

The Effect of Money Politics on Voting Intention in Local Elections: A Political Ethics Perspective and Social Moderation Analysis

Agus Aribowo

Maranatha Christian University, Indonesia

Email: agus.aribowo@eco.maranatha.edu

Abstract

This study explores the impact of money politics on voter intentions in the mayoral election, emphasising the role of political ethics in shaping democratic behaviour. Using a quantitative survey approach, the study involved 1,516 respondents in Bandung City. The analysis uses multinomial logistic regression to test how voters' income level moderates the influence of money politics on their intention to vote for a particular candidate. The results show a significant relationship: low-income voters are more influenced by money politics. Political ethics, voter education and the need for electoral law reform are discussed as important factors in addressing this challenge. This research contributes to the discourse on improving the quality of democracy through ethical electoral practices.

Keywords: money politics, political ethics, voting intention, social moderation, regional head elections.

1. Introduction

Voting intention is a behaviour of voters that is very important to be mastered by success teams or political marketing strategy teams today. Voting intention is very important, because it directly affects the quality of the outcome of an election (Bukari et al., 2023). Political campaigns that raise political issues related to current conditions have been found to promote stronger relationships with their voters, increasing their likelihood of voting. Voters who have positive experiences can increase trust and engagement, resulting in increased voting intentions (Banerjee, 2023). Voter intention is critical to influencing campaign effectiveness. Understanding and managing voter behaviour makes it possible to increase the likelihood of electoral success (Kocaman & Cosgun, 2024). To be able to improve the quality of democracy, there is a need for political education for the community, including civic education. This is in line with several previous studies. Civic education has a direct and positive influence on voting intention, in the study found that higher levels of civic education are associated with increased voting intention. The correct voting intention in the context of regional head elections is a strong desire that uses reason or ratio thinking to vote for a candidate for regional head independently without being influenced by other external factors.

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A voter who does not use the assumption of rationality when intending to vote can be problematic, hence the need for rationality in the democratic process. According to rational choice theory, voters should aim to maximise their preferences by evaluating candidates based on their qualifications, political experience and work programmes offered (McGann, A. J. 2016). On the other hand, it is argued that subconscious and social influences can affect voters' decisions, and this may not be the same as a purely rational decision-making process (Lee et al., 2016).

Voting intentions that use rationality, will show that voting decisions are influenced by their beliefs about the state and economic policy, this shows that this decision is not completely independent or rely on reason alone without influence from external factors. Voting intentions in relation to rationality show that voters' decisions can be influenced by their beliefs about the state and economic policies, rather than from personal opinions or just based on common sense without external influences (Petrakis et al., 2021). Voting intention is still a challenge for regional head candidates in Indonesia. The problem is that many regional head candidates, for the sake of personal interest to get the intention to vote from the voters, many use Money politics, even though this is contrary to political Ethics. Many candidates for regional heads, who do not know how to increase the level of electability to them, instead take shortcuts by using money politics so that the public will vote for them. Money politics in practice can actually damage the electoral process and lead to a reduction in the quality of democracy. Likewise, if a regional head candidate is elected as the definitive regional head, then he/she may become a leader who is concerned with returning campaign capital, thus not prioritising the interests of his/her community (Iskandar & Hadad, 2024). Not to mention studies that show how giving money or political groceries can affect the democratic side, one of which is a study that shows a correlation between giving money and voter support, which has a negative impact on democratic choices (Pramudhita & Asfar, 2024). On the other hand, legal sanctions are inadequate to comprehensively deal with money politics offences. Current laws can fully address the practice of money politics, and the challenge of preventing the practice of money politics (Khairunissa et al., 2024). For this reason, there is a need for reform of electoral laws aimed at preventing and arresting perpetrators of money politics, in order to uphold the fairness and integrity of elections (Mirzana et al., 2024). In the Sidoarjo district election, 73% of voters accepted cash from candidates, indicating that the provision of money influenced voting decisions, and this context shows ethical problems (Pramudhita & Asfar, 2024). Similarly, the local elections in West Muna district saw around 30% of voters receiving money or gifts from candidates during the 2024 elections, researching the proliferation of money politics, which is contrary to political ethics but significantly influences voter behaviour (Syahadat, M. I., Arief, I. A., & Efrianto, L. O. (2023).

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Voter education plays an important role in strengthening the democratic process and improving the quality of its implementation. Through this education, people are empowered to make wise and informed decisions, which will lead to a more participatory and accountable system of government. Voter education also instils a deeper understanding of the rights and obligations as citizens. This has an impact on the formation of more critical and active voters, which in turn will strengthen the democratic process and the state system.

Money politics, which should not be done, is actually one way of political campaigning that has the potential to increase the intention to vote for regional head candidates from voters. The educational status of a voter also has the potential to minimise or maximise political campaign methods. There needs to be an effort from the government, both KPU RI and also Commission II, civil society and the media to collaborate with to prevent political practices and promote transparency (Saragih et al., 2024)]. It is necessary to impose harsh sanctions and the field of monitoring systems needs to be optimised, so that it can help restore public confidence in the electoral process (Iskandar & Hadad, 2024). The educational status of a voter also has the potential to minimise or maximise political campaigning. A person's higher level of education is usually correlated with increased political participation, as highly educated individuals are more likely to exercise their vote (Aars & Christensen, 2013). Education plays an important role in determining political preferences, as different backgrounds can shape different voting patterns (Hooghe et al., 2024).

There have been several studies that address the voting intentions of voters. There are several studies that show that civic education has a positive impact on voting intention, with attitudes towards voting behaviour mediating this relationship (Otache et al., 2023). In this context, it appears that higher levels of education have a greater impact on voting intentions, demonstrating the importance of information for voters. In meta-analysis research shows a significant positive correlation between candidate image and voting intention, especially for first-time voters (Saputra et al., 2023). In this study, it shows that a candidate is considered to be able to influence voting decisions. A form of familiarity with the candidate can significantly increase the intention to vote, because personal relationships can foster trust and involvement in the election process (Rahayu & Handayati, 2022). This research is very important because Voting Intention in Indonesia has not been completed. One study showed that factors such as satisfaction and trust in political candidates directly affect voter loyalty, and the impact affects the intention to vote for a candidate in the next election (Oliveira & Mainardes, 2019).

2. Literature Review

Political Ethics. In the era of globalisation, the application of political ethics is key to ensuring that public policies continue to respect human rights (Nurdin & Razak, 2024). Political ethics has an important role in building public trust in government through ethical and accountable policies (Latifah, Wardani, & Hayat, 2025). Political ethics is a set of moral principles and values that govern the political behaviour of individuals and institutions in the political decision-making process. Latif (2023). In the context of governance, political leadership ethics is the basis for preventing abuse of authority (Setiawan & Fauzi, 2023). Political ethics is a dimension of political education that builds critical and rational attitudes of the nation's children, by emphasising the importance of accountability, transparency, and solidarity in political action. Ritaudin (2017), Zuliana (2020), Political ethics in religious understanding is a set of moral values that regulate law and power, with Pancasila as the basis of political ethics in Indonesia. Political ethics is the crystallisation of citizens' political logic that prioritises common interests over personal and group interests, as the basis for creating social cohesion. Political ethics values such as honesty and responsibility are important foundations in improving the quality of democracy (Lubis & Damanik, 2025).

Money politics. *Money* politics is often referred to as electoral corruption. It is said so, because money politics is a fraudulent act in General Elections (Pemilu) which is essentially the same as corruption (Satria, 2019). Money politics is the act of giving money, goods, or other forms of incentives to voters with the aim of influencing their political choices, either directly or indirectly. The practice is considered to undermine the integrity of democracy as it interferes with the principles of fairness and freedom in the electoral process. Dangkang (2024). Money politics is the process of transacting people's votes in the electoral political process (winning general elections and/or regional head elections) using money as the transaction instrument. Money politics is defined as the practice of providing material incentives, either in the form of money or goods, to voters with the aim of influencing their political preferences. This phenomenon often occurs in various stages of elections and has a negative impact on the quality of democracy and electoral integrity. Yusuf, (2023) Money politics is one of the practices that can create political corruption. Aspinall & Sukmajati explained that money politics as the *mother of corruption* is the main and most frequent problem in Indonesia (Pahlevi & Amrullobbi, 2020). Aspinall & Berenschot (2019) in their research revealed that the practice of money politics has deeper roots than just vote-buying transactions.

In Indonesia, money politics often occurs at various stages of Pilkada, from the campaign period to polling day. This practice is not only limited to the direct provision of money or goods to voters, but also includes various other forms such as promises of employment, selective social assistance,

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and even the financing of local events aimed at attracting voter sympathy. The phenomenon of money politics raises serious concerns about the future of democracy in Indonesia. (Puansyah, Irman 2024). Money politics can weaken public trust in the political system and undermine the moral foundations of democratic governance. Leaders elected through this practice tend to focus more on returning their political capital, rather than serving the public interest. As a result, development programmes that should prioritise public welfare are often neglected or implemented with inadequate quality. Money politics has a negative impact on democracy in the long term (Fitriani et al., 2019). The practice of money politics has a negative impact on the quality of democracy and the performance of political parties (Chandra & Ghafur, 2020). The practice of money politics has a negative impact on democracy by undermining moral values. Money politics is considered a significant threat to the democratic process (Awaludin, 2021).

Voting Intention. *The Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB)*, developed by Ajzen (1991), states that a person's intention to perform a behaviour is influenced by three main factors: attitude towards the behaviour, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control. In the context of elections, the TPB is used to understand the factors that influence individuals' intention to vote in elections. One study that applies the TPB in the context of voting intention is research by Zahra et al. (2021), which analyses the factors that influence the decision to vote for president outside Java. This study found that attitudes and subjective norms have a significant effect on voting intention, while perceived behavioural control has no significant effect. Voting intention can be understood through a rational approach, where voters calculate the benefits of their choice (Yustiningrum & Ichwanuddin, 2014).

Factors that influence voting intention are attitudes and subjective norms, while voting intention has no effect on voting decisions" (Zahra et al., 2021). Attitudes and subjective norms have a significant and positive influence on voting intentions, with the influence of subjective norms being stronger than voter attitudes" (Pradipta & Suprapti, 2013). Voting intention in millennial voters in Pilkada is influenced by rational, psychological, and sociological approaches (Sagita et al., 2018). Millennial voters' political preferences in Pilkada are not only based on a rational approach, but are also influenced by sociological and psychological aspects (Meilinda, 2021). Voting behaviour in Pilkada is influenced by party identification, group ties, and candidate competence (Khumairo' & Asfar, 2023).

Political candidates. Political candidates are understood as individuals whose meaning is constructed by society through the process of political communication, where public perceptions of candidates are shaped by social interaction and the media. (Ariadne, 2018). Political candidates are individuals selected through a political party's recruitment process, which involves certification, nomination, and election stages (Suhaimi, 2021). Political candidates are actors who

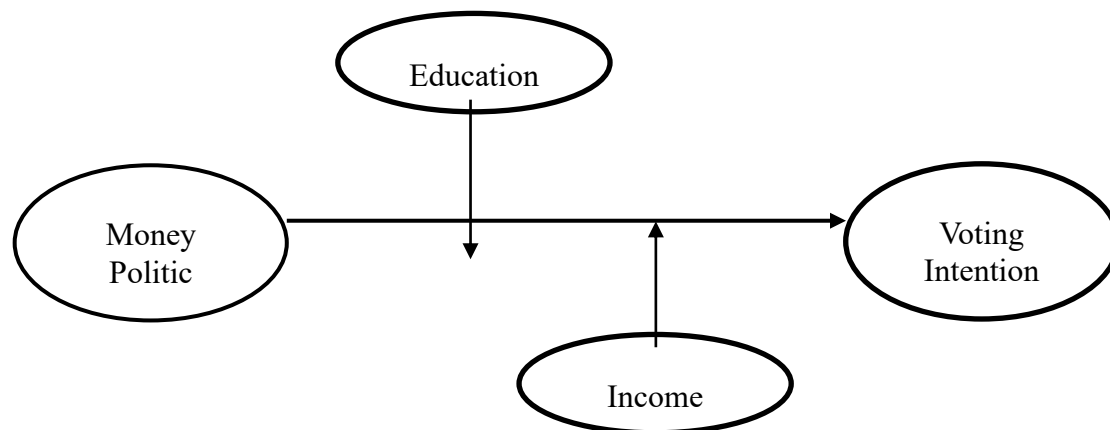
utilise social, cultural, economic, and political capital to win elections (Yuliani & Ardianto, 2020). According to Law Number 23/2014, the Mayor is the head of the region who leads the implementation of government affairs which are the authority of the autonomous region at the city level. The mayor is the head of government who leads the government at the city level, with the authority regulated technically in laws and regulations (Qur'anul Kariem, 2020). The mayor and the city's regional apparatus are part of the city regional government which is responsible for the administration of government in the region (Dahiri, 2020).

H1: Political money affects voting intention

H2 : Education Moderates the influence of Money Politics on Voting Intention

H3; Income Moderates the effect of Money Politics on Voting Intention

Figure 1. Research Framework



3. Research Method

This research is a quantitative study with a survey approach that aims to examine the effect of perceptions of *money politics* practices and understanding of political ethics on the intention to vote for regional head candidates. The analysis was conducted using multinomial logistic regression because the dependent variable, voting intention, is categorical with more than two categories. This model allows researchers to analyse the propensity of voters in different categories based on the independent variables studied.

The sampling technique used was *multistage random sampling*. The first stage was carried out by stratifying the area based on the geographical division of the city that became the research location. The second stage involved randomly selecting clusters, such as sub-districts or villages from each

stratum, and then randomly selecting respondents from households or the available permanent voters list (DPT). This technique was used to ensure that the sample represented the population proportionally and to reduce potential bias in data collection. The sample size determined was 1516 respondents, based on the calculation of the minimum requirement for multinomial logistic regression analysis taking into account the number of independent variables and 5% significance.

The research instrument was a structured questionnaire developed based on political ethics theory and previous findings related to voter behaviour and *money politics*. The collected data were analysed using SPSS statistical software. Multinomial logistic regression was used to test the effect of independent variables on the category of voting intention.

Multinomial logistic regression is used to analyse the relationship between a categorical dependent variable (>2 categories) and a number of independent variables and their interactions. Basic model:

$$\text{Logit}(P(Y=j)) = \alpha_j + \beta_{j1}X_1 + \beta_{j2}X_2 + \dots + \beta_{jk}X_k$$

The dependent variable is voting intention, with five categories of candidate choice. The main independent variable is *money politics*, moderated by income, and controlled by education. This study uses data from Bandung City with a total of 1516 respondents.

Finding and Discussion

According to Ajzen (1991), in the *Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB)*, states that a person's intention to perform a behaviour is influenced by three main factors: attitude towards behaviour, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control. In the context of elections, TPB is used to understand the factors that influence individuals' intention to vote in elections.

Table 1. Step Summary

Model	Action	Effect(s)	Model Fitting Criteria -2 Log Likelihood	Effect Selection Tests Chi-Squarea	df	Sig.
0	Entered	Intercept, Education, Income	864.243	.		
1	Entered	Money * Income	755.13	109.113	72	0.003

Stepwise Method: Forward Entry

The results of the **Chi-Square** calculation = **109.113** from the difference in the **-2LL** value (**864.243 - 755.130**), with this decrease in the log likelihood value indicates that the interaction of income with money politics fits into the model. Likewise with a significant value of 0.003. Indicating the interaction between political money and income is more feasible to be included in the model.

Table 2. Model Fitting Information

Model Fitting Criteria	Likelihood Ratio Tests		
-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig .
941.649 755.13	186.519	116	0

The value **of 755,130** is the -2 Log Likelihood value **after** all independent variables (predictors) are included in the model. This value is **smaller** than the baseline model, which indicates that the model with predictors has a better fit to the data.

Table 3. Goodness-of-Fit

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	292.088	300	0.617
Deviance	287.291	300	0.691

The p value (sig.) of Pearson = 0.617 and Deviance = 0.691, both well above 0.05, hence the model has a good fit with the data.

Table 4. Pseudo R-Square

Cox and Snell	0.116
Nagelkerke	0.127
McFadden	0.05

Nagelkerke explains 12.7% of the model's contribution to voting intention

Table 5. Likelihood Ratio Tests

Effect	Model Fitting Criteria -2 Log Likelihood of Reduced Model	Likelihood Ratio Tests Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept	755.130a	0	0	0.0
Education	797.031	41.901	24	13
Income	755.130a	0	0	0.0
Money * Income	864.243	109.113	72	03

The data shows that there is no interaction between money politics and Education, thus there is no moderating effect of Education on the relationship between political money and voting intention, The interaction between money politics and income, namely Money * Income is significant ($p = 0.003$). thus there is a moderating effect of income between the relationship between money politics and voting intention. This test measures the change in model fit when one effect (variable or interaction) is removed from the full model.

Some significant combinations of parameters:

[Money=1] * [Income=1]: $\text{Exp}(B) = 22.385$; $p = 0.014$

[Money=2] * [Income=1]: $\text{Exp}(B) = 14.339$; $p = 0.025$

[Money=3] * [Income=1]: $\text{Exp}(B) = 8.876$; $p = 0.057$.

The effect of money politics is stronger among low-income respondents. This suggests that money politics affects voter intentions more strongly among low-income voters.

Thus the hypothesis that can be taken is as follows: (1) Hypothesis one (H1), accepted, that education does not moderate the effect of political money on voting intention. (2) Hypothesis two (H2), rejected, that income moderates the effect of Political Money on Voting Intention

5. Conclusion

The results show that Money Politics significantly affects Voter Intention, especially among Low Income groups. The findings also suggest that it is important for the government to implement widespread voter education programmes so that people can become rational voters, reform electoral laws, and enforce the law for those who commit money politics. Addressing the incidence of money politics through an ethical and transparency framework can improve the quality of democracy in Indonesia.

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