

Abstrak

Alokasi anggaran belanja pemerintah daerah untuk program kegiatan politik *pork barrel* di DPRD dilegitimasi secara hukum dan politik disebabkan anggaran tersebut disalurkan ke daerah pemilihan petahana sebagai wujud perjuangan petahana dalam merealisasikan aspirasi konstituen yang mendukung perolehan suara pada pemilu legislatif, terutama dalam pelayanan sosial dan kesejahteraan. Studi ini membahas legislator/petahana dalam menggunakan anggaran belanja pemerintah daerah (APBD/hasil pajak) untuk menjaga dan memobilisasi suara pemilih dengan tujuan keterpilihan kembali pada pemilu berikutnya. Untuk mengungkap praktek politik *pork barrel* yang dilakukan oleh petahana, maka disusun 4 (empat) pertanyaan penting dan mendasar terkait, bagaimana aspek legalitas dalam proses kebijakan, pendistribusian program kegiatan serta dampaknya pada perolehan suara pemilih bagi petahana dan peluang terpilihnya kandidat baru di pemilu legislatif 2019. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode campuran, dilakukan pada anggota DPRD DIY periode 2014-2019, timses/relawan, tokoh agama, tokoh masyarakat dan perangkat desa di 4 Kabupaten di wilayah DIY yang terlibat langsung pada pemilihan umum legislatif 2019. Studi ini menemukan bahwa *desentralisasi asimetris* dengan tidak adanya pemilihan kepala daerah (Gubernur) di DIY serta harmonisnya hubungan eksekutif dan legislatif dalam pemerintahan memberikan ruang praktek politik *pork barrel* menjadi lebih optimal. Mekanisme praktek politik *pork barrel* bagi petahana melalui prosedur meritokratis dan proses politik yang berdasarkan pada aturan perundang-undangan yang berlaku. Kebijakan publik daerah diarahkan untuk memenuhi kepentingan petahana, dalam menjalankan kepentingan politik elektoralnya di masyarakat. Alokasi anggaran belanja dan program kegiatan politik *pork barrel* menjadi instrumen penting bagi petahana untuk bertatap muka dengan pemilih sebanyak 5000-10.000 pemilih per tahun dalam 75-170 titik program kegiatan, sementara untuk terpilih kembali dibutuhkan rata-rata hanya 15.000 suara dan memberi kontribusi keterpilihan kembali petahana sebesar 73% pada pemilu legislatif 2019. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini menawarkan wawasan akademik baru tentang *desentralisasi asimetris* yang merepresentasikan demokratisasi politik cenderung mendorong praktek politik *pork barrel* di ranah kebijakan publik dan politik elektoral. Program kegiatan politik *pork barrel* memperkecil peluang keterpilihan kandidat pendatang baru khususnya kandidat perempuan dan membuat biaya tinggi pada proses pemilu legislatif.

Kata kunci: Praktek politik *pork barrel*, alokasi anggaran, legalitas, proses kebijakan, keterpilihan kembali petahana.

Abstract

The allocation of local government expenditure budgets for the pork barrel political activity program in the House of Representative is legally and politically legitimized due to the budget is channeled to the incumbents electoral district as a form of the incumbent legislator's attempt in realizing the aspirations of constituents which support the votes in the legislative elections, especially in social services and welfare. This study discusses legislators/ incumbents in using local government budgets (APBD/taxes) to maintain and mobilize voter votes with the aim to be re-elected in the next election. To disclose the political practice of pork barrels carried out by the incumbents, four important and fundamental questions were formulated related to the legality aspects of the policy process, the distribution of activity programs and their impact on the acquisition of votes for incumbents, and the chances of new candidates to be elected in the 2019 legislative elections. This research used mixed methods, was conducted on members of the House of Representative in Yogyakarta Special Region for the 2014-2019 period, the campaign teams/ volunteers, religious leaders, community leaders and village officials in four districts in Yogyakarta Special Region who were directly involved in the 2019 legislative elections. This study finds that asymmetric decentralization in the absence of regional head (governor) elections in Yogyakarta Special Region and harmonious relation between executive and legislative within the government provides room for more optimal pork barrel political practice. Mechanism of pork barrel political practice for incumbents through meritocratic procedures and political processes are based on the applicable laws and regulations. Regional public policies are directed at meeting the interests of the incumbents in carrying out their electoral political interests in the society. The budget allocation and the pork barrel political activity program are important instruments for incumbents to meet face-to-face 5,000-10,000 voters per year in 75-170 activity program points. Meanwhile re-election requires an average of only 15,000 votes and contributes to the re-election of the incumbents as much as 73 per cent in the 2019 legislative elections. The conclusions of this study offer new academic insights into several issues. First, asymmetric decentralization which represents political democratization tends to encourage the practice of pork barrel politics in the realm of public policy and electoral politics in a legal, structured and massive manner. Second, the pork barrel political activity program minimizes the chances of electing new comer candidates, especially female candidates, and creates high-cost politics in the legislative election process. Third, the behavior of incumbent legislators reflects the close interconnection between pork barrel politics practise and clientelism in which a lot of literature believes that pork barrel and clientelism are rooted in different conceptual grounds so that pork barrel politics should not use clientelistic practices, but this study finds that pork barrel politics use clientelist networks to mobilize votes.

Keywords: Pork barrel politics practise, budget allocation, legalization, policy process, the re-election of incumbents.