



Research Paper

Gambling Phenomenon in Mojodelik's Village Head Election, Gayam, Bojonegoro

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ABSTRACT According to the Criminal Law Article 303 paragraph 3 of the Criminal Code, it is explained that gambling is a game which generally allows [its players] getting a profit/an advantage depending on luck. Gambling activities that occur in Village Head Election (Pilkades) are acts that violate the criminal law in Indonesia. Gambling practices that occur in Village Head Election are carried out by placing bets on the prospective village heads where this is done by the community and also botoh. This study aimed to analyze and describe in depth the role of botoh in practicing and influencing the community in gambling activities and the factors that influence the community in gambling activities at the Mojodelik's Village Head Election. This research used a qualitative method with descriptive phenomenology approach. The results of the research obtained show that the form of gambling activity carried out by botoh at the Mojodelik's Village Head Election is by participating in placing bets on the nominated candidates. Then botoh also instructs the voters who support the candidate to follow the bet. Village Head Election gambling practice that occurs can be included in the concept of habitus, capital, and arena as seen by Bourdieu.

Keywords botoh, gambling, Village Head Election.

Received 24 November, 2020; Accepted 08 December, 2020 © The author(s) 2020.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The definition of gambling according to Dali Mutiara, in the interpretation of the Criminal Code quoted by KartiniKartono in her book [entitled] Social Pathology states as follows: This gambling game must be interpreted in a broad sense, including all bets about the loss and win of a horse race or other competitions, or all bets in the games/competitions[1].

According to the Criminal Law Article 303 paragraph 3 of the Criminal Code, gambling is stated as follows: "Gambling means any game which the likeliness to win generally depends on luck, also if the probability [of the winning] increases, it is because the player is smarter or more capable. Gambling also contains all bets regarding the decision of a race or other game which is not held by those who are competing or playing it, as well as all other betting"[2]

Basically, gambling becomes a person means of socializing with the community in her/his environment. Gambling makes it easy for people to meet one another. Gambling is also a person means of communication to other voters. Indonesian society is not fully prosperous, so some people [in its society] still see material in communicating. For this reason, gambling becomes an ice-breaker because of the deadlock in communication between one another.

Gambling has no ideology, it only follows the development of existing politics, and on the other hand, it can reverse the choice of voters on the pairs of candidates, thus it can also determine a person's victory and defeat. This is because voters in Indonesia are rarely ideological, especially since they are supported by almost no political parties in Indonesia who present themselves as ideological political parties.

The presence of botoh in Village Head Election (Pilkades) always becomes an interesting thing to discuss. Botoh which is a term in Javanese and means "gambler" based on the Great Dictionary of the

Indonesian Language (KBBI), has political power that cannot be underestimated. Botoh in the context of elections seriously damages the essence of democratic principles.

In the GATRA coverage, various games of gamblers and botoh were informed in the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) in several places. One of which was the Regional Head Election in Sragen, 9th of December 2015, where there were 20 botoh playing with billions of rupiahs in funds. Information about botoh who dare to gamble with big money is bluff to boost electability[3]. Field gamblers are brought systematically and distributed (instructed to go) to the stalls to spread the psychological effect that the supported candidate is superior in the betting market, this challenging operation can be effective. Then there are gambling bosses who dare to bet on the difference in votes (ngepoor) with varying bet values. In the Regional Head Election, it usually costs more than 50 million rupiahs, and there are even people who bet their entire house. In addition, there are gamblers whose stakes are tens of millions, hundreds of millions, even billions. If the supporters of a candidate do not answer the challenge of the opponent's bet, the public will choose the winner (in the betting market), so s/he must be served to save the constituents' votes[3].

Another fantastic form of gambling game, for example, if the botoh carries out a money politics operation to boost the votes of the champion, such as betting 1 billion rupiahs, then if s/he (the candidate supported) wins, the botoh will get 2 billion rupiahs. In order to win, s/he is ready to invest another 500 million rupiahs which is then used to buy voters' votes.

Then in the Kudus' Regional Head Election in 2018, Kudus which is known as the city of "Santri" (the religious students), was exposed to the phenomenon of botoh—who always attacked every regional election, especially in the Pantura area. The phenomenon of botoh that occurred was able to damage the votes of up to 80% of the total votes as explained by a KPU commissioner in Kudus regency[4].

The behavior and practice of botoh in the election, of course, is not merely a hobby factor, but also as an attempt by the winning team to influence voters. For this reason, law enforcers and election supervisors need to process gambling activities strictly in accordance with Article 303 of the Criminal Code concerning gambling, by following up with law enforcement officials or the police.

In viewing the practice of gambling in Village Head Election (Pilkades) it is not impossible that this continues to occur/happen because of the habitual factor that is inherent in the society. In other words, betting practice has grown naturally in society through a very long social process, thus it has become a habit that is structured instinctively. To take part in the Village Head Election gambling betting, of course, capital is needed, one of which can be in the form of money from both the botoh and community. Besides, in the practice of gambling that occurs, it is also necessary to have an arena in it. This arena is a patterned space and time, which then refers to political activities, namely in the Village Head Election itself. Therefore, this study sought to conduct an in-depth study of the phenomenon of the role of botoh in practicing and influencing the community in gambling activities and the factors that affect the community in gambling activities in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election, Gayam, Bojonegoro.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

The research method used in this study was a qualitative method. The qualitative method was chosen to obtain in-depth information about a person's social experiences such as attitudes, motivation, beliefs, and behavior from that person's point of view[5]. This study used a descriptive phenomenological approach based on Husserl's philosophy. The stages in the descriptive phenomenology approach used in this study were, first, the intuiting stage which is the stage where the researchers began to totally enter or integrate with the phenomenon being studied. In order to feel what the informants feel, the researchers listened with empathy to all the informants' explanations and tried to get clear and detailed information. Second, the bracketing stage, which was carried out to make sure that the informant is natural and free from the assumptions of the researchers. This was done by leaving existing knowledge about the phenomenon under study. Third, the analyzing stage, in which the researchers identified the essence/importance of the phenomenon being studied by exploring the relationships and linkages of elements (keywords, categories, sub-themes and themes). Fourth, the describing stage, in which the researchers made a broad and deep narrative related to the phenomenon being studied [6].

Then, the data analysis used in this study was a qualitative data analysis model of interactive model of analysis. Qualitative data analysis according to Bogdan and Biklen in Lexy Moleong[7] is the effort made by working with data, breaking it down into manageable units, finding out what was important and what was learned, and deciding what to tell others. Then the qualitative data analysis model of interactive model of analysis itself consists of 3 (three) components, namely[8]: (1) Data Condensity, where data collected from the field observation process are set forth in a complete and detailed description of the report. Data condensity was carried out continuously during the research process. (2) Data Display which is intended to make it easier for researchers to be able to see the overall image of certain parts of the research data. (3) Conclusion Drawing, in which data verification is carried out continuously throughout the research process. This stages aims to draw

conclusions from data categories that have been reduced and presented to further lead to final conclusions that are able to answer the problems at hand.

In addition, this study also used methods in data collection. According to Bungin, the data collection technique method is part of the data collection instrument that determines the success or failure of a study[9]. Meanwhile, according to Kriyantono[10], data collection is a technique or method that can be used by researchers to collect data. In this study, the data collection technique used was observation, where the data collection was carried out by the researchers by making direct observations in the field of the object under study. The next technique was in-depth interviews; this interview is a process of obtaining information for research purposes by means of face-to-face question and answer between the interviewer and the respondent or with the person being interviewed, with or without interview guidelines. The reason the researchers used in-depth interviews was because the advantage of this method lies in the purity of the data obtained from an informant and is not influenced by outside parties. Then the last technique used was documentation, this method was done by recording or copying existing data in the research location. Usually this data are in the form of secondary data or existing data, for example archives, photographs, annual reports, meeting results or other documents in the field related to this research[7]

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As mentioned earlier, gambling is legally regulated in the Criminal Law Article 303 paragraph 3 of the Criminal Code. Based on Article 303 (3) of the Criminal Code, what is called as gambling game is: Every game, where the possibility of making a profit, in general, depends on mere luck, also because the players are better trained or more proficient [in the game]. It includes all bets regarding the decision of a race or other game, which is not held between those who are competing or playing, as well as any other betting[11].

Related to the phenomenon of the role of *botoh* as gamblers, from the researchers' findings in the field, it is known that the role of *botoh* in gambling activities is to participate in placing bets on the proposed candidates. In addition, the *botoh* also instructs voters who support their candidates to take part in bets. This is done as a form of evidence that when the voters or residents who support the supported candidates have taken part in the bet, therefore it will be impossible that during the voting they do not choose the supported candidate. In other words, this form of betting or gambling is a strategy to tie votes in the winning of the village head candidate who is carried by the *botoh*.

At the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2020, it can be said that gambling/betting activities are relatively quiet. From the researchers' findings in the field, it is known that the stakes that occur are around 2 million to 5 million rupiahs and even then are not massive. Then from other informants, it was known that the largest gambling betting activity in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2020 was 20 million. In fact, the incumbent candidate was already *ngetek* (*ngepoor*) 500 votes. This means that when the incumbent candidate wins by a difference of less than 500 votes, then the residents who take part in the bet and support the incumbent candidate— even though the candidate wins, the bet is declared loss/defeated because the votes won by the candidates do not exceed 500 votes. Likewise, for her/his opponents, even though the candidate they supported lost, the people who took the bet won the bet because the difference in losses does not exceed 500 votes.

The most attractive Village Head Election (*Pilkades*) gambling with a large number of bets occurred in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014. This is because Mojodelik Village is the largest area included in the scope of the petroleum exploitation project carried out by ExxonMobil Cepu Limited (EMCL), and at that time, land acquisition of existing paddy fields was also being carried out in Mojodelik Village.

In the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014, the number of bets made by Mojodelik residents who had voting rights reached tens of millions. The residents who made large bets were mostly residents who earned big money as a result of EMCL's land acquisition.

The nominal amount of bets made in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014 reached tens of millions. Meanwhile, for ordinary residents, the minimum stake was around 2 million, 3 million, and up to 4 million rupiahs. Then for *botoh* there were also those who lost up to 50 million, and there were also residents who lost 2 cows. Then there were also those who lost bets from village officials and their families of around 50 million rupiahs. From the family of candidates who lost, there were also those who lost tens of millions in the betting. The amount of the stake was influenced by the land acquisition carried out by ExxonMobil Cepu Limited (EMCL), so it had an impact on the size of the residents' bets during the Village Head Election. Because for residents whose land was affected by land acquisition, they would certainly get big money thus their stakes were also big.

Gambling betting activities carried out by *botoh* and the public during the Mojodelik's Village Head Election according to Pierre Bourdieu is called as *habitus*. This is because the role of *botoh* who participates in placing bets or gambling on the proposed candidates and instructs voters who support their candidate to bet, which is a form of loyalty to support the candidates being proposed that has become a structured habit attached

to a person and society in the form of a lasting or growing disposition in society naturally through a very long and acculturated process.

Then the amount of money made by the residents at the Mojodelik's Village Head Election such as in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014, where there were *botoh* that lost up to 50 million, of course, allowing someone to get opportunities in life, especially getting betting money in Village Head Election gambling. This, in Bourdieu's view, is referred to as the concept of economic capital, in which the public spends quite a lot of money in gambling betting activities during Village Head Election [12].

Meanwhile, the Village Head Election event, which becomes a battle between prospective village heads and the village community in exercising their voting rights, is a special space for social practice. According to Bourdieu, the special space used in Village Head Election betting is called as the concept of the political arena.

From the researchers' findings in the field, the factors of the participation of the Mojodelik Village community in gambling betting at Village Head Election can be distinguished as follows:

The influence factor of *botoh* is a major factor in Village Head Election gambling betting. Because *botoh*— apart from being the winning team for the village head candidate — also acts as a gambler. The influence of *botoh* in influencing the community to gamble is by finding an opponent to bet against the community from the opposing party or with the *botoh* from outside — which is purely a bet.

From there then *botoh* provides information on how much money is circulating in bets, which then gives people access to gambling. However, there are people who gamble outside the role of *botoh*, such as due to the fact that the difference of choices during the Village Head Election between friends, even young people who are still in high school also join the betting with their classmates.

Community participation in the Village Head Election gambling betting as happened in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014 was massive. One of these betting was done by the youth organization (Karang Taruna) who received Rp. 1 million from one of the candidates at that time. Then through the influence of the *botoh*, the money is given the option — to be used in bets or taken as a form of preferred loyalty to the supported candidate. However, many of the youths later used the money for betting during the Village Head Election.

Meanwhile, in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014 there were also many people who lost bets of up to 10 million rupiahs, some also lost around 20 million rupiahs, and the informant that the researchers quoted also lost 3 million rupiahs at the Village Head Election gambling betting. The people who lost the bet were the supporters of Sandoyo, the candidate who lost the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014.

In addition, the stake in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014 also occurred to youths who were still in high school (SMA). From the confession of the informant who was still in high school, the informant said that at that time he indeed took part in the bet because he was challenged by a classmate. From his confession, the informant lost a bet of 500 thousand rupiahs; as this informant received a share of 1 million rupiah from the *sinoman* (Karang Taruna/the youth organization) which was then used in the 500 thousand rupiahs stake.

From what was conveyed by the informants above, it shows that the influence of *botoh* is very essential in gambling activity; as these bets are used as proof of choice on the supported candidate. Even if there are people who do not have money for betting, it will be capitalized by the *botoh* on condition that if you win the money must be returned and the profit can be taken by that person.

In Strain theory, it is explained that all members of community follow a set of cultural values which are oriented towards economic success. This sometimes makes people from the lower classes have no legitimate means to achieve this goal. In other words, they then turn to using legitimate means in their despair.

Therefore, they sometimes take measures to make ends meet outside of their work, because the income from their work is insufficient, so that in order to get a large profit they seek legitimate means, such as making gambling betting on village head elections.

Meanwhile, according to W.A Bonger in his theory, because of the economic situation, for people whose economy is low — in this case are under poverty — the relatively high necessities of life make them depressed and encourage them to commit deviations that violate norms and laws [13].

The above statement shows that a low economic level (poor) tends to make someone take actions that violate norms and laws in order to meet economic demands. However, in seeing the reality of gambling activities carried out by the community at the Mojodelik's Village Head Election, of course the size is not necessarily related to the low economic conditions of the community, considering that the majority of Mojodelik people in Gayam Sub-district are farmers.

However, people's participation in the Village Head Election (in 2014) betting was more due to the fact that at that time many Mojodelik people received land (rice fields) acquisition money from the EMCL company to expand the area of the Banyu Urip oil company. Considering that Mojodelik Village is ring 1 of the oil zone, many of the community's rice fields are then sold to EMCL. This is what then made the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014 gambling betting happen on a large scale.

Some of the opinions of the experts above support these findings and some do not. This can be seen in the fact that gambling at the Mojodelik's Village Head Election was not automatically driven by economic conditions (poverty) which made people commit deviant actions that violate norms and laws (gambling). As what happened in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014 was that almost all of the people – whether they were economically high, middle, and low – participated in these stakes. While for the people who did not have money for betting, they were capitalized by thebotoh.

Therefore, the economic factor that triggered the Mojodelik's community to gamble was that they really wanted to win to get money when betting on Village Head Election and so that the supported candidate could also win.

The triggers of gambling betting behavior during the Village Head Election include environmental or social factors, which influence is no less on a person's mental. [This influence can be in the form of] pressure from friends or community groups or the environment to participate in gambling in the form of solicitations and stories about the big profits. This can happen, as said by Sudarsono, that humans are social beings, to carry out their lives they must work together with other humans around them. This is closely related to the environment where they live. Then Sutherland views that deviant behavior originates from differential associations, meaning that an individual studies deviant behavior and its interactions with an individual from a different background, group, and culture[14].

One of the environmental factors in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election gambling betting is also experienced by young people who are still in high school (SMA). From his narrative, the informant followed the bet because he was challenged by a classmate. From his confession, the informant lost a bet of 500 thousand rupiahs. What the informants did in this bet was due to the influence of the environment, which at the time of the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014, there were many of his friends who made bets (joined the gambling betting), so this is what made this high school young man also made bets with his classmates.

Habit is a pattern for responding to certain situations that someone does over and over again to the same thing. According to Merton, there are two elements of social and cultural structure that are considered important in seeing a habit. First, it consists of cultured goals and interests which include the framework of basic human aspirations such as the drive for original human life. These goals are more or less unified, their degree depend on empirical facts, and based on an order of values, such as different levels of sentiment and meaning. Second, it consists of the accepted rules and means of control to achieve these goals.

Lemert also distinguishes that habitual factors in gambling activities are a form of primary and secondary deviations. Primary deviation is the initial act of an offense that is deemed to have arisen for various reasons and – by the actor – is deemed as insignificant to her/his personality. Meanwhile, secondary deviation is a deviation that occurs when the actor rearranges her/his socio-psychological characteristics around the role of the deviant act. Secondary deviations often lead to a feedback process in which the repetition of the act of deviance will increase the act of deviance and culminate in acceptance of the social status of the deviant for the actor and her/his efforts to act in accordance with the given role.

Thus the problem of habit has a very big influence on the occurrence of gambling (betting), where people easily learn and get access to gambling places and also because of group pressure.

For this reason, in viewing gambling at the Mojodelik's Village Head Election, of course this has become a habit in the community itself. The gambling activity can be seen from community participation in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election betting that are massive. For example, in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2014, many people lost bets of up to 10 million rupiahs, some lost around 20 million rupiahs, and the informant that the researcher quoted also lost 3 million rupiahs.

Community participation in Village Head Election gambling betting also tends to be due to the chance of winning. According to Merton, in his analysis of the dangers inherent in any form of mismatch between human needs and the ways that can be used to fulfill them, it is revealed in his theory that certain stages of the social structure will increase the circumstances in which violations of societal rules will produce a "normal" response. Merton attempts to show that some social structures have in fact led certain people in society to act deviant rather than obey social norms.

Thus it can be said that in order to win – the players (of the gambling betting) before joining the village head election gambling, they sought information from residents and their friends in order to be able to participate in the gambling betting. As for people outside the village, they will also seek information from residents and their friends about which village will hold Village Head Election, who the candidates are, and how big the votes are. By knowing this information, it is likely that gambling players will have a chance to win when placing bets. However, the most important thing that makes people interested so that they have a chance of winning when betting on Village Head Election is the Tek-tekan or Ngeteksystem.

The purpose of this Ngetek system is when there is a party that offers a certain number of votes so that it triggers a bet. For example, in the Mojodelik's Village Head Election 2020, the residents who supported the incumbent candidate were said to have received 500 votes. This means that when the incumbent candidate wins

by a difference of less than 500 votes at the time of the vote count, the people who take part in the betting to support the candidate are declared as loss/defeated, because the winning vote of the candidate does not exceed 500 votes or just 500 votes. So that the opponent's betting is considered to have won the bet, even though the supported candidate lost the election. The Tek-tekan or Ngeteksystem is what then becomes the basis for the chance of victory for the community to take part in betting or gambling during the Village Head Election.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on research results in the fields regarding the role of botoh in practicing and influencing the community in gambling activities and the factors that influence the community in gambling activities at the Mojodelik's Village Head Election, it can be seen that the phenomenon of the role of botoh as a gambler, from the researchers' findings in the field, is to participate in placing bets on the candidates that are proposed. In addition, botoh also instructs voters who support their candidates – to take part in bets. This is done as a form of evidence that when voters or citizens who support this have taken part in the bet, therefore it will be impossible that during the voting they do not choose the supported candidate. In other words, this form of betting or gambling is a strategy to tie votes in the winning of the village head candidate who is carried by the botoh.

Then, from the researchers' findings in the field, the participation factor of the Mojodelik Village community in gambling betting at the Village Head Election is influenced by several factors. The community participation factors in the Village Head Election gambling include factors of influence from botoh, economic factors, environmental factors, habit factors, and bet winning odds factors.

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Edy Suprianto, et. al. "Gambling Phenomenon in Mojodelik's Village Head Election, Gayam, Bojonegoro." *Quest Journals Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science*, vol. 08(12), 2020, pp. 18-23.