

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Election is the lifeblood of democracy that provides a forum for debate to the public, forms a policy agenda, provides public representation, determines composition in parliament and has an important influence on the distribution of power in government. The definition of an election is essentially the means available to the people to carry out their sovereignty in accordance with the principles contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution (Ali Moertopo in Sodikin, 2014). In the process of becoming a legislative member, a citizen can nominate himself through a political party as a party cadre to be able to compete in elections. In this case, political parties have an important role in a democratic process, namely as an organization that through its regeneration process can produce qualified cadres so that they can compete in the election contestation.

Election participants are political parties (parties and candidates) for the election of House of Representatives (DPR) members, Provincial Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) members, Regency / City Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) members, and individuals for Regional Representative Council (DPD) election members. They are candidates nominated by political parties so that the people through general elections can elect them. In line with what was stated by Pamungkas (Pamungkas, 2011) from various existing definitions, political parties can at least be defined as an organization that fights for certain values or ideologies through

mastery of power structures and that power is obtained through elections. From this definition, the instrument used by the party to gain power is through the electoral process. This is what distinguishes between political parties with interest groups or other organizations. To get this power, political parties through their candidates must be able to reach all levels of society in order to get as much political support.

Therefore, to reach the voters in the general election contestation, political parties and legislative candidates must be able to convince voters through the dissemination of vision and mission programs and programs called as Election Campaign. According to Regulation of the General Election Commission (KPU) number 23 article 1 paragraphs 21 of 2018, Election Campaigns are activities of Election Contestants or other parties appointed by Election Contestants to convince Voters by offering their Election Participants' vision, mission, programs, and image. The campaign is also a political process related to campaign finance and money. The strength and quality of a party's election campaign are influenced by the ability of political parties and candidates to raise funds and manage campaign costs. The reason that makes the campaign stage must be there is that democracy puts its power in the hands of the people, not the few elites. Today, political parties are not able to determine who the candidates will be elected and the people as voters will determine who the candidates will be elected. This situation becomes the argument and theoretical basis called *personal vote* (Mellaz in Sukmajati & Perdana, 2018). To get power, every politician must meet the people to get political support. The broader and more people must be reached and convinced, the more expensive political costs must be incurred

(Danial, 2009). Later, these political costs are used to fund various campaign needs and activities such as party fee, open and closed campaign costs, witness costs at the polling place, campaign attribute costs (t-shirts, stickers, billboards, etc.), and operational costs of the successful team (Sahera, 2014).

The system of 2019 simultaneous general elections is still causing problems in the community such as fraud in the implementation of elections and black campaigns including the practice of money politics by candidates or the success team is also increasingly prevalent in society (Sholikin, 2019). According to Ari Dwipayana, money politics is one of the factors causing the high costs to be paid for democracy (Dwipayana, 2013). The amount of fees a legislative member must pay to the party and the intense competition in the 2019 election has the potential to be a source of money politics that has an impact on corruption. This is because the orientation of campaign finance is still based on candidates or legislative candidates compared to political parties. August Mellaz in Sukmajati & Perdana (2018) called it *candidate-centered politics* which means the position of the legislative candidate as the main actor of the campaign. This is proven in Report of Campaign Fund Revenue and Expenditure (LPPDK) of PDI Perjuangan in 2019 general elections, the total campaign fund receipts are IDR. 2,730,535,150 sourced from parties worth IDR. 193,332,062 and IDR. 2,537,159,836 came from incumbent legislative candidates (KPU Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, 2019). In addition, the orientation of the 2019 Legislative Election competition is also more inclined in terms of the popularity and personality of legislative candidates. To be

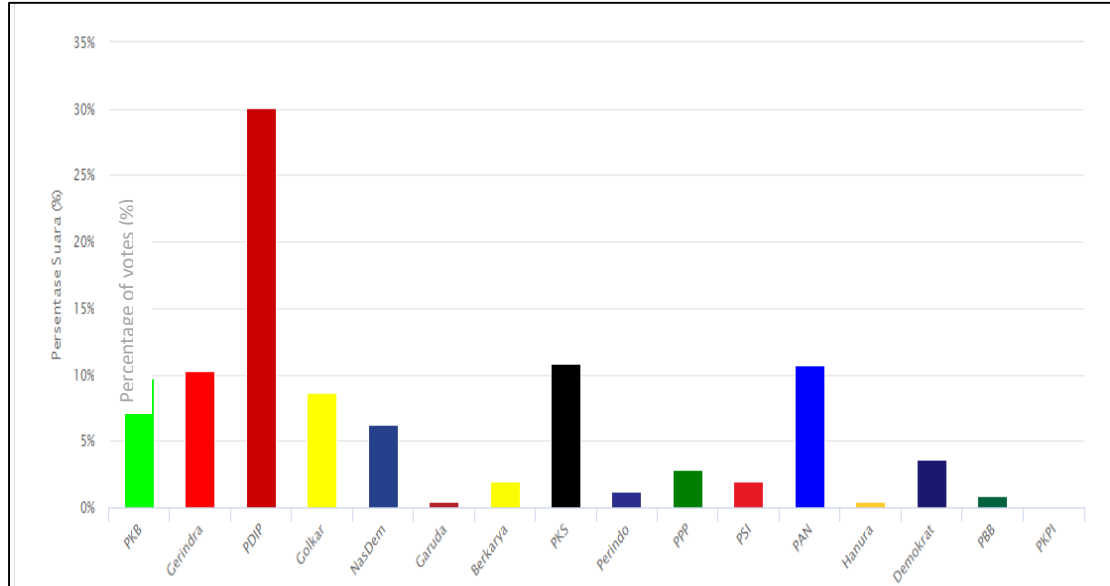
elected, each legislative candidate is obliged to increase his popularity, increase campaign activity, and finance it personally.

On the other hand, in order to win the competition, aside from personal costs, the party or candidate finally collects election capital from various sources that are prohibited by the commissions' rules. The existence of a source of financing assistance from non-obvious donor is what will later be used as one of the processes of reciprocation in politics, and this is considered reasonable because of the lack of ability of parties and candidates for legislative members to finance their own costs or political costs that must be incurred for elections. That is why each approaching the election of corruption carried out by politicians tends to increase. Mellaz's study (2018) shows an increase in campaign finance and various campaign needs that must be borne by a candidate. This is the result of various factors such as the waning ideology of political parties, the decrease in cadre contributions, the practice of money politics, the electoral system, the passing of voters, non-incumbent candidates, and the development of technology and mass media. These factors cause the current campaign to become a capital-intensive campaign, change the main actors in the election, and increase the cost of the campaign itself. This increased must be borne by political parties, especially candidates during a limited political and financial party convention.

In the 2019 general election in the Yogyakarta Special Region, PDI Perjuangan managed to dominate the vote in the legislative elections with a total vote of 654,647 votes or 30.06% of the total votes.

Figure 1.1.

Recapitulation of the Legislative Election Results for the Yogyakarta Province in 2019



Source: KPU Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (2019)

From the results of the legislative elections above, the Election Commission of Yogyakarta has determined 55 elected Provincial Legislative members for the 2019-2024 period listed in the KPU Decree of Yogyakarta Special Region no. 80 concerning the determination of elected candidates for members of the DIY's Legislative in the 2019 elections. From the 55 elected members, PDIP gained the most seats with 17 seats. PDIP won in the seven constituencies (electoral districts) of DIY, namely electoral districts 1, 5, and 7 each getting 3 seats, and electoral districts 2, 3, 4, 6 each with 2 seats. Meanwhile the other political parties such as, Gerindra, PKS, PAN each received seven seats, PKB gained six seats, Golkar five seats, Nasdem three seats, and PPP, PSI, and Demokrat each one seat. From the 17 seats that have been obtained by PDIP, 9 seats are filled by incumbent candidates. This shows that PDI Perjuangan has succeeded in

dominating the election of legislative candidates in the 2019 Simultaneous Elections in Yogyakarta Special Region. Usually, an incumbent will find it easier to win a seat compared to his non-incumbent opponent (Sukmajati & Perdana, 2018). This is because an incumbent legislative candidate already has capital in the form of policy programs and social investment so that it does not require huge campaign costs. However, not all incumbent legislative candidates are able to bring policy programs from the previous period to the public due to the practice of money politics carried out by other candidates. The phenomenon of rising costs for the campaign, a campaign finance system that is centred on candidates that lead to money politics practices, and the problem of incumbent legislative candidates who may not all be re-elected are interesting topics to study. Moreover, amid the problems that arise in the simultaneous elections in 2019, incumbent legislative candidates still survive and are able to dominate contestation legislative elections in each constituency. Of course, this is inseparable from the ability of candidates to manage their campaign funding to win the 2019 legislative elections. Therefore, this study will discuss the pattern of financing for Incumbent Provincial Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) Candidate of PDI Perjuangan, in terms of revenue, expenditure, and management to win the 2019 simultaneous election contestation in DIY Province.

1.2. Problem Formulation

Based on the above problems, it is necessary to conduct an in-depth study related to the pattern of campaign financing (in terms of revenue, expenditure, report, and repayment) of an Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan so they can

be re-elected. Therefore, the focus of this research is to find out the pattern of campaign finance in the winning of Incumbent Legislative Candidate in 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY. Based on the background above, the author formulates the problem in the research as follows:

1. How is the financing pattern of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY?
2. How is the financing utilization of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY?

1.3. Research Objective

1. To find out the the financing pattern of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY.
2. To study about the financing utilization of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY.

1.4. Research Benefit

1.4.1. Theoretical Benefit

1. This research is expected to increase the knowledge and development of governmental science, especially those related to budget politics in general elections.
2. Knowing the financing pattern and the utilizationof campaign financing of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY.

3. This research can be a reference about the next political financing that is relevant and concrete.

1.4.2. Practical Benefit

1. This research is expected to make a direct contribution to the KPUD as an audit institution that has the authority to audit budgets and political parties in any political contestation held by the KPUD DIY.
2. This research is expected to be a source of knowledge of the political financing model especially campaign financing for legislative candidates in a political contestation event.
3. The Pattern of Funding for Incumbent Legislative Candidate of PDI Perjuangan is expected to be a reference model in political financing.

1.5. Literature Review

1.5.1. Previous Study

These previous researches were conducted to find out research that have been done before and so that the research conducted by the researcher can be accepted originally and it can avoid plagiarism perception. Some previous studies are explained below:

Dwipayana (2013) in the study under the title “Pembiayaan Gotong Royong (Studi Tentang Dinamika Pembiayaan Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Pada Periode 1993-1999)” explained gotong royong financing which is carried out in a decentralized and self-managed manner. The characteristics of the first is having a

source of funding, the second is converting cooperation assistance funds into political work, and the third is decentralized management and self-management.

Faisal, Barid, & Mulyanto (2018) in the study under the title “Pembiayaan Partai Politik di Indonesia: Mencari Pola Pembiayaan Ideal untuk Mencegah Korupsi” provided recommendations for the government to increase the amount of aid funds for political parties, so as to be able to reduce the influence of businessmen and party elites who become patrons. However, in line with the increase in financial assistance, it must be followed by the need to improve recruitment patterns, or regeneration, and the enforcement of a good party code of ethics.

Sjafrina (2019) in jurnal of anti korupsi volume 5 number 1 with the title “Dampak Politik Uang terhadap Mahalnya Biaya Pemenangan Pemilu dan Korupsi Politik” explained longterm side effects of money politics. This paper discussed the relationship between money politics (political dowry and vote buying) in elections and political corruption by discussing examples of cases that have occurred lately and reiterated the importance of answering the root of the problem by fixing political party institutions, especially in the recruitment sector of potential candidates and party funding, and strengthening voter education.

Muhammad Amhar Azet (2015) in the study under the title “Analisis Pembiayaan Dana Kampanye Partai Gerindra Kota Pekalongan Pada Pemilu Legislatif Tahun 2014” explained the Gerindra Party in financing campaign funds from income, expenses and reporting. In terms of income the Gerindra Party purely uses the financial capabilities of candidates in the form of goods / services such as props and others.

Sukmajati & Disyacitta (2019) in the anti-corruption journal volume 5 number 1 under the title “Pendanaan Kampanye Pemilu Serentak 2019 di Indonesia: Penguatan Demokrasi Patronase” explained that the management of campaign funds by election participants shows the strengthening of clientelism political patterns on the one side and the waning of programmatic politics on the other. Consequently, patronage democracy will also strengthen in Indonesia in the future.

Anugrah Esa Octoricho Al-Amin (2019) in his research under the title “Pola Pembiayaan Gotong Royong Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (Studi Kasus Pembiayaan Pemenangan Calon Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Dalam Pemilukada Jawa Tengah Tahun 2018)” explained the pattern of PDI Perjuangan cooperation funding, which is sourced from three party pillars namely the Legislature, the Party (DPC) and Candidates. The funding is used to finance the victory of Ganjar-Yasin post-conflict local election in 2018 in Central Java.

Muhammad Fathul Mubin (2015) in his research under the title “Strategi Pemenangan Pemilu, Studi tentang Strategi Tim Sukses Hanafi Rais dalam Pemilihan Legislatif di Indonesia Tahun 2014” raised the phenomenon of Hanafi Rais' victory which has won the most votes (197,915 votes). The focus was on the strategy of winning the successful team in passing him to become a member of the 2014-2019 DPR RI in the 2014 Legislative Election in Yogyakarta. This study also discussed the application of mass mobilization strategies in the party's internal and external party networks (mass media, Muhammadiyah religious organizations, Aisyiyah political affiliations, and community sympathizers).

All of the previous research discussed topics regarding party financing patterns, campaign-winning strategies in previous elections, and the phenomenon of money politics in the form of strengthening patronage and clientelism. The difference between this research and previous research is that this study will discuss the financing pattern of the incumbent legislative candidates of PDI Perjuangan in terms of revenue, expenditure, report, and repayment. The object of this study focused on the incumbent legislative (DPRD) candidates of PDI Perjuangan, meanwhile the objects of the previous study were political parties and candidates for governor and vice governor from PDI Perjuangan in the local general election (Pemilukada) 2018 in Jawa Tengah. The Previous studies also discussed the practice of money politics by candidates such as the research of Sjafrina (2019) and Sukmajati (2019). This study will not discuss about money politics practices in-depth, but this study only focuses on the possibility of money politics practices that appear in the pattern of campaign financing for incumbent legislative candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the general elections of 2019 in DIY Province.

1.6. Theoretical Framework

This research is based on the framework of the concept of Election Financing, Gotong Royong Financing Pattern of PDI Perjuangan, and the political concept of Patronage and Clientelistics offered by Aspinall and Sukmajati (Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2015).

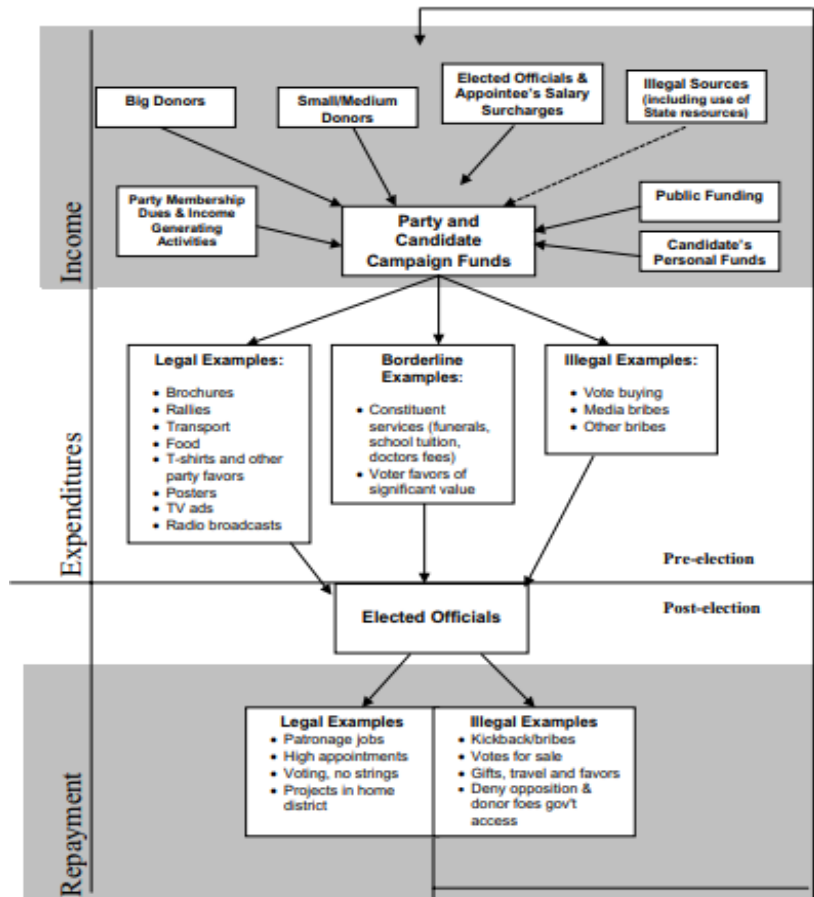
1.6.1. Election Financing

In the electoral process there are two big concepts that underlie election funding, namely political party financing and campaign financing. Political party financing is legal or illegal financing for political party activities and elections (campaigns by candidates and parties, as well as third parties) (Falguera, 2014). The sources of funds received by political parties in the form of membership fees, state subsidies, and contributions from donors are the focus of political party financing. Meanwhile the focus of the topic in campaign finance is how and when campaign funds are managed. The difference between political party financing and campaign finance is that campaign finance is closely related to the issue of expenditure from the candidate's side in order to mobilize his candidacy in the contestation of general elections. However, political party financing is closer to the issue of funding sourced from member contributions or state subsidies for finance all political party activities including campaigns.

U.S. Agency for International Development (Schimpp & Ward, 2003) tries to explain the mindset of how money can influence politics in three major phases, namely the revenue and expenditure dimensions of campaign funds in the pre-election period and the dimension of repayment in the post-election period.

Figure 1.2.

How Money Can Influence Politics



Source: (Schimpp & Ward, 2003)

There are two main points in the dimension of revenue: First, who a contributor to campaign funds is? Second, what the amount given by the donor is? Theoretically, election participants get campaign funds from the contributions of members or activities that can collect funds, large donors, small and medium donors, contributions from public officials originating or affiliated with the election participants, public funding sources from the state, as well as private funds from election participants. A crucial

issue in the dimension of receiving campaign funds is whether election participants get campaign funds from illegal sources, including from state resources.

In the context of Indonesia, in Law No. 7 year 2017 about general election (Pemilu) it is stated that campaign fund contributions can come from political parties and/or a combination of political parties, candidates, community members, community groups, and/or companies or non-governmental business entities. The law does not limit contributions from (joint) political parties and candidates. However, the regulation regulates the limitation of contributions from individual communities, from community groups, and from non-governmental business entities. In more detail, Article 331 of Law No. 7 of 2017 regulates that individual campaign fund donations from individuals must not exceed 2,500,000,000.00 IDR and contributions from groups and companies or non-government business entities may not exceed 25,000,000,000.00 IDR.

Moreover, for the expenditure dimension, there are three main things. First, legal expenditures, including expenses for making and installing brochures and posters, organizing convoys from supporters of election participants, transportation, consumption, campaign shirts, and advertising in mass media. Second, borderline spending (between legal and illegal), for example are services to constituents (assistance with funeral expenses for supporters of deceased election participants, school fee assistance, and assistance with medical expenses). Then because it is borderline, costs like this are at risk to fall into the category of expenditure that is illegal. Third, illegal expenditures are, such as the purchase of votes, bribes to the media, and various other forms of bribery, including bribes to election administrators to influence election results.

As for the post-election repayment stage, there are two forms of repayment provided by elected candidate to the voters, i.e. in the form of public policies that are legal and in the form of public policies that are illegal. Examples of public policies that are legal are the provision of patronage jobs as a form of remuneration, appointments in public official positions, and development of projects in electoral districts (pork barrel project). Meanwhile examples of illegal public policies are bribery, buying and selling votes, gifts, and the monopolization of state resources.

In addition, in Indonesia, regulations do not limit spending on campaign funds. However, there are some further arrangements at the technical-operational level. For example, Article 12 and Article 18 of PKPU No. 24 of 2018 states that the expenditure of presidential and legislative campaign fund expenditures for the purchase of goods is valued based on the fair market price for the goods and any discounts for purchases of goods that exceed the reasonable limits of generally accepted sale. Moreover, purchase transactions will apply a donation provision whose limits and arrangements are subject to the KPU's regulation. Furthermore, PKPU No. 2768 / PL.02.4-Kpt / 06 / KPU / I / 2019 concerning Consumption and Transportation Costs for Campaign Participants regulates that consumption and transportation costs are at most the same as regional cost standards set by the local government and these costs are not given in money to campaign participants.

According to Sahera (2014), there are at least four political costs that must be borne by prospective legislative members, namely the cost of open and closed campaign costs, witness costs at polling stations, campaign attribute costs, and the operational

costs of the Success Team. In addition to these political costs, there are also social costs (for example, the contribution of candidates to people who are sick or have a celebration) or in other terms, the costs of carrying out money politics. Wibowo (Wibowo, 2013) in his research related to political communication and financing in legislative elections found that a candidate's election funding can be seen through his forms of revenue and expenditures. The source of funds for a candidate can be in the form of personal, joint, or other parties such as friends, family, companies and political parties. In terms of expenditure, the largest portion of a candidate's expenditure is used for logistics, witnesses, media, activities, consumption and accommodation, and physical (facility development).

1.6.2. Gotong Royong Financing Pattern of PDI Perjuangan

Gotong Royong financing model is a financial model of PDI Perjuangan that is based on cooperation values. This funding was carried out as a form of awareness of PDI-P's cadres in upholding cooperation in partying for the sake of prosperity and the realization of the ideals of the PDI Perjuangan.

Gotong Royong financing pattern is used to manage party funds with the concept of Fund Raising, which directly shows the awareness of political parties in building a positive party culture. Fundraising can be interpreted as an activity for collecting or procuring funds, but the concept of fundraising in America is broader than commonly understood as a campaign for fundraising. The concept involves making a marketing strategy (marketing)

to get funds, especially funds that are not routinely obtained, which specifically has no supporting material.

The Gotong Royong financing model will have an impact on party members regarding the strong awareness in partying, a sense of responsibility and a strong sense of belonging within each cadre or PDI Perjuangan's party member. Gotong Royong has become the party's main foundation in bringing together all its members to participate in and support a transparent and responsible party financial management model as a party's self-sustaining path.

This Gotong Royong financing movement was carried out through the voluntary contributions of party members or cadres, and assistance from other parties who were breathing and in line with the party's struggle. In its implementation, The Gotong Royong financing pattern was delivered or distributed by equalizing the objectives in winning the Legislative Candidates of Provincial DPRD members, both incumbent and non-incumbent in DIY Province in the simultaneous general elections 2019.

Gotong Royong financing pattern has great benefits and impact for the party as well as for the party members themselves and by participating in this cooperation will prove the strength of party awareness for their members. In addition, another benefit of this model is that it has a responsibility to carry out political education or education for party members. The Gotong Royong Financing Pattern also creates community-based party programs.

Moreover, there is a benefit point from the utilization of Gotong Royong model such as women empowerment in politics and it means women have the representation right in politics.

For another external party's member, the Gotong Royong model specifically helps the party to implement party school or political education for all candidates in the election. Party school is an answer in which to prepare the cadres or candidates in terms of ideology, character, management of organization and conflict as a reflection of the party itself. This model at once becomes a spirit of party to implement their duty to protect and organize Marhaen people.

1.6.3. Money Politics, Patronage, and Clientelism

The term Money Politics has been widely used to describe the practices of distributing money or goods from a patron to individuals or groups. At the beginning of the reform era, the term money politics was used to describe the practice of bribery among the legislature during regional elections. The term is also used to describe corrupt practices such as embezzlement of money from government projects or receipt of bribes from employers. Today, the term money politics is used in a narrower context, which is a practice that refers to the distribution of money at the time of election from a candidate to a voter (Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2015: 3). The material distributed is not only in the form of money, but can be in the form of goods, projects, or services. Furthermore, to define the term money politics, two

concepts are used namely patronage and clientelism. By referring to Shefter, according to Edward Aspinall patronage is a profit sharing among politicians to distribute something individually to voters, workers, or campaign activists, in order to get political support (Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2015). Thus, patronage can be understood as giving cash, goods, services, and other economic benefits (such as projects or jobs) distributed by politicians, both to individuals and to groups or communities.

The variations in the form of Patronage according to Edward Aspinall (2015), among others are as follows:

1. Vote buying

Vote buying is the distribution of cash or goods payments from candidates to voters systematically ahead of the election in the hope of voting for candidates.

2. Individual gifts

Individual gifts are gifts of money or goods to voters directly or through intermediaries (usually in the form of groceries, calendars, key chains, etc.) either when meeting in person, or when visiting homes and campaigns. However, in practice, most candidates do not consider individual gifts as money politics because they are seen as a form of social lubricant.

3. Service and Activities

Forms of service provision are such as free health checks or the provision of free ambulances and activities are usually in the form of organizing sports competitions, public parties, etc.

4. Club goods

The practice of patronage is given for cooperation benefit for social groups rather than personal gain. This practice is divided into two categories: donations for community associations and donations for communities living in urban, rural, or other environments. Examples include the provision of sports facilities in the form of volleyball courts and their equipment for volleyball communities in one village or the provision of sewing machines for PKK group.

5. Pork Barrel Projects

The main character of a pork barrel is that this activity is aimed at the public and funded by the public budget in the hope that the public provides political support to candidates. Typically, this fund is referred to as aspiration funds with the idea that they are used to support legislators in absorption activities and respond to constituents' aspirations by giving government project rations. Incumbent legislative candidates usually provide projects like this in the hope that the community will support them in the next election.

On the other hand, Clientelism itself is a personalistic power relationship (the relationship is a face-to-face relationship) and material benefits are

exchanged for political support. According to Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007) in Sukmajati & Disyacitta (2019), Clientelism is the direct exchange of the voice of a citizen in return for direct payment or continued access to positions, goods and services. Based on Hicken (2011), there are several characters from clientelism, namely, first, a two-party relationship (dyadic relationship) where two parties (candidates and voters) develop relationships directly, face-to-face and transactional. Second is a relationship that is two-way (contingency), where the patron (candidate) and client (voter) give and take. Third is hierarchy, where the position of the patron (candidate) is higher than the position of the client (voter). The fourth is interaction which means that the relationship between the patron and client is continuous over a long period of time. However, not all patronage is clientelistic. This happens if a candidate gives money to voters, he does not know and he will not meet again so that the relationship is a single relationship. In addition, there is no reciprocal relationship so voters are also not burdened to reciprocate the patron's gift by providing political support.

1.6.4. Political Party

In the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI), political parties mean associations that are expected to realize certain political ideologies. Political parties are political organizations that live and recognize certain ideologies or are formed with a specific purpose.

The fundamental characteristic that distinguishes political parties from organizations or other interest groups according to Pamungkas (2011) is their focus on power and the acquisition of power through electoral mechanisms. Political parties function to bridge between the government and the people, as a manifestation of the operation of a democracy, because a democratic system is not possible without a political party.

Budiardjo (2008) defines a political party as an organized group whose members have a common orientation, values and ideals. The intention is to gain power in constitutional ways to accomplish goals, which are shared goals.

According to Surbakti (2010) the functions of political parties themselves are as follows:

a. Political Socialization

Political socialization is the process of forming political attitudes and orientation of members of the community.

b. Political Recruitment

Political recruitment is the selection of a person or group of people to carry out roles in the political system in general and in particular in government.

c. Political Participation

Political participation is an activity as a citizen in influencing the policy making process and participating in determining a leader in government.

d. Political Communication

Political Communication is the process of delivering information about politics from the government to the community and from the community to the government.

e. Control of Conflict

Conflict control is the process of controlling conflict by means of dialogue with the conflicting parties, accommodating and integrating various aspirations from the conflicting parties in a deliberation to get problems in the form of political decisions through the house of representative.

La Palombara dan Weiner dalam (Utomo, 2015: 47) identified four basic characters which characterize an organization that is categorized as a political party as follows:

a. Long term organization

Political organizations must be long-term, and are expected to continue to be present even if the founder is no longer available. In addition, there must be a succession mechanism that can guarantee the survival of political parties for a long time.

b. Organization Structure

Political parties will only be able to execute their political functions if they are supported by an organizational structure, starting from the local to the national level, and there are regular patterns of interaction between the two so that later they will increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the control and coordination functions.

c. Aim of power

Political parties were established to gain and maintain power, both at the local and national level, which also distinguishes political parties from the forms of groups and other groups in society.

d. A comprehensive public support is a way to get power.

Political parties need to get broad support from the public. The greater the public support obtained by a party, the greater the legitimacy it gets.

1.7. Conceptual Definition

Conceptual definition is the definition that limits the research conducted in the field, which contains problems that serve as guidelines in research or case studies in the field. Conceptual definitions are used to understand and facilitate in describing or interpreting theories into research in the field. Then, some conceptual definitions will be determined that have close links with the problem to be studied.

1.7.1. Election Financing (Campaign Financing)

Campaign financing is funds received and used by legislative candidates for all election-winning activities.

1.7.2. Gotong Royong Financing Pattern of PDI Perjuangan

Gotong Royong Financing Pattern is a financial model of PDI Perjuangan based on cooperation (gotong royong) values.

1.7.3. Money Politic, Patronage, and Clientelism

Money Politics is a practice that refers to the distribution of money during elections from a candidate to voters. Patronage is a practice of profit sharing by politicians to distribute something individually to voters in order to get political support. Clientelism is a form of favour from voters in the form of political support for the distribution of benefits distributed by candidates.

1.7.4. Political Party

A political party is an organization that is founded based on an ideology and the similarity of objectives which are usually power oriented and to obtain that power requires a mechanism called an election.

1.8. Operational Definition

Operational definition in this research is to know the financing pattern of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY by using the variable of:

1.8.1. The Financing Pattern of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Elections in DIY

- a. The financing source of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Elections in DIY.
 - b. The financing form of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY.
- 1.8.2. The Financing Utilization of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY.
- a. The financing use mechanism of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Elections in DIY.
 - b. The financing use purpose of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Elections in DIY.

1.9. Research Method

1.9.1. Type of Research

This research used descriptive qualitative method through a case study approach. Qualitative research methods according to Sugiyono (2013) is used to examine natural object conditions where the researcher is a key instrument, data source sampling is done purposively and snowball, collection techniques with triangulation (combined), data analysis is inductive/qualitative, and results qualitative research emphasize more meaning than generalization (Sugiyono, 2008). Case study research according to Creswell is a qualitative approach whose research explores a real-life, a system that is limited by cases or cases, through the collection of

detailed and thrilling data that involves various sources of information, and reports on case descriptions and case themes (Creswell, 2013).

1.9.2. Research Location

The location of the research were in several places in the Province of DIY, such as in the Office of Dewan Pimpinan Daerah (DPD) PDI Perjuangan and the Office of the Legislative in DIY. This study is to conduct basic research on the incumbent candidates' financing patterns and recommendations for further research. The second research location is carried out in accordance with the approval and agreement between the researcher and the incumbent candidates to be interviewed. Moreover, the research study is conducted to obtain information related to the financing pattern of incumbent legislative candidates of PDI Perjuangan in 2019 simultaneous general elections.

1.9.3. Data Analysis Unit

According to Krippendorff (2007) in (Tanjung: 2018) the analysis data unit is the part that is observed, recorded and considered as data, separated according to its boundaries and identified for analysis. The unit of analysis is part of the content to be further investigated, which is then simplified. The unit of analysis is part of the content to be further investigated which is then simplified.

Therefore, the analysis unit data in this research is the Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in 2019 simultaneous general elections in Yogyakarta Special Region (DIY).

Table 1.1.

The list of re-elected Incumbent Provincial DPRD Candidates of PDI Perjuangan

No.	Name	Gender	Distirect
1	Eko Suwanto, S.T, M.Si	Male	DIY 1
2	Rb. Dwi Wahyu B., S.Pd, M.Si	Male	DIY 1
3	Tustiyani, S.H.	Female	DIY 2
4	Kph. Purbodiningrat, SE, MBA	Male	DIY 3
5	Joko B. Purnomo, S.E.	Male	DIY 3
6	Drs. Sudarto	Male	DIY 4
7	H. Koeswanto, Sip	Male	DIY 5
8	Gimmy Rusdin Sinaga, S. E.	Male	DIY 5
9	Nuryadi, S.Pd	Male	DIY 7

Source: Provincial KPU of Yogyakarta Special Region, 2019

1.9.4. Type of Data

In this study, researcher used primary and secondary data types because primary data is used as the latest data that will be compared with secondary data about the same research results that have been studied by others.

a. Primary Data

Primary data is a data source that directly provides data-to-data collectors (Sugiyono, 2012:225). These data sources are obtained through interviews

with informants who have a focus on the problem in accordance with the research topic. Primary data obtained by interviewing the Incumbent Legislative Members of PDI Perjuangan faction in DIY.

Table 1.2.
Primary Data of Research

No	Data Name	Source	Data Collection Technique
1	The financing source of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Elections in DIY.	Incumbent Legislative Members of PDI Perjuangan in DIY	Interview
2	The financing form of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY.	Incumbent Legislative Members of PDI Perjuangan in DIY	Interview
3	The financing use mechanism of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Elections in DIY.	Incumbent Legislative Members of PDI Perjuangan in DIY	Interview
4	The financing use purpose of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Elections in DIY	Incumbent Legislative Members of PDI Perjuangan in DIY	Interview

Source: Processed by researcher

b. Secondary Data

Secondary data sources are data sources that do not provide information directly to the researcher. This data source can be in the form of further processing of primary data presented in other forms or from other people. Secondary data is used as supporting data from primary data sources, such as from the literature that must be collected following the subject matter to be further investigated. Secondary data used is presented in the table below.

Table 1.3
Secondary Data of Research

No	Data Name	Source
1	Report of Campaign Fund Revenue and Expenditure of Candidates / Laporan Penerimaan dan Pengeluaran Dana Kampanye (LPPDK) Kandidat	DPD PDI Perjuangan DIY
2	Early Campaign Fund Report / Laporan Awal Dana Kampanye (LADK) PDI Perjuangan	KPUD DIY
3	Report on the Acceptance of Campaign Funds Donations / Laporan Penerimaan Sumbangan Dana Kampanye (LPSDK) PDI Perjuangan	KPUD DIY
4	Report of Campaign Fund Revenue and Expenditure / Laporan Penerimaan dan Pengeluaran Dana Kampanye (LPPDK) PDI Perjuangan	KPUD DIY
5	The list of re-elected Incumbent Provincial DPRD Candidates of PDI Perjuangan	KPUD DIY

Source: Processed from various sources

1.9.5. Data Collection Technique

Data collection techniques are method used by researcher to obtain various types of data that will be used in a research. Researcher in research with this qualitative method must find accurate, clear and specific data. As explained by Sugiyono (2009: 225) that data collection can be obtained from the results of observations, interviews, documentation and combined / triangulation. In this research, the researcher used the interview method and was equipped with documentation of each research activity.

a. In-Depth Interview

In-Depth Interview is a conversation conducted by two parties, namely the interviewer (in this case the researcher) who asks questions

and the resource person who will provide answers. The interview is one of the most important data collection techniques in a study. By conducting careful interview techniques, the specific data will be obtained all the information author needed based on research indicators can be gained.

The kinds of information as follow:

1. The incumbent legislative candidate's profile and the political history of the candidate.
2. The financing pattern of incumbent legislative candidates of PDI Perjuangan DIY in 2019 general elections conducting the type financing source, financing assistance from PDI-P, the financing use form for election-winning process in type of audited and unaudited financing, the financing report, and the repayment form for the stakeholders.
3. The financing utilization of incumbent legislative candidates of PDI Perjuangan DIY in 2019 general elections including financing use mechanism, the type of mechanism of financing, personal financing and cooperate financing assistance mechanism, and the financing purpose of incumbent legislative candidates.
4. The obstacle in 2019 simultaneous general elections, tendency of money politics by candidates, the cause of money politics, the

cause of high campaign cost, and the quality of KPU's auditing form.

b. Documentation

Documentation is a method of collecting data from which data is obtained from books, the internet, or other sources that can support research. The document is a record of events that have already passed. Researcher can collect documents which can be in the form of writings, drawings, or monumental works from someone (Sugiyono,2012:240). Thus, the documentation is also included in one of the data collection techniques, where this documentation technique will be able to devote every moment of research that later the data in the documentation will become one of the results of research in the field.

Documentation in this research can be in the form of photos, letters, souvenirs, diaries, artefacts, reports, and so on. The advantage of this data is that it is not bound by time, so researcher can find out events or recorded data in the previous era. The documentation data is using to support and clarify the data gained from the interview.

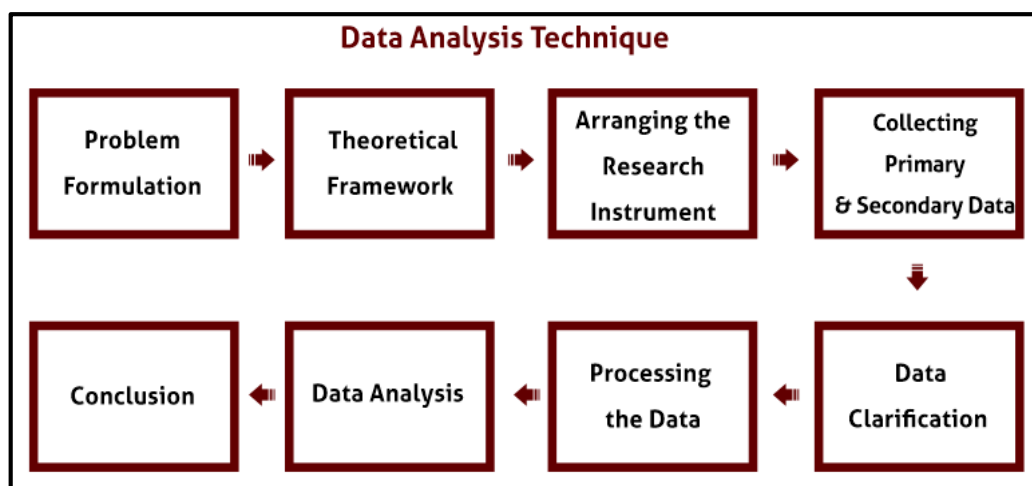
The kinds of documentation are the photo of incumbent candidates' profile of PDI Perjuangan, report of re-elected incumbent candidates, the LADK, LPSDK, and LPPDK report of each incumbent candidate and PDI-P, and the photo of each interview.

1.9.6. Data Analysis Technique

According to Miles and Huberman in Yusuf (2014:407) in qualitative research, data are collected through a variety of different data collection techniques, such as interviews, observations, quotes, and extracts from documents, notes through tape; more words than numbers. Therefore, the data is "processed" and analyzed before it can be used. There is a general pattern analysis offered by following the flow model as follows:

Figure 1.3.

Data Analysis Techniques Cycle



Source: (Yusuf, 2014)

In the research of Financing Pattern of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan, the author did some stages that will make it easier in arranging the research. Those stages are:

1. Arranging problems systematically. Problems found by the author will be collected and arranged systematically to provide convenience in the discussion. The discussion includes the

background of the problem, the formulation of the problem, the purpose, the benefits of research, literature review and others.

2. Stages are continued with the preparation of the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework provides a discussion related to the theory relating to the title of the study. With the discussion of the theoretical framework, Political Financing, Gotong Royong financing pattern of PDI Perjuangan, Money Politics, and Political Parties must be explained.
3. Furthermore, in the preparation of research instruments, it is very important to give attention, because the author collected data as processing material. Data processing provides a more focused explanation of the problem and simplifies the direction of the writer in his research.
4. The next stage is the author to collect primary data by interviewing and collecting secondary data. Then, the author conducted interviews with related sources to get data about financing patterns of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan with the secondary data as the reference.
5. When going through the data processing stage, the writer must have completed primary and secondary data. Therefore, that in the analysis of the data the author gets an answer to the data that has

been arranged from the beginning so that his research can be useful for readers.

6. Data analysis is the stage for analyzing, sharpening, selecting, focusing, discarding, data in one way in order to get conical reduction data, where the conclusions can be drawn and verified.
7. Display data in this context is a collection of information that has been arranged that allows drawing conclusions and taking action.
8. Conclusions require verification by other people who are experts in the field under study, or may also check with other data. It is also necessary to remember that adding data means that it is necessary to reduce the data display data and draw the following conclusions. The conclusion can give the explanation about Financing Pattern of Incumbent Legislative of PDI Perjuangan in 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY.