematic Review



Source: (J.-H. Huang et al., 2021)

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Productivity and Impact Metrics

Based on data analysis, the study of money politics in Indonesia began during the reform period. At this time, the issue of good governance, transparency, and efforts to eradicate corruption became a concern of the government and society, including the issue of money politics in elections. Based

on Figure 2., data on money politics has increased since the 2004 election, although it tends to fluctuate according to the election or regional head election period. Attention to the issue of money politics has strengthened after the 2009 election and reached its peak in 2012, 2017, and 2020 with five publications each. The data shows an increase in studies on political money

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Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v10i1.49557

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after the election, namely the 2009, 2014, and 2019 elections. In the 2009 election, the electoral system changed from a closed system to an open one. With an open system and the majoritarian votes, competition in

elections is no longer based on competition between parties but intra-party competition between candidates within the same party. In this system, social, political, and economic capital determine victory.

Figure 2. Global Trend Publication in Money Politic in Indonesia

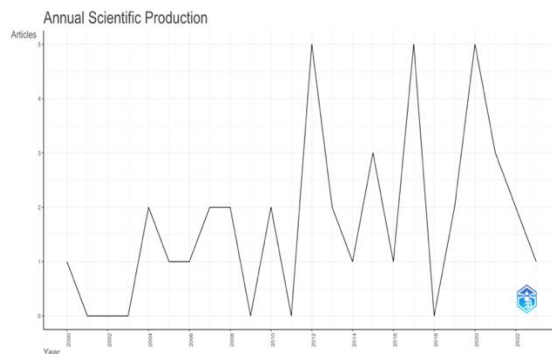
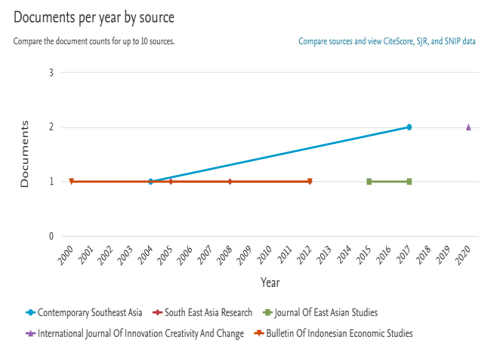


Figure 3. Document Per Year on Money Politic in Indonesia



Source: Biblioshiny bibliometric analysis (2023)

Figure 3. shows the sources of publication of articles on money politics in Indonesia. South East Asia Research consistently publishes issues of money

politics from 2000 to 2012. However, most publications come from Contemporary Southeast Asia.

Figure 4. CiteScore Publication by Year on Money Politic Indonesia

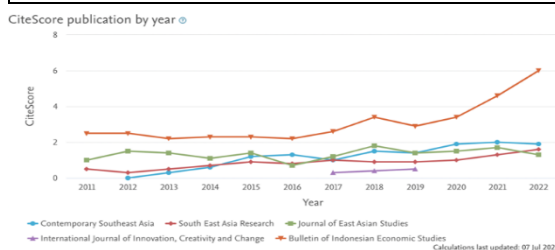
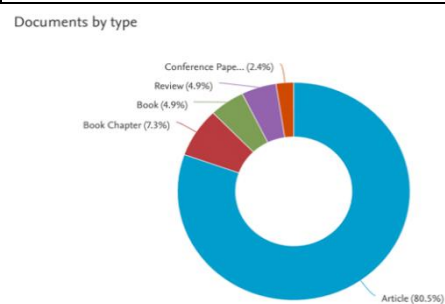


Figure 5. Documents by Type



Source: Scopus database analysis (2023)

Based on the publication source, studies on money politics in Indonesia are published in the Journal of Contemporary Southeast Asia, Southeast Asia Research, Journal of East Asian Studies, International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change, and Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies. Of the five journals,

most documents come from Contemporary Southeast Asia. Most citations in Southeast Asia Research tend to increase and peak in 2022 at six citations (Figure 4). The other four journals are more volatile, and in the last three years, citations from Southeast Asia contemporary journals have averaged two citations.

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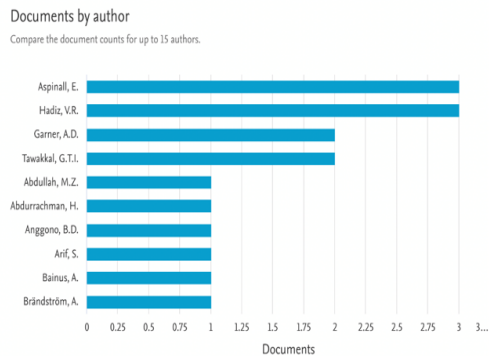
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Then, based on the type of document, the majority of 80.5%) are in the form of articles, the rest are in the form of

book chapters (7.3%), books (4.9%), reviews (4.9%) and conference papers (2.4%).

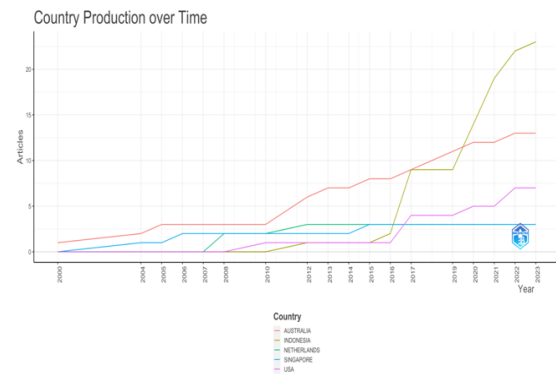
Figure 6. Document by Authors



Source: Scopus database analysis (2023)

**Figure 6** shows that Aspinall and Hadiz became the main contributors to this research topic by contributing three scientific articles. Then it was followed by Garner and Tawakkal, with two scientific articles indexed by Scopus each. At the same time, the other authors each contributed one scientific article. In the H-Index aspect, Scopus Aspinall and Hadiz became the authors with the highest impact

Figure 7. Country Production over Time



Source: Biblioshiny Analysis (2023)

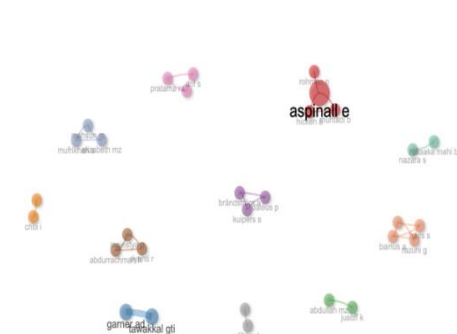
factor, with a score of 3 each. Garner and Tawakkal with H-Index with a score of 2. Then, other authors contributed a score of 1 on the H-Index of Scopus-indexed articles. It is in line with the number of articles by country, where the highest number of articles come from Indonesia, the second from Australia, and the third from the United States (**Figure 7**).

## Co-occurrence and Collaboration Network

Figure 8. Country Collaboration on Money Politic in Indonesia



Figure 9. Network Map of Co-occurrences between



Source: Biblioshiny bibliometric analysis (2023)

**Figure 8.** shows several countries that highlight the issue of money politics in Indonesia, including the United States, Sweden, Britain, France, Germany, Malaysia, and Australia. Indonesian writers collaborated with the United States and Australia from these various countries. The collaboration of Indonesian writers with the United States includes Tawakkal and Garner (**Figure 9**). There are three of their writings; the first discusses the effect of economic level and education on the acceptance of money politics. Low-income people tend to be vulnerable to money politics, although it does not always affect their choices (Tawakkal *et al.*, 2017). The second article discusses brokers and vote buying in regional head elections in Pati. The strength of the incumbent and strong financial for-money politics is unmatched by financially weak competitors (Tawakkal & Garner, 2017). The third article is about the role of brokers in elections. It highlights the importance of social networks in recruiting brokers, the structure of brokerage networks, and the motivations behind joining campaigns (Tawakkal *et al.*, 2020).

Besides, the collaboration between Indonesian and Australian authors was conducted by Rohman and Aspinall. There are two of their writings regarding money politics, the first is about brokers in village head elections (Aspinall & Rohman, 2017a), and the second is about the role of candidates and brokers in money politics (Aspinall *et al.*, 2017).

**Figure 9.** shows that the authors of the most topics on money politics are Aspinall and Vedi R. Hadiz. As an observer of Indonesian politics, Aspinall collaborates with several other writers from Indonesia

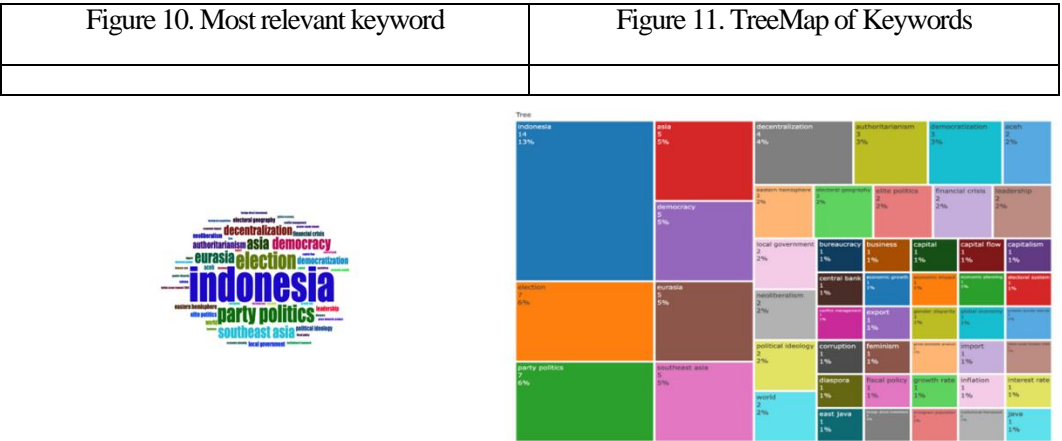
and outside Indonesia. He also collaborated with Hicken, Weiss, and Muhtadi. They look at how much money was spent on each candidate in an election in Indonesia and discover enormous spending but need more proof of purchasing votes or turnout. They locate candidates who pay brokers to build a reputation with reputable brokers, who protect their turf with meager payments due to lack of party affiliation or brand (Hicken *et al.*, 2022a). Another article from Aspinall regarding vote buying concludes that Indonesia's fragmented **vote-buying** pattern is attributed to personalized and clientelistic loyalties, with candidates overestimating their appeal. The open-list electoral system encourages competition, weakening parties, and limiting identification. Indonesia's vote buying is organized by social network machines, not political **parties** (Aspinall *et al.*, 2017). In his study of money politics in Southeast Asia, Aspinall concluded that the democratic nations of Southeast Asia are highly impacted by "money politics," in which candidates and parties pay people directly in exchange for their votes. It may take the shape of targeted rewards or vote buying. Money and political favors have a significant impact on political parties and networks as well. Politicians frequently misappropriate public funds by engaging in corruption or using public initiatives for personal gain (Aspinall, 2015). The second most author is Verdi R. Hadiz. He wrote about democracy during the reform period, which strengthened the oligarchy (Hadiz, 2007). Apart from that, Hadiz also highlighted how money politics is in the practice of democracy (Hadiz, 2012).

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Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v10i1.49557  
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Word Frequency Analysis

Figures 10. Show the most relevant keywords namely Indonesia, political parties, elections, Southeast Asia,

democracy, decentralization, Asia, authoritarianism, and so on. Figure 11. Shows the Treemap of keywords.

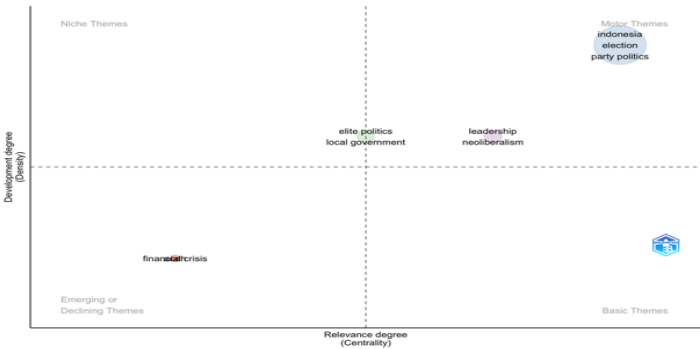


Source: Biblioshiny bibliometric analysis (2023)

Based on Figure 11., the most keywords are Indonesia (13%), Election and political parties each 6%, Asia, democracy, Eurasia, and Southeast Asia each 5%, regarding decentralization 4%), authoritarianism and democratization respectively 3% each, electoral geography,

elite politics, financial crisis, leadership, local government, neoliberalism, political ideology each 2% and the remaining 1% each. Studies on Indonesia include voter mobilization patronage, elections, and political parties.

Figure 12. Thematic Map on Money Politics in Indonesia



Source: Biblioshiny bibliometric analysis (2023)

This study above has explained and reviewed money politics in Indonesia in

2000-2023 with the results of 40 documents. Some of the themes studied combine



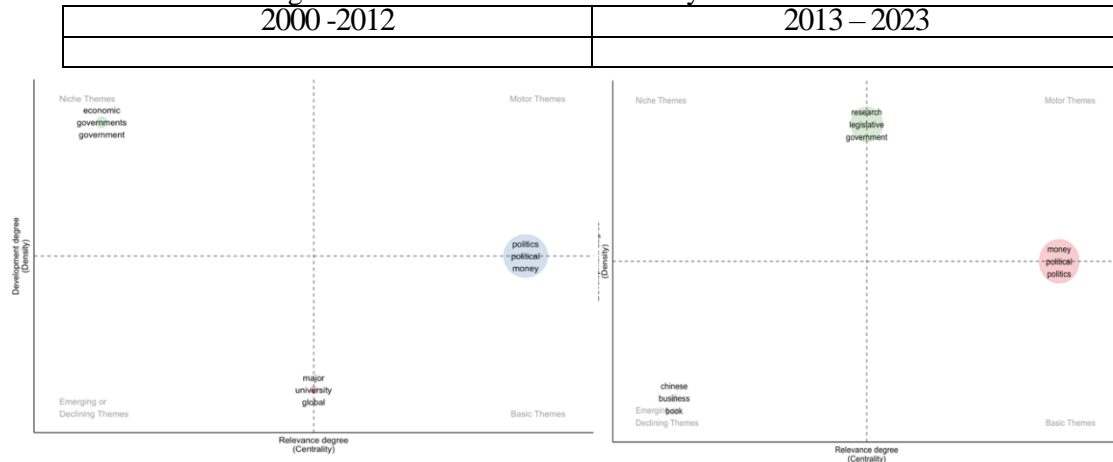
political elites and local government (E Aspinall and Rohman, 2017; D Simandjuntak, 2012). Meanwhile, the study of money politics in Indonesia is also seen in terms of neoliberalism political practices and leadership factors (Mietzner, 2012; E Suaib *et al.*, 2017). In addition, actors from political parties and General Elections in Indonesia (Hadiz, 2004; A Hicken *et al.*, 2022; Mietzner, 2012; E Aspinall, 2005).

Money politics in Indonesia is pioneered by political party actors who rely on capitalism or extraordinary conglomerates (Reuter, 2015). The research revealed by Reuter found that the indicators of the main electoral success lie in the expenditure of campaign funds that substantially affect the choice of candidates (Kusumasari, 2020). In his study, also illustrates a map of money politics in Indonesia involving a network of governments (governors and mayors) and legislators who participate in carrying out this practice ranging from campaign funds, political parties and the votes of a candidate. Patron-client relationships involving elite networks and voters have been contested by utilizing political sentiments from religious and tribal groups to succeed in money politics (D Simandjuntak, 2012; E Suaib *et al.*, 2017; Haryanto, 2017).

Economic factors are the leading cause of some citizens receiving money from specific candidates and educational factors of voters who are normatively unable to resist (Tawakkal *et al.*, 2017). Cultural and institutional factors also influence money politics practices. Cultural

factors consider giving goods or money during campaigns or elections a normal phenomenon, so money politics are considered a common practice. Institutional factors include a candidate-centered electoral system in the Philippines, Thailand, and Taiwan, which causes money politics (Hellmann, 2014b). In a candidate-centered electoral system that encourages candidates, campaign funds are the candidate's responsibility (Cox & Thies, 1998). The candidate-centered electoral system encourages political parties to recruit figures with solid financial capital. It resulted in weak party identification that further strengthened money politics (Muhtadi, 2013), (Muhtadi, 2019b). As a result, giving money or public goods is an effort to gain public support. The strong culture of patronage and clientelism strengthens this phenomenon through brokerage (Aspinall *et al.*, 2017), (Adlin *et al.*, 2022), (Aspinall & Rohman, 2017a). This is coupled with a network of candidates and brokers not responsible for building money political filters (Hicken *et al.*, 2022b). Brokers here function as a medium or intermediary to carry out the logistics of money distribution because these brokers are considered parties who know the area better and are mainly the target of money politics. The results of this study will offer a model topic of "money politics" in Indonesia. This model is classified into several research topics that emerge from the results of the biblioshiny about money politics in terms of actors and various concepts in it:

Figure 13. Thematic Evolution of Money Politics in Indonesia



Source: Biblioshiny bibliometric analysis (2023)

Based on **Figure 13.**, money politics is a political network involving the government and legislators as the two main actors. The House of Representatives (DPR/DPRD) is the leading player in legitimizing every legislation and policy (Suryanto & Hidayat, 2016). Thus, these lawmakers will consider the rewards or deposits from money politics during the campaign (Anggono & Wahanisa, 2022). In addition, legislative corruption will be an implication that will cause every policy or legislation to be hampered by the high campaign capital deadlock (money politic) of legislative candidates.

In Regional Head Elections (Pilkada), there are also many money political practices to obtain votes with details to the carrying political party, campaign funds, and operations (Prasetyo, 2020; Wirdono, 2023). The scheme run by each candidate is different (Money or Goods; Noor *et al.*, 2021). These two things are then withdrawn into another scheme whether the pouring of money and goods is allocated before D-day or before. This then became the strategy of each candidate to

gain public votes. There are several reasons for money politics; first, there is difficulty in proving money politics. Money politics benefit both parties receiving and giving, so the actor is reluctant to testify in money politics cases, both in Bawaslu and in court. Second, complicated rules and proof mechanisms so that political money actors can get around. The weakness of this regulation, for example, in Law 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, is that the sanctions of money are given to election management, election participants, candidates, and campaign teams. Money politics is practiced through brokers who are not included in the regulation. In addition, in terms of time, the provision of money politics is during the campaign period, quiet weeks, and during voting, so giving money or rewards outside the schedule is not included in the category of money politics.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, studying money politics in Indonesia shows many issues and perspectives. Aspects of power, money, and elections are three keywords that influence

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 Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v10i1.49557  
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the practice of money politics in Indonesia. Then in terms of actors, money politics in Indonesia is driven by political parties and candidates driven by elite capitalism networks. So that is what causes elections in Indonesia to be "transactional". In this case, the beneficiaries are members of the legislature and the executive as participants in the general election.

Therefore, from some of the big issues above, the opportunities of money politics can be studied in the future through various fundamental perspectives. First; the relationship between patron and clients and the network between election participants and the elite network of financiers (konglongmerat) became the challenges of further research. Second; there is a need to research the relationship between the

electoral system and money politics and evaluate the implementation of the electoral system in Indonesia from the perspective of money politics. Third; in terms of the voters, what are the opportunities in the future to be aware and educative of the practices of money politics that occur every five years?

Furthermore, the contribution of this research is to provide new space and perspective in teaching the practice of money politics in Indonesia, helping writers to find the latest novelty to adopt new perspectives in analyzing and interpreting the practice of money politics in Indonesia in the future. Then, in this study, the author realized there are limitations to Scopus data-based sources, which the next author can then develop to examine with other sources such as other data-based articles.

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Vol.10, No.1, 2024  
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v10i1.49557  
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#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many thank the Research and Innovation Institute Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta for facilitating the smooth running of this research, and Mohamad Sukarno for assisting in data collection.