

Phenomenon of the “dawn attacks operation” as a money politics practices in Indonesian election

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Abstract

Since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, there has been substantial scholarly interest in the roles of women in leadership positions. This multiple-case study explores the experiences of female political leaders during the pandemic, focusing on their roles, challenges, and resilience. The study encompasses ten women political leaders actively involved in pandemic-related activities in Dumingag, Zamboanga del Sur, Philippines. The findings indicate that these women embodied exceptional compassion and courage in their efforts to curb the virus's spread within their communities. The research underscores that the attributes traditionally associated with femininity, such as empathy and nurturing, were beneficial during the pandemic. Rather than posing a challenge, femininity complemented their leadership roles, with the main obstacles being the risk of contracting COVID-19 and public skepticism regarding the pandemic's seriousness. The study highlights that these female leaders adeptly managed the pandemic's challenges through effective cooperation and collaboration with stakeholders, underpinned by a commitment to altruism. This research contributes to the field by demonstrating that the qualities associated with female leadership can enhance crisis management. It informs the international debate on gender and leadership, suggesting that women's distinctive attributes may be particularly advantageous in navigating global health emergencies. By emphasizing these contributions, the study advocates for a broader recognition of the value of female leadership in crisis situations and encourages further examination of gender dynamics in leadership roles globally.

Keywords: dawn attacks, money politics, elections, democratic, malpractice.

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Introduction

Democracy is a political system that has now become the top stratum in the world as a system of government that could widely be accepted by many countries because considered as a government system capable of solving problems that have experienced by several countries in dealing with social and political relations (Ishizuka, 2020; Kurniadi et al., 2023; Mena, 2020). Indonesia is one of the many countries that carry democracy government system, although it is not yet as perfect to become a real democratic government system.

The conception of the term democracy is based on the original word of "people in power" or government or rule by the people (Budiardjo, 2008; Djuyandi, 2019). While democracy, according to Sidney Hook, is a form of government in which every important government decisions are directly or indirectly based on the agreement of the majority that is given freely by all the people (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). In addition, there is a unique motto about the democratic system of government

according to Abraham Lincoln is "government born of the people, by the people, and for the people" which means that every individual as citizens have the right to seek power within the circle of government. Where in the process of finding this power must be through competitive struggles in gaining the voice of the people to gain power, which later when people have power will have the authority to make a decision, and this decision will be applied and implemented by all citizens. Meanwhile, according to David Lechman, the concept of democracy is as a political method in which the democratic system has a certain mechanism for selecting a political leader, where citizens have the opportunity to choose one of the many choices among political leaders who are competing for votes to achieve victory (Lehmann, 1990).

Indonesia, in practice, chooses a leader using a democratic system by determining a leader figure in accordance with what is expected by all citizens in Indonesia without eliminating the applicable rules (law). This rule provides scope for the entire society and the same right to carry out all political activities carried out by each individual. So that the spirit of democracy, which turns out to have a link in the principle of liberalism that is bringing freedom in every individual such as freedom of attempted, freedom of competition, freedom of speech, and choosing a political affiliation, can support individuals in playing in the political sphere. In Indonesia, the principle of democratic governance can be seen in the form of general election practices when choosing a leader.

In the general election, there was a process of people's participation, where this is the main point in shaping who the next leader. In essence, the preference of citizens that associated with the scope and equality of rights granted politically, will be the basis for government responsiveness in producing decisions and policies. So that what Abraham Lincoln said "government was born from the people, by the people, and for the people" can be realized because every citizen will get the rights of freedom in politics. It can be concluded that democracy raises three dimensions in the process, namely competition, participation, and freedom so that encourages every individual to wish to become a political figure because it is considered to provide benefits as a ruling side that is able to regulate and influence all its citizens with various objectives such as the interests in every action. This is where the candidates for political leaders try as much as possible to become champions to achieve their goals.

As mentioned earlier, general elections become an identity of Indonesian democracy in choosing a leader. Elections according to the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 8 of 2012 concerning General Elections of Members of the People's Legislative Assembly, Regional Representatives Council, and Regional People's Representative Council are a means of implementing people's sovereignty that guarantees the distribution of the people's voice which is carried out directly, publicly, freely, confidential, honest and fair to produce leaders, representatives of the people who are qualified, aspirational, and responsible in the Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945. then, general elections function as the formation of the legitimacy of the ruler or government, in the formation of people's representatives in the circulation of the ruling elite (Habibi et al., 2023).

One of the characteristics of democracy, according to the 1945 Constitution is the existence of power controlled by the people based on the representatives elected already to the people by mutual agreement (Budi, 2022; Hudhaibi, 2023). Government system in Indonesia uses a system of representative democracy which means that in the process of implementing it involves all citizens directly by channeling their wishes in the form of aspirations through representatives (parliament) both in determining public policies, various state affairs, up to deliberation in a country. So that in the practice of state administration with a democratic government system is to use a general election system, where the election activities are a form of institutional filling process in a democratic government system.

Elections in political studies can be said to be a form of political activity that allows the formation of a representative government system. Elections are a vital element because they are the parameters of democracy. It is difficult to implement democracy without elections. If a government does not come from the open elections, dictatorship and authoritarianism will emerge (Leemann & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2022; Nadeau et al., 2023).

General election is also a form of implementing a democratic government system, and has a function as a forum to screen candidates for representatives of the people or state leaders who have criteria such as capacity and capability to be able to act on behalf of the people, besides that the general election has a connection with the principle of the rule of law (*rechstaat*) because through general elections all people can choose their representatives who which later have the right to create legal products and carry out surveillance activities and carry out the will of the people outlined by the people's representatives (Cholisin, 2007).

The mechanism forms the general election is a form of implementation from the government by the people by choosing people's representatives or leaders. So the question is what are the facts of the general election, especially in Indonesia? So that we can determine how well the process of holding elections in Indonesia?

In practice, of course, the general election is not immune from a variety of fraud which is considered a process of their success in competing for the most votes even though not all candidates do it. Cheating in elections is considered a mirage phenomenon that is considered impossible to occur but actually does occur so we need to understand what are the activities of cheating in general election activities which are not realized especially by the lower-middle-class people or lay people turns out in general election activities especially in Indonesia itself because the implementation process did not escape from cheating activities.

Far from the perfection, the process in the general election certainly is not always perfect and as smooth as imagined. Many critics come and go against the organizers of this activity because the reasons for the emergence of various problems that surfaced on the surface of the community regarding the general election process which certainly resulted in the bring of opinion among the public both positively and negatively in the process of general election activities.

The following are some violations that can occur in the electoral process based on Law Number 10 Year 2008 which is concerning about general election: Criminal acts in general elections, dispute in the implementation of the general election, violations in the administration of elections, violation of the code of ethics in the implementation of

general elections, dispute that disputes the results of the general election, as well as several other legal disputes (General Election, 2008).

Disputes in elections are limited for this reason, it will help the election surveillance activities themselves, so that it is not too difficult to conduct surveillance activities. It raises the question of what are the forms of violations being issued if the implementation is still limited? This provisions of this violation function as protection in the electoral process from various forms of violations to avoid fraudulent practices in the electoral process like the activities of miscalculating votes in the election commission (KPU), as well as existence violations that occur in general elections such as there forms of campaigns in outside of the campaign schedule and the most frequent thing happen, is the presence of money politics that dominates the activities before the vote is held (Awaluddin, 2019; Ferdian et al., 2019; Fithrian et al., 2022).

One form of malpractice in elections that endangers the quality of Indonesian democracy is money politics, where political elites who run in elections try to buy voters' votes. In many studies, the existence of money politics, one of which occurs in the form of "dawn attacks", will produce a corrupt government, erode democratic principles, and give rise to government policies that are not pro-people. In general election activities in Indonesia, both in the 2014 and 2019 elections, several researchers still see the existence of money political transactions which create vulnerabilities to the quality of democracy (Abdurrohman, 2021; Fitriani et al., 2019; Nabila et al., 2020; Qodir, 2016).

The practice of using financial resources or material goods to manipulate political positions and gain power is often referred to as money politics or bribery. This involves implementing policies ostensibly for public benefit, but which actually serve personal or partisan interests. Money politics can also be understood as attempts to sway individuals' actions through financial incentives or vote-buying in various political processes. These activities may occur across different levels of government, from local elections to nationwide polls (Suswantoro, 2021).

Put simply money politics can also be spelled out as an act of distributing private or party money to influence the voters' votes which exists in the hands of the community in the general election process. Money politics is intentional malpractice by a person or group which uses money as a form of reward for someone who wants using their voting rights to choose a particular candidate. This money politics usually occurs when the campaign season is given to the community from certain campaign team, or parties as representatives of the nominating parties to draw the votes of the community.

This money politics activity process usually targets novice voters as the recipient of certain money or goods because their experience is arguably the first time in exercising their voting rights in general elections. So that the position of the novice voter is utilized by the voice search party because of the notion that the novice voter is still unstable in determining his voting rights so that it is easier to be influenced than non-novice voters. Whereas it can be seen that the position of novice voters in Indonesia in 2019 amounted to around 42 million people, indeed less when compared to the total population with people who have voting rights in general elections in Indonesia in 2019 which is about 192 million people, but the position of newbie voters

has Significant influence in the general election process is seen from the tendency of those who have a mindset of choosing who tends to emphasize the values of daily issues because most of them more often consume social media as an initial assessment in their voting behavior.

Some previous research are looked more at malpractice in organizing elections, especially in the vote counting process (Awaluddin, 2019; Husin et al., 2021), as well as implementation of matching and research on voter lists (Fithrian et al., 2022). It cannot be denied that several other previous studies have also discussed the dangers of money politics in elections, but these studies have not looked at the factors that support the occurrence of "dawn attacks" as part of money politics. It cannot be denied that several other previous studies have also discussed the dangers of money politics in elections (Abdurrohman, 2021; Fitriani et al., 2019; Nabila et al., 2020; Qodir, 2016), but these studies have not looked at the factors that support the occurrence of "dawn attacks" as part of money politics. Therefore, this research aims to fill the gap in previous research.

this research analyzes the phenomenon of money politics (dawn attacks) before the election. Money politics or vot buying is part of electoral malpractice (Still & Dusi, 2020), because we can know that Indonesia is one of the countries that implement a democratic government system with its identity which holds general elections in determining the leader in power to run the wheels of government. Not demanding the possibility of the general election process in Indonesia so far has carried out cheating activities. Here, the author is interested in discussing and focusing on analyzing the cheating in election activities, especially the phenomenon of money politics in election activities in Indonesia.

Research Methods

The method used in this study is qualitative, namely: "analysis or research that emphasizes the process of conclusion and the comparison of analysis in the dynamics of the phenomenon being observed based on scientific logic". Where this research produces descriptive data in the form of a real picture of the analysis carried out by comparing the similarities and differences in the conditions of the election process from year to year, especially regarding the practice of dawn attacks (money politics) as the object being studied.

The descriptive method in this research emphasizes the use of library studies using collection methods by reading and recording, and then processed without the need to do field research. Where this research was carried out by collecting some information from news, institutional reports, books and journals related to the problem being studied, then after the author obtained the information or data, the next step was to sort the data, this step was necessary to avoid duplication of data. The process of sorting the data was carried out by separating election issues that were not related to the dawn attack phenomenon as part of the practice of money politics. The data validation stage is carried out by data triangulation, where various existing data which are related to the "dawn attack" phenomena are compared for their validity before being analyzed.

Results and Discussion

The phrase "dawn attack" originated in the military. Early in the morning is usually when soldiers ambush and seize control of the target area. Legislative candidates and dishonest leadership candidates employ this tactic in elections since the dawn attacks are typically quite successful (Moreman, 1993). Two categories of voters are typically the targets of this election-related malpractice: swing voters and core voters. However, because parties don't want to spend money on core or committed supporters, the majority of dawn attack target swing voters (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, 2023).

The dawn attack before the voting was a practice of Pang politics. This practice is not new in the world of politics, nor is it the first we have heard of. Money Politics has existed since this country was founded, but Money Politics seems to be an unimportant thing to talk about. Money Politics is not grant money and also not a gift. This money is just a medium to lure or influence someone to vote or support and this is absolutely not allowed in a general election.

Money politics often occur in the general election as a form of malpractice or cheating activities in the general electoral process, which is an activity of giving a bribe from someone by using certain money or valuables so that the person does not use his voice or use his voice in a certain way when the general election is held. Aside from being in the form of voting right, money politics are also commonly used in the form giving of funding for campaign activities to certain candidate campaign teams.

Based on data published by Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), there has been a significant increase in the practice of money politics. In the 2009 election, 150 cases of money politics were found, this number increased in the 2014 election, when 313 cases were found (Indonesia Corruption Watch, 2014). Even though the number of money politics cases decreased in the 2019 elections, where Bawaslu only received 25 case reports (Badan Pengawas Pemilu, 2019), the decrease in this number was more due to the fact that money politics practices were not recorded and there were no reports from the public (Kasim & Supriyadi, 2019).

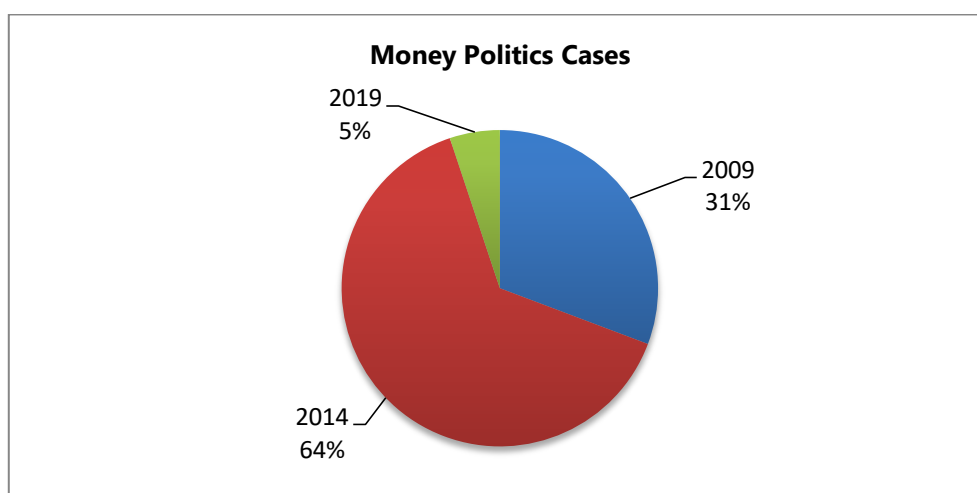


Figure 1. Comparison of Money Politics Practices in the 2009, 2014 and 2019 Elections.

Sources: (Election Supervisory Board, 2019; Indonesia Corruption Watch, 2014)

The lack of public reports regarding the practice of money politics can be indicated as a serious problem, because the public considers money politics to be normal. Based on a study by the Corruption Eradication Commission regarding money politics, as many as 72 percent of voter respondents accepted money politics and 82 percent of them were women with an age range of over 35 years. The reason they accept money politics is economic, pressure from other parties, permissiveness towards sanctions, and not knowing about money politics (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, 2024).

Supporting Factors for Money Political Activities

Money politics involving individuals from the political elite and society creates vulnerabilities to democracy. This creates injustice in political competition and strengthens the domination of certain groups over public interests. Apart from that, the practice of money politics can also reduce the quality of political participation of people who are unable or incapable of adapting to the culture of bribery and corruption.

Money politics does not appear by itself, there are several factors behind this activity in every election, both national and local, such as culture, poverty, political knowledge, and novice / new voter.

For culture factor, In Indonesia there are customs that apply, such as "if you get good fortune, don't refuse it" and the culture of "reciprocation", these paradigm very embedded in the lives of people in Indonesia from ancient times to the present. This is where many people misinterpret the conditions of handing out money or trinkets that are identical to prospective leaders during the campaign period. Where many people who want to receive what is given then apply the system of reciprocation for the gift that has been given previously either that money, groceries or trinkets, so that people will automatically choose, become a campaign team until contributing in the success of money politics as an expression of gratitude.

Poverty can be seen based on the need, the middle and low class accept many helping hands as opportunities for survival that appear to realize this is an activated form of vote-buying and selling between prospective leaders and those in need helping hands. We can know that the condition of Indonesian people which is categorized as poor is quite high. During the remainder of Joko Widodo's reign, the number of poor people in Indonesia was still 26 million and extreme poverty was 6 million (Wulan, 2024). With this, a fairly high total can be used to win votes because poor-class people are easy to be persuaded/obtained so that many prospective leaders during the campaign will focus on the poor to get votes by sharing money or groceries as a form of imaging. Poverty is considered to have become a political commodity, because poverty is used as a practice of votes buying. There is a different forms of votes buying in the 2024 election, this practice takes advantage of the social vulnerabilities that exist in society. The votes buying is realized in the form of providing social assistance (bansos). Social assistance is a social security program whose budget comes from the State/Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN/APBD), but because it is given by candidates who are running again in the election, and is given during the campaign or before the vote, it becomes part of the dawn attack and money politics practice. Unfortunately, the social assistance provided before and during the campaign, even during calm times, is considered normal (Perludem, 2024).

The third problem is the lack of understanding of knowledge about the political process, especially in Indonesia. From a small community in Indonesia, more emphasis will be placed on understanding nationalism than how the political process is carried out so that many people are indifferent to politics in Indonesia. Money politics also take advantage of this condition because the community will not care about who wins later because they do not care about the general election activities so that the opinion that they do not cast their votes is not a problem so that many people easily accept money without thinking of the consequences going forward.

As mentioned previously, the number of novice or new voters in Indonesia is large. KPU Commissioner, August Mellaz, said that in the 2024 elections the largest number of voters will come from Generation Z and Millennials, where the number is 55% (KPU, 2023). Their voices and role are very important in general election activities, because they are the subject of participation and not the object of mobilization. The perception of the novice voters in Indonesia are still unstable and apathetic, their political knowledge also still lack, so that their attitudes, actions and thoughts are easily carried away by something they think is right and profitable, without knowing what the actual facts are.

Forms of Money Politics

People's behavior towards elections currently still lacks concern for honest and fair elections. This can be seen from the phenomenon of money politics that occurs in society. Money Politics is a form of campaign violation, it is generally carried out by sympathizers, cadres or even political party administrators before the day of the general election. The practice of Money Politics is carried out by giving money, basic necessities including rice, cooking oil and sugar to the public with the aim of attracting public sympathy so that they vote for the party concerned.

Money politics, both direct and indirect, are commonly used tactics during the general election season in Indonesia to attract voters. The most effective and direct method involves distributing cash to potential supporters. This money typically flows through various parties involved in campaign activities, who use it to garner public interest and support for their candidate. Indirect forms of money politics are also prevalent. These often take the shape of providing social assistance or donations for public facilities as a way to build the candidate's brand and reputation. Common examples include distributing food to lower-income communities or offering social aid to groups likely to influence election outcomes. Both direct and indirect approaches aim to sway voters' opinions and secure their support at the ballot box (Yörük et al., 2023).

This condition is really complicated, when general elections are held, especially for people who have low levels of expenditure, they are very easily persuaded to give their votes to the candidates who are provide money or social assistance, under the pretext that this action is being taken by the candidate to help the community's economy. Looking at this reality, money politics, which was previously only known as dawn attacks, has developed into more than just giving cash before voting day. This form of money politics can also be carried out by providing social assistance to poor people, contributing to the construction and repair of places of worship, schools or

other public facilities (such as paving roads, bridges and irrigation), making donations to community activities and sports or agricultural equipment (Mahendra & Andryanto, 2023).

Apart from that, the candidates will utilize persons who have a large influence in society, you could say also community leaders, to help win in certain areas that are difficult for the candidates to reach directly. The task of the figures who are successfully recruited is to represent the campaign team. The role and position of the figures as a campaign or winning team will attract public interest to vote the particular candidate. Not only that, they will distribute knick-knacks that are identical to certain leadership candidates, such as t-shirts, stickers, calendars, key chains, election bags, and basic food items containing money for the people. In some conditions, political candidates will even convey to community leaders that they will help to build public facilities for the community. If this process will win a certain leader candidate, then those who help the winning process in the election will get a certain position in the party, a strategic position in government, or get money as a form of compensation.

Therefore, Indonesian Corruption Watch names figures (religious leaders, community leaders, local businessmen, artists, activists, village heads, regional and village officials, even RW and RT administrators) whose positions are used to gain votes during the elections as vote brokers. They generally have a wide network and influence in society, and their position is very strategic (Irawan, 2018).

Impact of Money Politic Activities for Indonesia as a Democratic Country

All activities will have an impact or a result that will occur, especially activities that smell negative like money politics activities. Where this impact will be felt directly by the perpetrator as the giver or the victim as the party receiving and the country carrying out the activity.

Indonesia is a democratic country that conducts the election of its leaders based on the electoral system, where election activities are not immune from malpractice to realize the desires of a person or prospective leader which of course has an impact on the survival of the democratic state in Indonesia. The existence of money politics in the general election process will decrease the quality of a democratic country because it is considered a deviation or violation that occurs in democratic general election activities. In addition to undermining the sustainability of a democratic political state, money politic can also be detrimental to the community in terms of people's lives with the emergence of new problems, such as the mental breakdown of future generations, which results in the weakening of people's welfare and impedes the progress of a nation and country in the future.

Afterward, the perceived impact seen from the side of the country's economy is the high costs incurred in campaign activities even though the government has provided subsidies or financed campaign activities. Or roughly the occurrence of corrupt activities in the distribution of subsidized funds provided by the government to the prospective leader for campaign activities because the subsidies were previously deemed insufficient to fulfill their actions in money politics activities that took place during the campaign so that many of them raised requests for high funds subsidies for campaign activities. So that public trust, especially people who understand politics

about the government will decrease with the perception "before becoming a leader it is already corrupt, let alone become a leader".

The intention to eradicate money politics with an electoral system that began to be changed into direct elections with the logic of prospective leaders will not be able to buy the people's votes with a large population of Indonesia, in fact money politics still exist in the implementation of general elections in Indonesia. Every time an election approaches, presidential and vice presidential candidates, regional heads or legislative members make sweet promises to the public. It is not uncommon for some of them to distribute envelopes containing money or basic food parcels. They have consciously carried out money politics, a corrupt practice that will lead to various other types of corruption.

In 2023, the Election Supervisory Board has carried out a mapping of vulnerabilities related to money politics, and there are five provinces that are most vulnerable. First is North Maluku with a score of 100. Then followed by four provinces below, namely Lampung with a score of 55.56, West Java with a score of 50, Banten with a score of 44.44, and North Sulawesi with a score of 38.89 (Bawaslu, 2023). Apart from releasing data on provinces that are prone to money politics, Bawaslu also released data on 20 districts/cities that are prone to money politics.

With some phenomena of political money activities in Indonesia, it can be seen that the possibility of malpractice activities in the general election process will continue to occur in order to achieve the goals in winning a competition. The process of political money activities will start from counterfeiting the budget for submitting funds for campaign activities to the government so that government spending will increase. Usually, if the income they get not enough from the subsidies provided by the government in funding campaign activities, they will look for outsiders as the inclusion of additional funding sources due to limited funds owned. Usually, these funds will be given by entrepreneurs as donors to invest their money. After getting funding and the process of campaign activities carried out with existence activities of money politics and won one of the parties then logically the winning party will reciprocate the services that have been provided by the donors with an agreement that was made before. With this situation, it will certainly present corruption activities for leaders who have been chosen based on their winnings based on negative activities, namely money politics activities. Why is that? Corruption activities as a very worrying impact occurred by the regional heads due to the condition of those who had to repay their debts during the election process to the donors. This corruption activity will harm the community because their debts must be replaced by public money contained in the APBD through a project that will benefit the political donors that finance their campaign activities.

Money politics is a serious problem in both elections and general elections in Indonesia, starting from the election of village heads, regional heads, legislative members (DPR), the Regional Representative Council (DPD), to the President and Vice President. Overt and covert political abuse of money still often occurs at various levels of elections in the country. This practice of money politics is of course detrimental to democracy and eliminates the true meaning of the general election process which should be a forum for channeling people's aspirations.

The practice of dawn attacks is often referred to as "electoral clientelism", because there is an unequal distribution of material to voters during elections alone. Some people know that the dawn attacks are a form of distributing money ahead of the voting, but currently the material distributed is not always in the form of money, but can also be in the form of basic necessities, or other household necessities. The cost for a candidate to fight in an election cannot be said to be cheap, during the elections which were held directly from 2009-2019, we were shown a phenomenon that occurred on a massive scale, namely votes buying. Several anecdotes about elections, especially legislative elections, one of which is often heard is NPWP (nomor piro wani piro number / How much do you dare to pay). Such jokes are evidence of the widespread practice of votes buying (Muhtadi, 2020).

During the 2024 elections, the Indonesian Political Indicators survey institute revealed that PKB and PDI-Perjuangan were the two parties that carried out the most dawn attacks on the public ahead of voting day. This was revealed from the results of the latest survey conducted by the Indonesian Political Indicators survey institute on 1,227 respondents using the Random Digit Dialing (RDD) method with a margin of error of 2.9 percent. Executive Director of Indonesian Political Indicators, Burhanuddin Muhtadi, said that 13.9 percent of respondents admitted that they had received a dawn attack from PKB ahead of the 2024 election, while 12.6 percent of respondents answered that they had received it from PDI-Perjuangan. Apart from that, according to Burhanuddin, all presidential and vice presidential candidate pairs also carried out dawn attacks. Burhanuddin said the candidate pair that carried out the most dawn attacks was Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD at 21.1 percent, then Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka at 20.8 percent and Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar at 16.9 percent (Al-Ayyubi, 2024). Therefore, firm steps and strict supervision need to be taken to minimize the practice of money politics so that the democratic process in Indonesia can run well and cleanly.

Money politics will undermine democratic values, create a corrupt government, and result in anti-people policies, hence they should be avoided (Abdurrohmam, 2021; Fitriani et al., 2019; Moonti & Bunga, 2018; Nabila et al., 2020; Qodir, 2016), because politicians use shortcuts to buy people's votes, rather than providing ideas, work programs and their own experience. Not only harm the democracy climate, money politics can also give impact to national stability, it will bring conflict (Moonti & Bunga, 2018). Bawaslu's collaboration with non-governmental organizations, social and religious organizations is important to suppress money political activities which are increasingly taking various forms. The more people are watching, the more difficult it is for political vote brokers to carry out their actions. The need to involve various elements in society to suppress money politics is also based on their influence in providing good education and understanding about the need to maintain democratic elections, not based on transactional politics. If the election produces leaders who win because of money politics, then society will be harmed by policies that will not be in their favor. Apart from the fact that the ruling elites will only be looking for a return on capital for the next election, this is where the issue of corruption by the political elites arises.

Even this research has explain about phenomenon of the “Dawn Attacks Operation” as a money politics in the political game in Indonesia Election, but it hasn’t explain and analyze the impact of dawn attack toward national stability, as money politics also has an impact on conflict and political instability.

Conclusion

Indonesia is one of the countries that implement a democratic governance system with its characteristics as a country that carries out direct election activities by all its citizens. Where in this general election process it is there are still many malpractice activities that continue to occur in the implementation process to date. Although there are indeed legal rules that have been prepared by the government to protect general election activities from various frauds, namely in Law Number 10 Year 2008, in reality, the application of this rule is still limited so that it raises ambiguity in its application which results in various cheat activities carried out by prospective leaders in general election activities.

The most frequent fraud is money politics activities as a form of votes buying that often occurs among the people, especially the middle to lower classes, mostly in rural areas. So that this money political activity continues to exist in the community due to various factors and conditions in Indonesia which turned out to have points that support this activity, such as culture in Indonesia, a fairly high poverty rate, lack of knowledge about politics among the community, and the existence of novice voters in general election activities. Dawn attacks as a form of money politics are often cited as the root of the problem of corruption, the birth of policies that are not pro-people, and the weakening of democracy. For this reason, it is necessary to involve various parties, especially Bawaslu, to monitor and act on findings from dawn attacks or money politics.

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