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PARTY-ID AND MONEY POLITICS IN THE DYNAMICS OF THE 2024 PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN KUPANG CITY

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Abstract:

The weakening of party identification has become a unique phenomenon from year to year; in the context of elections, this weakening has caused several negative effects, one of which is the practice of money politics that is increasingly massive in society. In other words, strong party identification will reduce the practice of money politics. This hypothesis will be tried to be proven by this research by looking at the influence of party identification on money politics that occurs in the community, especially in the Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections in Kupang City in 2024. The method used in this study is a quantitative method using a survey technique of 440 respondents spread across six sub-districts in Kupang City. The conclusion obtained in this study is that party identification does not have a positive impact on public acceptance of money politics. The weak identification of parties in Kupang City is caused by the structure and institutionalization of political parties that are not running optimally. On the other hand, the people of Kupang City tend to prioritize a person's character rather than party identification. The results of the 2024 election again prove that the identification of community parties in Kupang City is still quite low.

Keywords: Party Identification, Money Politics, Elections, Kupang City

INTRODUCTION

Along with the spread of democratic regimes in developing countries, money politics has become a key element of electoral mobilization in many third-wave democracies. Andrews and Inman's study of voter behavior in seven of Africa's most democratic countries, according to Freedom House, for example, found the fact that there was vote buying. Using data from the 2005 Phase 3 Afrobarometer survey, they found that Ghana is the country most vulnerable to money politics or vote buying and selling, with about 42% of its citizens claiming to have been offered money or gifts during the election.

Similarly, the findings of a Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) survey on the American Barometer in 2010 found interesting variations in voter behavior in Latin America and the Caribbean region. Among the 22 countries surveyed, the Dominican Republic ranked first among the most vulnerable countries with vote-buying practices, with 22% of respondents claiming to have been offered money or goods during the election. Argentina followed with 18% and Panama with 17.8%.

Similarly, politicians in Asian countries often target people with low incomes as targets of money politics. In the Philippines, for example, an estimated three million citizens were offered money or goods in barangay (community-level) elections in 2002. In Thailand, 30% of respondents who came from the head of the family admitted to being offered money or gifts



by politicians or their successful teams. In Taiwan's third-largest city, Taichung, 27 percent of respondents admitted to receiving money during the 1999 election campaign.

In Indonesia's political landscape, after the New Order, it was recorded that 6 (five) general elections had been held, namely 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019 and 2024. The Regional Head Election has been going on for 15 years (2005) with various achievements and problems. As is known, this expensive political contestation process has not been able to answer the ideals of reform and public expectations - getting political leaders who are oriented to the people's welfare agenda.

This stagnation of hope is commonplace, considering that the election process we are undergoing is full of myriad problems. Starting from vote manipulation, money politics, social conflicts, intimidation and violence. The anomaly shows that the election process has not been properly institutionalized, so it is not easy to expect to produce political leadership output with a vision of social justice.

Money politics has, in turn, turned into one of the pathologies of electoral democracy in Indonesia. Work effectively in the psychological atmosphere of voters who do not have critical literacy in voting. Political preferences that are not based on rationality result in political choices that are often based on short-term considerations, one of which is money. Research findings from the Center for Political and Governance Research (PolGov) UGM Yogyakarta, in collaboration with the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs at the Australian National University (ANU), concluded that Indonesian politics is money. (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019)

One of the logical reasons behind the practice of massive money politics is closely related to the pragmatic type of floating mass voters. In simple terms, pragmatics refers to the orientation of human nature and attitudes that are practical, framed, and rigid. John Dewey (1859-1952), a pragmatist, explained that this trait can arise and develop because of the intensive relationship between an organism and its environment. In seeing the truth, this school measures it based on its usefulness to humans (Cagé, 2020)

In the context of voters or society, pragmatism is reflected in the determination of political preferences (vote support), which is based on transactional considerations. In this case, who can provide short-term economic benefits? This is where money politics works by buying voter support. That is why often the object of money politics is the lower economic class society. These are people who are vulnerable to the exploitation of money politics on the grounds of economic difficulties ((Apriani, 2020) (Priyono & Hamid, 2014)

Voter pragmatism cannot be separated from the low ideological ties of voters with political parties (Party-ID). The function of articulation of interests, aggregation of interests and representation fails to be played by political parties so that the public (voters) lose support so that loyalty is not formed. *The floating masses* with pragmatic characteristics are largely determined by the fragility of ideological ties with political parties and thus do not have a strong loyalty to a single political stance. Their choice is then very vulnerable to change, and money becomes one of the instruments that voters look forward to getting their votes. (Kavanagh, 1983)

METHOD

This study uses quantitative methods in data collection and processing. Data collection through a survey will be carried out in May 2024. The respondents in this study were proportionally spread across six sub-districts in Kupang City. The total respondents in this study were 440 people. The respondents were residents of Kupang City who, at the time of



the study, were 17 years old and older (already had the right to vote in the 2024 Election). The survey has a Margin of Error (MoE) of ± 3 percent at a confidence level of 95 percent. The data collection technique used is Multistage Random Sampling. This technique was chosen because of the non-homogeneous sampling of the frames. All sub-districts in Kupang City are included as sampling areas. In the six sub-districts, 44 villages/sub-districts were randomly taken according to the proportion of samples in the district concerned.

Furthermore, in each village/sub-district, 10 respondents spread across all environmental units/community units in the selected village were taken. In each environmental group, two heads of families were selected, then the heads of families were chosen, and respondents were taken using the Kish grid method. Data processing was carried out using the Social Science Statistics Package (SPSS). The data presented were in the form of frequency data, cross-tabulation and Chi-Square test results to see the relationship between variables. The author is aware of the criticism of the quantitative approach in looking at the tendency of money politics, where often the problem faced is the problem of social desire bias.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

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The concept of self-identification with political parties ab, abbreviated as party-id, is an important part of the psychological approach in voting behavior theory. The concept of identification in this case, as quoted by Mujani from Campbell, is the affective orientation of individuals towards important groups in society. Therefore, the conceptual definition of political party identification (Party-id) is an affective orientation or a person's feelings toward a political party. Party-id is believed to have a strong and far-reaching influence on political attitudes (Mujani, Liddle, & Lombardi., 2011)(Mujani, Liddle, & Lombardi., 2011).

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To see the level of party identification, the question we ask is, "Do you feel close to a particular political party?" As a result, urban people have a lower party-id rate compared to the national average of party-id, which is 12.5 percent compared to 14 percent. If the results are seen based on gender proportion, then based on the results of cross-tabulation, male respondents have a higher sense of closeness (13.64 percent) than female respondents (11.36 percent).

Table 1. Party Identification Level by Gender

Gender	Feeling Close to a Certain Party	
	Yes	No
Man	13,64	86,36
Woman	11,36	88,64

Source: Data processing 2024

In addition, when viewed based on the area of respondents, Kelapa Lima and Kota Lama sub-districts have a higher level of party identification than other areas in Kupang City. On the other hand, the Maulafa sub-district has the lowest party identification rate compared to other regions. The full results of the cross-tabulation can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Party Identification Levels by District

Distrik	Feeling Close to a Certain Party	
	Yes	No
Kelapa Lima	16,00	84,00
Oebobo	13,75	86,25
Kota Lama	15,00	85,00
Kota Raja	8,57	91,43
Maulafa	7,14	92,86
Alak	13,33	86,67

Source: Data processing 2024

The greater the number of voters who feel close to a political party, the continuity and stability of a party's elections will be maintained. On the other hand, the fewer voters identify themselves with a party, the more dynamic and unstable electoral support will be. Maddox and Nimmo stated that low party identification has contributed to the inconsistency of individual political choices in elections. In addition, if voters have low party identification, the symptoms of party decarbonization or dealignment will be higher. Deparpolization is a psychological symptom that makes the public lose trust in political parties. In the lexicon of political science, this phenomenon can be seen from two dimensions that connect voters and political parties: self-identification with the party (the dimension of affection and mass evaluation of the intermediary function of political parties (rational dimension)).(1981) (Biorcio & Mannheim, 1995).

At least four adverse effects result from the depolarization of political parties: the declining trend of election participation and the high volatility of electoral support. This

depolarization also encourages split-ticket voting, which is non-linear support between the party's elite instructions to support candidates for executive officers nominated by the party and the electoral party affiliation. In the election of the president and regional heads, many party constituents choose candidates whom their party does not support.

The depolarization of political parties is also measured through the question, "To what extent are political parties perceived to function in connecting the interests of the community with public decisions made by the DPR?"

Table 3. Political Parties Felt to Function Based on Districts

Distrik	Functions of Political Parties	
	Yes	No
Kelapa Lima	13,78	86,22
Oebobo	11,00	89,00
Kota Lama	10,09	89,91
Kota Raja	8,81	91,19
Maulafa	7,22	92,78
Alak	11,46	88,54

Sumber: Data processing 2024

Based on the results of the research conducted most of the respondents felt that the rational and intermediated functions of political parties were still weak; this was in line with the research conducted by LSI. Based on the results of the research conducted most of the respondents felt that the rational and intermediated functions of political parties were still weak. (2021).

This depolarization of political parties also causes political dynamics that will rely on figures or candidates (candidate-centered politics), as a result of which political parties are nothing more than non-ideological means to gain power; politicians make parties only as vehicles for momentary gains. If they no longer support the wishes of politicians, then the phenomenon of political fleas becomes an option. (Muhtadi, 2013).

In several research results conducted by political science scholars, the low identification of parties contributes to the practice of buying and selling votes at the mass level. However, what is interesting in the findings of this study is that, on the contrary, the condition of low party identification in Kupang City does not necessarily increase the practice of political money at the grassroots level. This can be seen from the findings in the field, which show that only 14.6% of the public say that political money can be justified, and the remaining 67.3% say that political money cannot be justified. This figure is quite high when compared to the public perception of political money nationally.

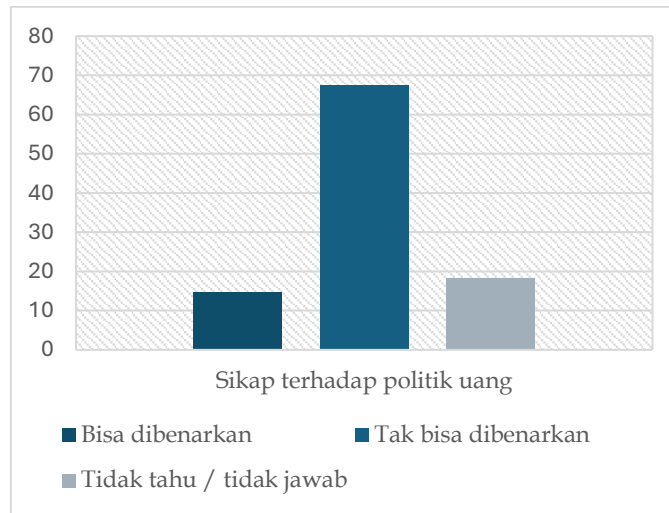


Figure 1. Attitude Towards Money Politics

Furthermore, the results of the cross-tabulation showed that most men and women in Kupang City rejected the practice of money politics.

Table 4. Attitudes Towards Money Politics by Gender

Gender	Attitude Towards Money Politics	
	Receive	Refuse
Man	00,00	00,00
Woman	00,00	00,00

Source: Data processing 2024

The 2024 Kupang City election shows interesting dynamics in terms of people's attitudes towards money politics. Based on the results of surveys and interviews with voters in various sub-districts, the majority of people, both men and women, reject the practice of money politics. Awareness of the importance of clean democracy and leaders with integrity is increasing among the residents of Kupang City.

In this finding, men generally behave more assertively and vocally in rejecting money politics. They consider that this practice reflects the weak credibility of candidates and undermines the democratic order. Many of them state that money politics only benefits a few people and does not guarantee that competent leaders will be elected. This critical attitude is especially evident in young voters and those who have wider access to political information.

Meanwhile, women also show rejection of money politics, albeit with a slightly different perspective. Many women in Kupang City consider money politics as a form of manipulation that can have a negative impact on people's welfare in the long term. They highlighted the impact on regional development, where candidates elected through money politics tend to pay less attention to the needs of the people after winning elections. In addition, women who are active in social and religious organizations are more likely to educate the surrounding community about the dangers of money politics.

Although a handful of voters still accept money politics due to economic factors and political pragmatism, the results of the 2024 election in Kupang City reflect an increase in



people's political awareness. The majority of voters, both men and women, affirmed that they wanted leaders elected based on capacity and integrity, not because of transactional practices that undermine democracy.

Table 5. Feeling Close to a Certain Party

Distrik	Feeling Close to a Certain Party	
	Yes	No
Kelapa Lima	16,00	84,00
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Source: Data processing 2024

Although money politics is often considered a damaging practice in elections, there are arguments that money politics does not always have a significant impact on the outcome of presidential elections. Here are some reasons why money politics may not have an effect in the context of presidential elections; many voters are now increasingly aware of the practice of money politics and have a rejection of it. In some cases, voters prefer to maintain the integrity of their votes, regardless of the offer of money. This awareness can reduce the effectiveness of money politics.

Some voters may be more concerned with the vision, mission, and track record of the presidential candidate than the financial rewards. In situations where candidates can explain a clear and convincing program, voters may prefer to vote based on substance rather than money. With the existence of election supervisory institutions and public participation in supervision, the practice of money politics has become more risky. Many voters are afraid to report this practice, so candidates who try to engage in money politics may face consequences. Not all voters have the same response to money politics. In some areas, political culture and societal values may be more supportive of voter integrity. In this context, the offer of money may not affect voters who have strong principles. Although money politics remains an issue in presidential elections, some factors can reduce its influence. Public awareness, focus on substance, and increased scrutiny are some of the reasons why money politics may not always affect presidential elections. It is important to continue to strengthen a clean election culture and support integrity in democracy.

The momentum of the 2024 general election, which will be held simultaneously, is expected to have an influential follow-up effect on political parties. In various writings by observers and political experts ahead of the 2019 elections, it is mentioned about the coattail effect. The coattail effect is a term that refers to an action that affects another action (co-effect). In free translation, it is interpreted as the effect of the flutter of the tail of the suit. The candidate for a leader who is carried has a tail on the electability of the vote in the supporting party later. Because the presidential election coincides with the election of legislative members, of course, the people's choice for the presidential and vice presidential candidates is not far from the candidates for council members from their supporting parties. Some voters may be more concerned with the vision, mission, and track record of the presidential candidate than the financial rewards. In situations where candidates can explain a clear and convincing program, voters may prefer to vote based on substance rather than money.



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CONCLUSION

The general election in Kupang City in 2024 shows an interesting phenomenon: the victory of certain parties and candidates is greatly influenced by **the coat effect theory**. This theory states that the success of a candidate who is highly popular can have a positive impact on other candidates in the same party.

In the context of Kupang City, the victory of a national figure from a certain party in the presidential election has a significant impact on the party's vote acquisition at the regional legislative level. The popularity of presidential candidates carried by the Gerindra party, for example, has succeeded in increasing the electability of legislative candidates from the same party in the Kupang City DPRD. Many voters choose Gerindra party candidates not only based on individual capabilities, but because of association with national figures they support.

In addition, the coattail effect is also seen in the mayoral election. Candidates who have the support of national figures or come from the party that won the presidential election tend to get more votes than their competitors. The support of national figures creates a psychological effect on voters, who feel that voting for candidates from the same party or coalition will provide policy continuity and political stability.

However, the impact of the coattail effect is uneven in all areas of Kupang City. In some sub-districts, voters still show a preference that is more individual-based than party, especially for legislative candidates who have a strong track record in the community. The results of the election in Kupang City this time show how the coattail effect can play an important role in determining the direction of voters' votes, especially in a political context that is still heavily influenced by dominant national figures.

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