



## Implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program (the Coffee Shop for Community Forum Program) in Overcoming Money Politics in the Legal Area of the Kudus Resort Police

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### **Abstract**

The amendments to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NRI 1945) made major changes to the political system and the administration of state power which are aimed at realizing the ideals of a rule of law and constitutionalism in Indonesia. The real manifestation of people's sovereignty in the life of the nation and state is the implementation of democratic, transparent, honest and fair elections as well as direct, general, free, confidential voting (article 2 of Law No. 22 of 2007), and without money politics or what is often called money politics. The present study aimed to determine the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program promoted by Sat Binmas of the Kudus Resort Police in preventing money politics crimes in the jurisdiction of the Kudus Resort Police. The researchers applied a qualitative approach. The research design was field research. The data analysis used data reduction, data presentation and conclusion or verification. The results of the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program, which was aimed at changing the mindset of people who thought that money politics was normal, were not going well and had not been able to achieve the expected goals of preventing money politics. The most prominent factor was communication because during the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program at the Kudus Resort Police there was no direction and unanimous opinion regarding the implementation of the program and socialization about the Warkop Binmas Program before or after its implementation.

**Keywords:** *Warkop Binmas Program; Money Politics; Indonesian National Police*

### **Introduction**

The amendments to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NRI 1945) have made major changes to the political system and the administration of state power which aim to achieve

the ideals of a rule of law and constitutionalism in Indonesia. It is then mentioned in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which states that the State of Indonesia is a state of law and adheres to democratic principles. This change has given a clear meaning to the rule of law of Indonesia which gives freedom to every citizen to get protection for human rights, carry out democratic principles, and get judicial guarantees which are rigidly regulated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (Handayani, 2014).

Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution states: "Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and implemented according to the Constitution". This principle is in accordance with the basic norms in the fourth paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, "Then the Independence of the Indonesian Nationality was compiled in an Indonesian constitution which was formed in an arrangement of the Republic of Indonesia which has the sovereignty of the people...", and also Pancasila, especially the 4th precept. The people have the right to exercise democracy based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The real manifestation of people's sovereignty in the life of the nation and state is the holding of democratic, transparent, honest and fair elections as well as direct, general, free and confidential voting (Article 2 of Law No. 22 of 2007). Real people's sovereignty will not be achieved if the holding of elections is not in line with Article 2 of Law no. 22 of 2007 because elections are a parameter to measure whether or not a country is democratic.

The stages of holding elections are a series of election activities which include voter registration, registration of election participants, determination of election participants, determination of the number of seats, nomination of members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, Provincial Regional People's Representative Council, and Regency/City Regional People's Representative Council, campaigns, voting and counting of votes, determination of election results, up to the pronouncing of oaths/pledges of members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, Provincial Regional People's Representative Council, and Regency/Municipal Regional People's Representative Council (Law No 12 of 2003 article 1 no 14). There are many problems at each stage, especially at the campaign stage which is a direct interaction with the community. Another problem is that it takes a very long time so it is very draining of energy and mind. Then, there are also problems related to enormous costs from a political perspective (issues of internal political party divisions, issues of money politics, issues of fraud in the form of ballooning votes) and from a social perspective (issues of social disintegration, albeit temporarily, black campaigns and others).

In addition to these issues, there is also a crucial problem that is often encountered in every election, especially at the campaign stage, namely money politics. Money politics is the systematic distribution of cash/goods payments from candidates to voters a few days before the election accompanied by the implicit expectation that the recipients will reciprocate by voting for the giver (Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2016). Competition to get as many votes as possible in elections is very tight and high so that money becomes the main weapon to attract people's attention and votes to win in elections. The candidates give money to the people so that it creates commercial ties that require the people to vote for the candidate. In fact, people's votes are not for sale. Money politics is very clearly contrary to the rule of law as stated in Law No. 8 of 2012 concerning Legislative Member Elections. Article 86 paragraph 1 emphasizes that each legislative candidate is prohibited from promising or giving money or other materials to election participants, in this case constituents. Thus, money politics carried out by candidates participating in the election is an election violation. Money politics, which is a violation of the election, has the potential to cause conflict between candidates and even between communities as voters. As a result, safe, peaceful, and calm elections are not carried out. The findings from Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) in the 2009 and 2014 elections regarding the number of reports of money politics that occurred in the 2009 and 2014 general elections are as follows (RFQ, 2014):

Table 1. The number of reports of money politics that occurred in the 2009 and 2014 general elections

| Year | Number of Money Politics |
|------|--------------------------|
| 2009 | 62                       |
| 2014 | 113                      |

The increase in money politics crimes during elections from year to year has resulted in the implementation of elections that are not democratic, safe, peaceful and calm. Central Java Province is also a province under ICW supervision (Hukumonline, 2014). One of the districts in Central Java Province which is also characterized by the practice of money politics is Kudus Regency, as expressed in the following news:

*“TEMPO.CO, Kudus - The election for the Kudus Regent which was held simultaneously with the election for the Governor of Central Java today was marred by money politics. The day before the vote, the campaign team from five pairs of candidates allegedly distributed money massively to potential voters. The amount of money distributed depended on the character of the prospective voters, which ranged from IDR 15,000 to IDR 50,000 for each voter. "From the Tamzil-Asrofi campaign team, I received IDR 20,000 inside the envelope," said Darsi, a resident of Nganguk, Kudus City, who was asked to choose the Tamzil-Asrofi pair on Sunday, May 26 2013. The head of the Kudus Election Supervisory Committee admitted money politics Bati Susianto, "I caught this act red-handed, but I couldn't process it according to the rules," said Bati Susianto, Chairman of the Kudus Election Supervisory Committee, who also photographed the perpetrators who were residents from Kalirejo (Abidien, 2013).”*

This case is one of the most prominent cases of money politics in the jurisdiction of the Kudus Resort Police. Based on the news, we can see the weakness of law enforcement against violators, the officers' unpreparedness in taking firm action against political actors, and the absence of outreach to the public so that people easily accept money politics with various justifications. Based on this case, according to the Decree of the Chief of Police No: Kep/307/V/2011 concerning Guidelines for Implementation of Community Development in Pre-emptive and Preventive Police Tasks, the focus of Police's activities in the previous period was to prioritize preventive and repressive efforts. However, this is different from what is needed at this time where the method of implementation is growing and prevention is more guiding towards encouraging, directing and even mobilizing the community so that people are protected from crime or violations, as perpetrators or as victims. Thus, the National Police is able to improve the partnership between the Police and the community.

Police maintains good communication with the community by prioritizing the Community Development Unit (Sat Binmas) which carries out community development such as Community Police empowerment activities by establishing good communication and relations with the community through Sat Binmas programs. The Kudus Resort Police, in this case the Kudus Resort Police Unit Binmas, has a work program to improve direct communication between the police and the community called the Warkop Binmas Program (The Coffee Shop for Community Forum Program). Warkop Binmas is a creative breakthrough activity for the community police model from the Kudus Resort Police Sat Binmas in the form of a partnership between the police and the community which is implemented to increase awareness of the residents of Kudus in playing an active role in creating/maintaining a conducive situation of security and public order and preparing for the 2019 elections that are safe, peaceful and calm, and free from money politics.

Based on the report on the results of the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program from the Kudus Resort Police Sat Binmas in 2018, the Warkop Binmas Program, which has been running since 2015, did not begin with counseling/socialization from the executor to the community. Thus, the public did not know about the program, which activities did not reach the target number of participants of one

hundred (100) people. The number of participants who attended the implementation of the Binmas Warkop Program during 2018 was as follows:

Table 2. The number of participants who attended the implementation of the Binmas Warkop Program during 2018

| AGENDA | DISTRICTS  | PARTICIPANT |
|--------|------------|-------------|
| I      | KUDUS KOTA | 63          |
| II     | KALIWUNGU  | 52          |
| III    | JATI       | 56          |
| IV     | UNDAAN     | 49          |
| V      | MEJOBLO    | 57          |
| VI     | JEKULO     | 56          |
| VII    | BAE        | 57          |
| VIII   | GEBOG      | 61          |
| IX     | DAWE       | 46          |

Source: (Sat Binmas, Kudus Resort Police) processed by the authors.

Based on the table, the participants who were present at the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program at the Kudus Police in 2018 were far from the target participants who should have attended, namely one hundred (100) participants. In 2018, there was a significant increase in the number of participants attending one activity to another. Therefore, to implement the Warkop Binmas Program in creating a safe, peaceful and calm 2019 election, as well as eliminating the practice of money politics in society, it requires real efforts from the police to increase public attention so that they want to participate with the police in implementing the Warkop Binmas Program to increase public legal awareness and participate in preventing money politics in Kudus..

### **Method**

The research approach that researchers used was a qualitative approach. The research design applied field research. In this study, the authors made direct observations to the field where the Kudus Resort Police carried out data collection by direct field observation, conducted in-depth interviews, and conducted document studies. Through the use of field research designs, the phenomenon of preventing money politics through the Warkop Binmas Program was expected to be implemented optimally to support the process of preventing money politics in order to realize a safe, peaceful and calm 2019 election. The research location used was the jurisdiction of the Kudus Police, which was focused on the activities of warkop binmas in preventing money politics in the jurisdiction of the Kudus Police.

Sources of data/information from primary data obtained directly from sources through interviews and observations. Secondary data sources were obtained from the Binmas Unit of the Kudus Resort Police, Police Chief Regulations, Laws and Regulations, as well as related documents regarding the problem and research focus, namely the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program in preventing money politics in the Legal Area of the Kudus Resort Police. Tertiary sources were obtained from the results of other people's research that had been published and adopted into new research. Other people's research includes national and international journals related to the research carried out. Tertiary data sources were obtained from the internet and libraries in the form of theses, national and international journals, which were related to problems and research focus, namely the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program in preventing money politics in the Legal Area of the Kudus Resort Police. The data collection techniques in this study were carried out through interviews, observation, and document studies. The triangulation technique was used to determine the validity of the data in this study. The data

analysis process in this qualitative research referred to (Miles & Huberman, 2007) which explained 3 (three) main elements consisting of data reduction, data display, and drawing conclusions or verification.

## **Results**

### **Implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program (The Coffee Shop for Community Forum Program)**

Implementation is based on the concept of Implementation Browne and Wildavsky (in Usman, 2004), which is an expansion of activities that adjust to each other. Implementation is a variety of actions taken to implement programs that have been prepared by authorized parties and aims to realize the desired goals. In accordance with the implementation concept, a program must be implemented properly so that it runs as it should and achieves the expected goals. In implementing a program based on the concept of Implementation by Browne and Wildavsky, there are 3 (three) indicators that must be fulfilled: the first indicator is the action taken, the second indicator is the program that has been prepared by the authorities, and the third indicator is the achievement of the desired goals. Here is the explanation:

#### **1. The Action Taken**

This indicator concerns human resources who carry out these actions so that they know what actions must be taken.

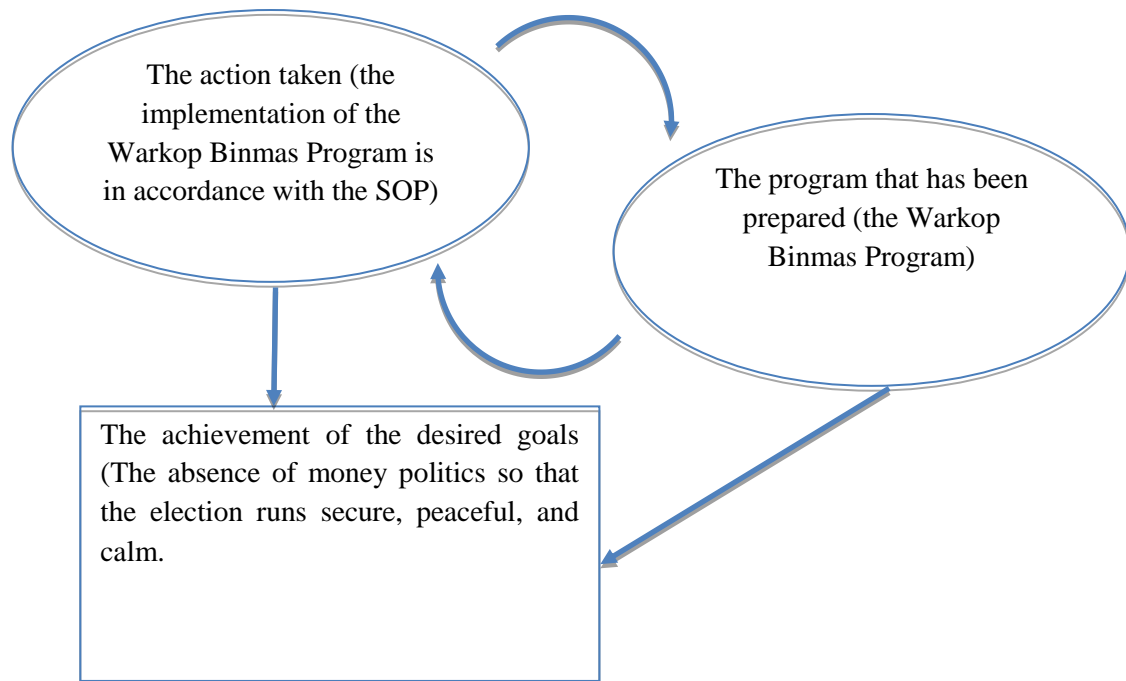
#### **2. The program that Has Been Prepared by the Authorities**

The Warkop Binmas program is compiled and supervised by the Head of the Kudus Resort Police and implemented by the Kudus Resort Police Binmas Unit based on Article 15 paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Indonesian National Police Regulation No. 3 of 2015 which describes the Community Police Implementation Model, SOP of Warkop Binmas, the work plan of the Kudus Resort Police in 2018, and the activity plans of the Kudus Resort Police Sat Binmas in 2018. The Warkop Binmas Program is carried out by members of the Kudus Resort Police Sat Binmas with the target community as a whole. The Warkop Binmas Program establishes a partnership between the police and the community to invite the Kudus community to tell the police about existing problems and to report all election crimes such as money politics. Thus, the police can immediately take action against any crime and prevent it from happening again.

The Warkop Binmas program from the Kudus Resort Police Binmas Unit has allocated funds for nine activities in nine sub-districts. Its implementation is based on the annual activity plan of the Kudus Resort Police Sat Binmas amounting to IDR 30,060,000. Thus, each district gets a turn once a year. Then, the implementation time is at night at 20.00 West Indonesian Time until it finishes at a maximum of 23.00 West Indonesia Time. The location for the activities is adjusted to the implementation plan for the warkop binmas program that has been made by the Kudus Resort Police Sat Binmas and coordination with each police station in the Kudus Resort Police.

#### **3. The Achievement of the Desired Goals**

The achievement of the desired goals aims to get something that has been planned and expected that is useful for the executor and the target. Implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program will run well if the three implementation indicators based on the Browne and Wildavsky Implementation concept (in Usman, 2004) are implemented and realized properly. There is a reciprocal relationship between the first and second indicators to realize the third indicator. If the first or second indicator encounters problems, the objectives are not realized as expected with the following description:



## Prevention of Money Politics

Prevention is the main thing to eliminate potential disturbances and create security and public order. Crime prevention according to Paul Ekblom in the International Journal of Risk, Security and Crime Prevention (1997) is as follows: "*Crime prevention seeks to reduce the risks of criminal events and related misbehavior by intervening in their causes.*" Based on this understanding, prevention of money politics is an action to anticipate, identify, and estimate the risk of money politics before it occurs or if it develops further. By preventing money politics, transparent, honest and fair elections will be carried out. Based on the Binmaspol concept according to Kabaharkam Decree No: Kep/35/VI/2011 concerning Guidelines for the Implementation of Community Order Development, preventive measures which were originally only intended to prevent those who are about to commit crimes do not have the opportunity to carry out their intentions, are increasingly developing in the method of implementation. Currently, prevention is more in the nature of guiding, encouraging, directing and even mobilizing the community so that people avoid crime as perpetrators or as victims. To prevent criminal acts of money politics, it requires an approach from the police to the community. Based on Article 1 number 2 of the Chief of Police Regulation No. 3 of 2015 concerning Community Policing, Polmas (Community Policing) is the implementation of police duties which underlies the understanding that to create safe and orderly conditions it is impossible for the Police to do it unilaterally as the subject and the community as the object. However, this must be done jointly by the Police and the community by empowering the community through a partnership between the Police and community members. So the police must foster partnerships with the community through approaches to prevent crime including money politics. Based on the crime prevention theory put forward by (Hadiz, 2012), crime prevention is divided into 3 approaches as follows: social approach or social crime prevention, situational approach or situational crime prevention, and community approach or community based crime prevention.

## **Factors Influencing the Implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program (The Coffee Shop for Community Forum Program)**

### **1. Internal Factors**

Internal factors are the creators and implementers of the Warkop Binmas Program, namely the Resort Police Chief and the Binmas Unit of the Kudus Resort Police which can be analyzed using the policy implementation theory put forward by George C Edward III (Ardani et al., 2017). It reveals four factors that influence policy implementation which include communication, resources, disposition, and bureaucratic structure (Subarsono, 2011).

#### **a. Communication**

During the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program on Tuesday 26 February 2019 in Kaliwungu Village, there was a lack of communication between the Head of the Resort Police and the Head of Sat Binmas and their members as executors of the Warkop Binmas Program. This is marked by the absence of APP (Leadership Command Directions) before the activity begins. At the time of the activity, all directions were controlled by the Head of the Resort Police so that the program implementing members felt confused and had to follow the directions of the Head of the Resort Police for activities that had not been notified beforehand. So that the implementation of activities encounters a lot of miscommunication, for example when playing videos. It was supposed to be played after the first question and answer session, but the Chief of Police ordered it to be played before the question and answer session. Then, the video playback was delayed due to the setting of the slide to a video display that had not had any prior attention and planning. Communication in policy implementation includes several important dimensions, which include: information transformation (transmission), information clarity and information consistency.

The dimension of transmission requires that information is not only conveyed to policy implementers but also to the target group and related parties. The Warkop Binmas program, which has been running for three years, is not widely known by the public due to the lack of socialization from the Kudus Resort Police Sat Binmas. The implementation was also not in accordance with the 2019 activity plan, so that the designated village suddenly had to be responsive in preparing all the necessities for implementing the Warkop Binmas Program.

The dimension of clarity requires that information is clear and easy to understand. In addition, it aims to avoid misinterpretation from policy implementers, target groups, and parties involved in policy implementation. The dimension of consistency requires that the information conveyed must be consistent so as not to cause confusion for policy implementers, target groups and related parties. The implementation that should have been carried out in Undaan District was changed to Kaliwungu District, so there was no consistency in determining the place of implementation.

#### **b. Resources**

These resources include human resources, budgetary, facilities, information and authority which are described as follows:

##### **1) Human Resources (Staff)**

Policy implementation will not be successful without the support of human resources of good quality and quantity. Human resources are very influential on the success of implementation. Without reliable human resources, policy implementation will run slow.

## 2) Budgetary

In policy implementation, the budget is related to the adequacy of capital or investment in a program or policy to ensure the implementation of the policy. Based on the planned budget data for the activities of the Kudus Resort Police Warkop Binmas Program, the total budget for 2019 is IDR 30,060,000 which is in accordance with the detailed budget requirements for the Kudus Resort Police Warkop Binmas Program.

## 3) Facilities

The provision of proper facilities, such as buildings, land and office equipment will support the successful implementation of a program or policy.

## 4) Information and Authority

Relevant and sufficient information is related to how to implement a policy. While the authority plays an important role, especially to ensure and guarantee that the policies implemented are in accordance with the desired. Information about the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program in Kaliwungu Village, Kaliwungu District was late because previously it was informed that the implementation would be in Undaan District. Thus, Kaliwungu Village must be responsive in preparing all the needs of the Binmas Warkop Program activities. Based on these problems, we can see the lack of socialization and consistency from program implementers. Thus, the village head and village officials were not optimal in preparing all the preparations and requirements for the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program.

## c. Disposition

Disposition in policy implementation is the character and characteristics of the implementer, such as commitment, honesty, and democratic nature. If the implementer has a good disposition, he/she will be able to carry out the policy as well as what the policy makers want. Conversely, if the implementer has a different attitude from the policy makers, the policy implementation process will also run ineffectively (Subarsono, 2011). Honesty directs the implementer to stay within the program principles that have been outlined. Meanwhile, high commitment from policy implementers will make them always enthusiastic in carrying out their duties, authorities, functions and responsibilities in accordance with established regulations. The implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program in Kaliwungu Village illustrates the honesty of the police in carrying out their duties. They admit that the implementation of services to the community still has many shortcomings. However, they still strive to be better. In addition, this program will continue and always be evaluated so that in the future it will be better in accordance with the submission of the Head of the Resort Police during the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program in Kaliwungu Village on Tuesday 26 February 2019.

## d. Bureaucratic Structure

This aspect of bureaucratic structure covers two things: the mechanism and structure of the bureaucracy itself. The first aspect is the mechanism in which policy implementation usually has a Standard Operation Procedure (SOP). SOP becomes a guideline for every implementer in acting so that the implementation of the policy does not deviate from the goals and objectives of the policy. In practice, there are still many that are not in accordance with the 2016 Warkop Binmas Program SOP. This requires evaluation and improvement so that future implementation is in accordance with existing SOPs. So, it can achieve the expected goals. If the Warkop Binmas Program is in accordance with the SOP implemented properly, money politics in Kudus can be prevented. The second aspect is the bureaucratic structure.



Bureaucratic structures that are too long and fragmented tend to weaken oversight and lead to complicated and complex bureaucratic procedures. Furthermore, it will cause inflexibility in every organizational activity. The Warkop Binmas program is the flagship program of the Kudus Resort Police Sat Binmas which is directly supervised by and implemented by Sat Binmas itself. The bureaucratic structure is short and strong in supervision. Thus, the consistency in the implementation of the Binmas Warkop is excellent because the Head of the Resort Police directly oversees the running of the program.

## 2. External Factors

- a. Opportunity: there is an atmosphere or environmental condition that is realized by someone that he/she has the opportunity to participate. In implementing the Warkop Binmas Program, the community has had the opportunity to participate. This can be seen from the absence of restrictions for the public to attend the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program.
- b. Willingness: there is something that encourages or fosters people's interest and attitude to be motivated to participate, for instance in the form of the benefits they get from their participation. The implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program in Kaliwungu Village, Kaliwungu District, on Tuesday, 26 February 2019 was attended by the Kaliwungu Village community and representatives of each village in Kaliwungu District.
- c. Ability: there is awareness or belief in oneself that one has the ability to participate in the form of thoughts, energy, time, or other means and materials. In carrying out the activities of the Warkop Binmas Program in Kaliwungu Village, many people were enthusiastic about asking questions and submitting input on security to the police, in this case, submissions from the community.

## Conclusion

In terms of the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program to prevent money politics in the jurisdiction of the Kudus Resort Police based on the activities of the Warkop Binmas Program that have been implemented and analyzed based on a crime prevention approach according to Darmawan (1994), many things are not in accordance with the 2016 Warkop Binmas Program SOP. Thus, it produces an unexpected result. The implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program, in changing the mindset of the people who think that money politics is normal, has not run well and has not been able to achieve the desired goal of preventing money politics. In addition, the community is not widely aware of the Warkop Binmas Program because the program is only implemented once a year in each sub-district, there is no socialization about the Warkop Binmas Program prior to implementation, and only community representatives attend the activity. Thus, all information from the Warkop Binmas Program may not necessarily be conveyed to other communities. Then, there are no regulations governing the delivery of the results of the Warkop Binmas Program to people who are not present at the implementation of these activities. Based on the implementation, there are 4 factors of influence in accordance with the theory of policy implementation put forward by George C Edward III which consists of: communication, resources, behavior, and bureaucratic structure. The target or community factors have supported the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program with the opportunity for the community to be present in the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program, the willingness of the community to be present in the implementation of the program, as well as the ability of the community to ask questions and submit suggestions and input to the police regarding problems that exist even in beyond the election theme. There are factors that support and hinder the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program in preventing money politics. Factors supporting the implementation of the Warkop Binmas Program in preventing money politics in the Legal Area of the Kudus Resort Police consist of: budgetary, disposition, bureaucratic structure, opportunity for executors, community willingness, and community capabilities. However, there are also inhibiting factors including: communication, human resources, facilities, as well as information and authority.

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