

To cite this article: Rofi'i\*, Yuyun Sunesti and Supriyadi (2021). RE-INTERPRETING RISYWAH OCCURRED IN MUSLIM IN SUBURBS ON THE VILLAGE HEAD ELECTION AT SOKO VILLAGE, International Journal of Education and Social Science Research (IJESSR) 4 (6): 196-209

## RE-INTERPRETING RISYWAH OCCURRED IN MUSLIM IN SUBURBS ON THE VILLAGE HEAD ELECTION AT SOKO VILLAGE

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.37500/IJESSR.2021.4615>

### ABSTRACT

This study tries to re-interpret the meaning of the practice of money politics / bribery (risywah) that occurs in community. This study focuses on the Muslim in suburbs at Soko village which is geographically isolated and far from the hustle and bustle of politics. This study uses qualitative research methods. Then, to analyse data, this study uses social construction theory of Peter L. Berger. Through the three stages proposed by Berger, the researcher tries to see how the community reproduces (re-interprets) the practice of risywah in social life. This reproduction process then brings a natural condition. This does not become contrary to muslim beliefs, so that, the practice of risywah lasts in the life of Muslim in Soko village.

**KEYWORDS:** Village Head Election; Risywah; Muslim in Suburbs.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

A father was walking towards a fork in the road which is usually used as a gathering place by society after Isya'. Suddenly, the father greeted from a distance to his friends who had gathered. "How much money did you get from the candidate?" he asked with a mocking smile.

"I got two hundred and fifty thousand from the candidate, he said he would give more money after voting". His friends who had gathered answered at the crossroads.

Another friend gave confirmation and information that they got the same amount of money. They would get more money before voting. "it's same as me, I also got that much. But when it's time to visit to the candidate (entrepreneur)'s house; he feeds, cigarettes and money for transport. In addition, after voting, there will also be additional money for us. We await the dawn attack. The news is that someone wants to give one million more per one vote."

The secret of bribery (risywah) in social life in society seems to be exposed. The practice of risywah is no longer a bad thing which must be covered up in the public sphere. People openly discuss it in their daily life in public places.

The excerpt of the conversation above can be concluded temporarily that the practice of riswah has become a natural and common issue. It is no longer a taboo for ordinary, educated, urban, or rural society. Santri and abangan community are used to hearing and seeing this incident.

This condition seems to have become a chronic disease in this country. From every general election held by the government, whether at the center, province, district, even up to the village level, this practice is always there. The Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Mahfud MD, in a virtual discussion about the regional elections, emphasized that the practice of money (risywah) politics is always present in the elections. This practice is difficult to avoid in direct general elections (Sutari, 2020).

It is still fresh on the homepage of our gadgets, the case of the arrest of the regent of Nganjuk who was caught in the Hand Arrest Operation of the Corruption Eradication Commission, the day before Eid al-Fitr. The arrest of the regent was caused by a case of buying and selling positions for filling village officials in Nganjuk district (Wibowo, 2021). This was criticized through jokes in television advertisements "can be arranged, Wani piro" (Glow Films Jakarta, 2011). The statement means that with money, anything will be easy to achieve.

For society, the general election is a moment to earn money without working. Whatever it is, both presidential elections and regional head elections (Hartati et al., 2019), even village head elections do not escape this practice. Facts show that if there is no bribery, citizen participation in the success of the general election may decline. The lack of public literacy about political knowledge and the democratic system makes them very ignorant and indifferent to the implementation of elections if there is no bribery (Putri, 2017). The condition of the general election participation rate will be very different if there is bribery.

In this case, the government requires villagers to participate in every activity carried out by the village through Law number 6 of 2014 in article 68 paragraph 2 fifth point. By this law, the society can participate directly in overseeing every policy and decision taken by the village government. The society must participate in every village activity. This is not because to get money but to get their right to participate. Thus, the ideals of the 1945 Constitution (a just, prosperous and prosperous society) can be achieved.

Money is a medium that has an important role in influencing voter votes (Harianto et al., 2018). For the candidate, this method is considered a very significant and powerful way to gain public support; to

reach the pinnacle of victory in the general election system. Although, on the other hand, the candidate will suffer losses due to the high cost of politics. The high cost of politics further confirms that political power can only be achieved by people who have abundant wealth or traditional elites in the local community (Nordholt, 2010; Rhoads, 2012). Such practices actually damage the image of democratization. Not only that, this practice can create an unhealthy democratic climate in society (Basri, 2020)

Although money has become the main concern of the community in every moment of the general election, the society no longer discusses ideas and work programs from village head candidates. Each of the village head candidates seemed absent in conveying their ideas when village head election campaign because they focused on getting a lot of money as political capital.

The candidate no longer thinks of a good approach or political marketing strategy (Zerunisa, 2014), so that, the candidate's reputation will increase and his ideas will have more weight (Muhazir, 2020) The credibility of the candidate for the village head who has a good communication style is no longer a measure. In fact, a low-context communication style (low and no-nonsense communication style) will create harmonious conditions in society because communication that society wants is communication that is to the point and not complicated (Lestari, 2014).

The facts show that money is the easiest means to achieve everything. In fact, risywah involves two parties; They are the vote buyer and the vote seller. The buyers give a nominal amount of money to get what they want (votes or support). On the other hand, as a form of compensation for the nominal given by the buyer, the seller casts his vote or voting rights (Schaffer, 2007). In simple terms, this practice is an exchange of the buyer's money with the seller's voting rights (Sumarto, 2014)

It has been clearly described in Law no. 3 of 1999 article 73 paragraph 3. It is about the practice of bribery in the general election system. People who exercise their right to vote with a specific purpose or not to exercise their right to vote is a violation of the law. Both the giver of the amount of money and the one who receives the money will receive a maximum sentence of 3 years in prison. The facts show that risywah is still running even though there are laws that regulate and sanctions are imposed for violators.

On the other hand, long before the candidate registered himself as a village head candidate, the candidate had already visited the villagers' house with the excuse of getting to know all of them and knowing each other. The gathering did not just come to a visit but to ask for prayers and leave money to share with the residents in the village. Candidates do this with the excuse of giving charity to their fellow citizens.

There are various ways and forms to carry out risywah. In the election of village heads, the practice of risywah in society has transformed in various forms, not only in the form of money that is easy to carry in the pocket. Now risywah has changed into services, donations (in the form of physical), basic necessities, clothing and other necessities of life needed by the society.

At certain moments, risywah also transforms into political agreements or contracts in elections. Long before the election was held, the society who were majority farmers had received capital loans, fertilizers, seeds, pesticides and various agricultural tools (Wance & Djae, 2019). The capital loan is returned half without interest, the fertilizer that has been obtained does not have to be paid, the seeds planted do not have to pay, as well as agricultural tools are given free of charge if the candidate wins in the village head election.

The public's affirmation of risywah makes this practice continue even with people who have a high religious background. Society in the village who are predominantly religious (both santri and abangan) accept this practice because the money is considered as a form of compensation to come to the local polling station to channel their voting rights.

Indeed, in reality, the religious society experiences ups and downs. Society's belief will experience changes that are in line with political developments in society (Agustono, 2016; Aslan et al., 2020). This is an image of the religious spirit of community social interactions within the scope of religion (Ridwan, 2016; Aslan et al., 2020). This is because basically religion is a belief in the creator that is owned by individuals. Changes in religion are entirely the rights of individuals who are then referred to as religious authorities (Rumadi, 2012)

In the midst of backwardness, in terms of the geographical conditions, Soko village area is classified as suburbs. The aim of this study is to see how the Muslim majority society interprets the practice of risywah in their religious social life.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Islamic view on risywah**

The state through laws and regulations clearly prohibits the practice of bribery or risywah in any form. The form of prohibition of risywah is contained in a criminal act, which is written in Law no. 1 of 1980 concerning the crime of bribery and Law No. 20 of 2011 on the amendment of Law no. 31 of 1999. This practice is detrimental to many people and various things in it. Although, on some occasions this practice has become a profitable thing for some people. Islam considers that the practice of risywah is forbidden for any reason.

Risywah has three perpetrators. First, people who bribe (Ar-Rasyi) or people who have a position as a bribe so that the desired expectations can be achieved. Second, the recipient of a bribe (Al-Murtasyi)

is a person who accepts and is willing to carry out the wishes of the briber. Third, intermediary bribes (Ar-Raisy). Ar-Raisy is a person in charge of delivering bribes from bribers to bribe recipients (Rahwan, 2020)

The practice of risywah is present in society in various forms. Quoting from the book of Al-Fath put forward by Ibn Abidin, the practice of risywah is divided into four parts: risywah by giving or taking advantage of others, risywah in making court decisions, risywah with the aim of straightening things out, and risywah with the aim of not being threatened.

Al-Qur'an through the letter Al-Baqarah verse 188 has the meaning "And let not some of you eat the wealth of others among you in a vanity way and (do not) take the property to the judge, so that you may eat some of it. other people's property by sin, even though you know." This verse clearly prohibits humans from eating the property of others in a fraudulent manner and obtaining property from each other by violating the law in the teachings of their religion. So, in fact he has eaten it in a vanity way (al-Qurthubi, 2005; Zen, 2015).

Ulama with the view of ijma give a clear decision that the law of practicing risywah is haram. This view is based on the Al-Quran Surah Al-Maidah: 42. Indeed, there is no change in law among the salaf scholars. They argue that risywah to deny rights is included in cases that are prohibited or haram.

Islam considers that the practice of risywah is forbidden for any reason. There are several different views on Classical Fiqh Ulama when sorting out the law of risywah practice, seen from the intentions of the perpetrators (Al-Husain, 2012; Rahwan, 2020). If the practice aims to change something that is right into something that is wrong then it is considered haram. If it aims to save the people from falsehood to prosperity then the law is allowed.

In other conditions, the practice of risywah continues. This is due to the different views of Ulama. There are some Ulama who say that this practice is haram. However, there are Ulama who are in an absurd position. They do not declare whether it is halal or haram. This legal uncertainty provides room for the practice to continue (Al-Rasyid, 2016; Saepudin, 2016).

The long-term effect that threatens this practice is the mental state of individual. With the practice of risywah, people will get used to have a psychological mentality of begging. Finally, this brings an effect that society always want some advantages of a political event, even though the advantages are very small.

### **3. RESEARCH METHOD**

This study uses a qualitative method. For this study, researchers try to understand the social conditions of the community through various parties who are allegedly related to the problem under study. This

process is carried out in order to obtain information related to the object of research (Jonker et al., 2011). Qualitative method is oriented to the analysis of the symptoms that exist in the community. Absolutely, it is not out of the focus of the research conducted (Moleong, 2017)

In early January 2021, this research was carried out in Soko Village, Temayang District, Bojonegoro Regency. The population in the village is predominantly Muslim (both santri and abangan). However, sources of data used were primary data and secondary data. Meanwhile, the subject of this research was the society in Soko village who provided information.

The method used by researchers in collecting data was observation, interviews, and documentation. Observation is observing and recording the condition of the object or target of research conducted by researchers (Kriyantono, 2006). Interview is a method used by researchers to obtain information by way of question and answer between the interviewee and the interviewer (Bungin, 2001). Meanwhile, documentation is carried out by tracking various supporting documents; in the form of photos, written notes, books, magazines, and activity reports (Widoyoko, 2012).

Data analysis in this study uses the Miles Huberman model which is divided into three parts. They are data reduction, data display, and conclusion or verification (Miles et al., 2014). Data reduction is the process of selecting and sorting data in the process to make a summary related to the research theme. Data display is a more complete organization of data in the form of sketches, matrices or other forms (Sugiyono, 2014) Conclusion or verification is the conclusion of all the symptoms obtained from the field; in the form of phenomena, propositions and causality (Bungin, 2012)

This study uses sociological theory of Peter L. Berger to see the dialectic of the meaning of risywah in Soko village society. The social construction of Peter L. Berger are; externalization, objectification, and internalization (Sastrapratedja, 1991). Through these three sections, the researchers try to see the meaning of risywah regarded to Soko village society.

#### **4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

##### **Risywah in the view of Soko Village Society**

The practice of risywah when there is a general election has become a common fact in Soko village. This is because the practice takes place and just goes on in society. Until now, society are used to such a model. Society who are religious are also used to seeing this condition around them. Religious leaders in Guyangan hamlet gave their statement that the practice of risywah during elections become a common fact to happen. This is because the society accept risywah.

When the general election was held but there was no risywah, society felt that something was missing and asked in their hearts. Society assumed that there was no hope that should be hung on a leader. In the end, if the candidate has become a leader, he will forget the people who voted for him. There is

nothing more to be hoped for in a leader, relying on hope for the progress of a better and more beautiful village seems impossible (interview with the referee).

The distrust of individuals or society towards their leaders causes the community to experience distrust (crisis of trust). This crisis makes society have a uniform assessment of a leader. Whoever becomes a leader, when he has taken up his position, in the end, he will be the same as what happens on television and online news.

“The leaders in this village, if they are originally from this village and they don't have much experience in governance, the results will be the same. Especially if the leader candidate spends a large amount of capital. You can already guess what the results will be, maybe it's same as on the television news (Mr. Teh, a resident of Sumberpoh village).

The crisis of trust was also caused by the behavior of some village officials who were not transparent in providing information to their residents regarding village development. This is shown by the poor main access road to the village office. Granny Gardam, an elder village explained that as long as I lived in Soko village, this was the first time there were billboards explaining village money, although the billboards were not explained in detail. Maybe they are afraid to show the profit got by village official if it is detailed.

The condition of the residents in responding to politics in the village makes political contestation are only a contest of wealth. Generally, political contestation is a good strategy contest in winning the hearts of voters. Before the election, the steps taken by the candidates in convincing their voters are considered as very clear. There are candidates who choose bargaining politics and marketing politics. With impassioned speeches when campaign, the candidates present that they care to fought for the rights of the poor, orphans and many others before the election. After the election and being elected, they have forgotten all their statements. It could be seen that what he said and what he did are on different hand.

The political strategy is rarely or hardly used in political system of the village. It is like a dipper that doesn't go unnoticed or one-sided. Only a few villagers pay attention to political strategy. In comparison, it was probably only a thousand compared to one. “If the candidates do not give the money, we don't vote. The village hall is also far from our house. It also needs fuel.” One of the figures in Sekonang hamlet said firmly.

The condition of resident indirectly provides a stimulus for potential leaders (village heads) that to become the number one person in the village, they must be rich. There is no other capital that must be prepared besides wealth capital in the form of very large amounts of money. One of residents of Soko said that the candidate who won today reportedly ran out up to seven hundred million rupiah.

The high cost of politics at the top level of government in this country (The high Cost of Politics, 2018) has implications at the lower level. This condition can be seen from before the election is held until the election is held. Before the general election was held, the candidate held an open house at his house. The activity of entertaining the community members who attended was considered reasonable. This activity continues until the practice of giving pocket money which is intended to bribe (Muchtar, 2018). One of the residents of Glingsem hamlet said that "yesterday when I played at the candidate's house he got a good meal, got cigarettes, and got pocket money. If someone wants to be a successful team, later they say they will get a different pocket money". (Interview with Mr. Tiono).

This mechanism also works with the family system. However, one of the families who became the success team or assistant of success team would invite his family to choose one of the candidates who gave money, whatever they are success team's cousins, nephews, uncles, or other kinship. Through this mechanism, novice voters from each family member will be aware of this kind of practice. Novice voters finally accept much money for risywah. They consider that risywah is normal in their social environment.

One of the novice voters in the Sumberpoh hamlet explained his experience "Actually, when I firstly voted, I wanted to come just like that, but suddenly my uncle gave me money for my transportation and he ask me to vote a certain candidate."

Finally, this kind of method makes risywah run neatly, so that, it is difficult to detect its circulation. Unwittingly, this system will provide understanding in the smallest social environment. It is family. They will assume that in every general election agenda, there must be money in exchange for paying the energy expended to come to the general election venue.

## 5. DISCUSSION

### **The dialectic of risywah among Soko village society**

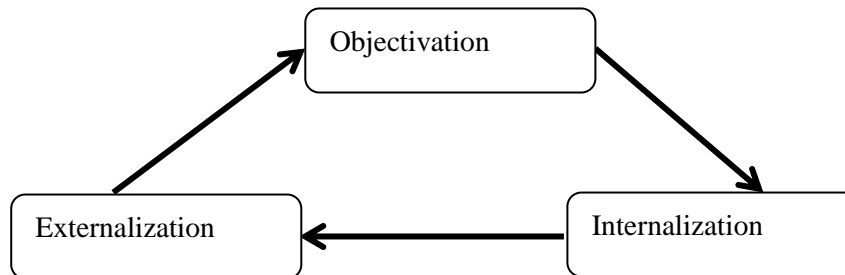
Peter L. Berger in his social construction defines that the individual is a being who is free to carry out social relations between one individual and another. Individuals in carrying out social relations must be on the basis of their will to become human beings who construct their social world. Individuals become human beings who creatively produce and reproduce their social world (Berger & Luckman, 1990)

Berger provides an alternative as an effort to dismiss the view of determinism that individuals are formed by social structures. Individuals are seen to have no role in the formation of social structures. Berger showed that individuals can change social structures. On the other hand, individuals will always be influenced and even shaped by existing social institutions (Sastrapradedja, 1991). The dialectical



process of the individual's relationship with society is divided into three moments; externalization, objectivation, and internalization.

### 5.1 Scheme Three stage of dialectic individual and society



(Source: on book Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan)

Externalization is a form of self-expression carried out by individuals continuously in their physical and mental world. This is because whatever happens, the individual cannot remain silent within himself. At certain moments, individuals express themselves in the form of self-expression in their world (Riyanto, 2009).

The existing practice of risywah is considered by individuals as natural, as compensation for the costs incurred by individuals to walk to the polls. This makes individuals have a self-view that such things are allowed because in Javanese philosophy "Jer basuki mawa beya". The outpouring of each individual in the social world (in the form of an attitude of accepting the practice of risywah) can be concluded that the individual considers that the law of risywah is permissible.

Based on Berger's view, one of the many models of risywah in general elections, individuals construct their world while at the same time asserting that society is the creative product of individuals. This condition becomes real and objective that is separated from the individual. They come face to face with other humans. Through the outpouring of self (disclosure of individual subjectivity) from various individuals on the affirmation of risywah, the condition of society is in accordance with Berger's statement which states that society is an objective reality (Sammuel, 2012). The moment of externalization is carried out by individuals continuously. The moment will always change.

Berger also introduced another terminology. It is habitualization which is the process of repeating activities that have been done before (Berger & Luckman, 1990) Repetition of action is doing future actions or activities in a way that is congruent, with the current way or the past way. Eventually, the repetition becomes an individual habit. The repetition of the action finally leaves the impression in the individual that such a situation becomes a permanent law. The action is subject to objectification in

the consciousness of individuals who perceive it. So, individuals no longer need to define the situation faced from the beginning.

The process of habitualization is seen when the society ask how much money from each candidate in the election. If there is no (risywah) money, the individual does not go to the polling station to vote for one of the candidates in the village head election. In fact, this condition gives a signal that each candidate must have a lot of money so that people want to come to the polling station.

In the act of individual habitualization there is typification or marking (Dharma, 2018). Typification is often closely related to other typifications that are mutual. Typification triggers the emergence of social institutions in society. There are some special criteria so that typification can lead to social institutions. These criteria include; transmitted from generation to generation beyond the age of the actor who gave rise to the typification. This makes typification a reference in behavior for each individual in society. Typification becomes a social institution when it is general and objective. Thus, typification has the power to compel the consciousness of each individual.

Objectivation is characterized by the presence of a structure as something objective as a standard for action. Objectivation becomes something subjective at the same time (Sastrapratedja, 1991). Objectivation is the attachment of the products of an activity (both physically and mentally) and a reality that faces each other with its producers in the form of external facticity.

Money which becomes the center of attention in the village head election system forms society's perceptions that money can affect community participation. In addition, money also provides an interpretation for the prospective leader that they must have a lot of money in order to achieve their goals. This then gives rise to the perception that the way it is done becomes a permanent law in the social world.

Money becomes a non-negotiable law in achieving goals in the village head election. At this moment, the actions taken by individuals experience a process of objectification in the consciousness of those who have those perceptions. In the end, this moment formed an institution that became an objective reality in consciousness and unconsciousness (Riyanto, 2009).

Money in village head election becomes an objective reality in the consciousness and unconsciousness of each individual. Believe it or not, money has big power to influence the result of voting in village head election. This condition becomes a permanent law for individuals that if they want to achieve their goals (becoming a village head), they must have a lot of money.

At the objectivation stage, there are social institutions that are formed. The institution maintains itself through legitimacy. However, this legitimacy is included in the realm of cognitive justification which

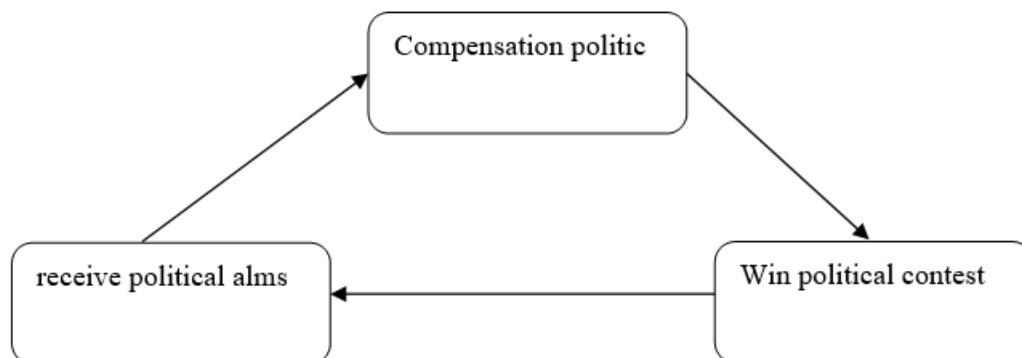
provides a logical explanation of the relevance of a social institution. The logical relations of various material objects outside of humans provide an understanding of the individual regarding the existence of an invisible universal law.

Social institutions that are formed in the practice of risywah are candidates must have a lot of money because a lot of money can affect the vote. This is due to the belief that if there is money for their transportation, the resident comes to participate in the village head election. On the other hand, if there is no money for their transportation, the resident will not participate.

Internalization is a direct interpretation (understanding) of an objective event as the expression of meaning. This means that internalization is the disclosure of other individuals' subjective processes that feed on the individual's own subjective self (Berger & Luckman, 1990). Simply, it is a process of absorbing the world that has been occupied by each other without losing the objective position of the world. The internalization process only involves translating objective reality into knowledge that is present and persists within the individual. Internalization also translates objective reality into subjective reality (Sammuel, 2012).

The practice of risywah runs from time to time in every moment of the village head election. This provides a new understanding for novice voters. In the momentum of village head elections, there are always novice voters who were previously unfamiliar with this system and eventually found out. The existence of a transmission process from the old voters about the practice of risywah to novice voters makes novice voters have the perception that this has become a permanent law in their social environment. This then becomes an individual reference and without rethinking in dealing with the practice of risywah in society.

### 5.2 risywah practice scheme in Soko society



(Source: Primary data, Processed August 2021)

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The practice of risywah occurs in Muslim society continuously and lastingly. The practice runs and seems to be a permanent law in society because of the transmission process from one individual to another. Through the internalization stage, the individual does not redefine what is knowledge in his objective world. Thus, individuals take for granted this knowledge. In the next stage, objectivation has provided various kinds of structures that become references as well as standardization. Individuals act according to the standards that have been applied in society. In the end, when the individual externalizes himself in action, the knowledge that has been absorbed by the individual corresponds to what was previously known in his objective world.

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