#### **CHAPTER III**

### FINANCING PATTERN OF INCUMBENT LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES IN THE 2019 SIMULTANEOUS GENERAL ELECTION

### 3.1. Financing Pattern of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY.

The PDI-P Incumbent Candidate Financing Pattern can have an impact on the results of the simultaneous election in 2019. In addition, there is a cooperation fund financing scheme, which forms the main basis of the party in bringing together all its members to participate in and support a transparent and responsible party financial management model. Therefore, in addition to spending money to win the election itself, a PDI Perjuangan candidate must also help the party in cooperation assistance and voluntary efforts to succeed in the election. Cooperation financing itself is a PDI-P's way to finance all party activities including election winning through the collection of an undetermined amount of money and deposited into a special account (Special Account Number: 020601007760306) which will later be contained in the Campaign Funds Donation Receipt Report (LPSDK). The LPSDK document contains the receipt of contributions from PDI-P members. In this study, contributions came from parties, members as well as PDI-P candidates in DIY without any coercion or emphasis from the party. The incumbent legislative candidates of PDI-P in 2019 Simultaneous Elections were collected into a Revenue and Expenditure Report of Campaign Funds (LPPDK).

Table 3.1.

DPD PDI PERJUANGAN DIY LPPDK

No	Description	IDR	Unit	Information
A	INCOME	2.730.535.150		
1	Political Parties	193.332.062		
2	Candidates for Legislative Members (Total Acceptance)	2.537.159.836		Services in the form of a Candidate Campaign
3	Donations from Other Parties			
4	Contribution of Other Parties to the Group			
5	Donations of Other Parties Non- Government Business Entities			
6	Etc	43.252		
7	a. Other Commitments			
	b. Bank interest	43.252		
В	EXPENDITURE	2.724.817.136	209.760	
	Operating Expenditures	2.724.817.136	209.760	
	Private meeting	101.630.000	203.220	
	Face to Face Meeting	0		
	Creation / Production of Ads in Print and Electronic Mass Media	0		
	Making Campaign Props Design	0		
	Public Dissemination of Campaign Materials	0		
	General meeting	0		
	Other Activities that do not violate the Prohibition of Campaigns and Regulations of the Law	0		
	Etc	2.622.859.836	6540	
	Contribution to Prospective     Members of the Provincial     Legislative of Yogyakarta Special     Region			
	Services in the Form of Campaign for Yogyakarta Special Region	2.537.159.836		

	DPRD Candidates			
	3. Other Operations	85.700	6540	
	Balance as of February 12, 2018	9.719.548		
1	Cash in Special Accounts	9.719.548		
2	Goods	0		
3	Bill	0		
4	Debt	0		

Source: LPPDK of PDI Perjuangan DIY (2019)

The Revenue Report of Campaign Funds Donation (LPSDK) has a total revenue of IDR. 2,730,535,150.00 originating from the candidates of 2,537,159,836.00 IDR and donations through cooperate assistance 193,332,062.00 IDR contained in the LPSDK document. The expenditure of campaign funds in the LPPDK document above includes private meetings, face-to-face meetings, making advertisements in print and electronic mass media, distribution of campaign materials, designing campaign props, general meetings, other activities which do not violate the prohibition of campaigns and legislation and so on. Aside from the expenditure above, the incumbent PDI Perjuangan funding still has other funding that does not violate regulations such as witnesses, the winning team, program socialization, and so on. In addition to the party, each PDI-P incumbent DPD incumbent candidate is obliged to report all revenues and expenses for winning activities to be compiled into LPSDK and LPPDK by the party secretariat team and later this report will be recapitulated and then submitted to the KPU.

Next, the LPPDK of each PDI-P incumbent candidates in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Yogyakarta Special Region:

Table 3.2.

NAME : RB. DWI WAHYU B., S. Pd, M.Si

**ELECTION DISTRICT**: DIY 1

No	Description	IDR	Unit	Information
	INNING BALANCE + TOTAL INNING OF INCOME	228.627.875		
SAL	DO AWAL (23 September 2018)	120.000.000		
A	TOTAL OF INCOME	108.627.875		
1	Personal Candidate	108.627.875		
	Money	12.037.875		
	Goods	96.590.000		
	Services			
2	political parties	0		
	Money	0		
	Goods	0		
	Services	0		
В	TOTAL OF EXPENDITURE	132.896.875		
	Limited meeting	101.630.000		
	Face to Face Meeting	0		
	Creation / Production of Ads in Print and Electronic Mass Media	0		
	Making Campaign Props Design	13.762.525		
	Public Dissemination of Campaign Materials	0		
	General meeting	0		
	Other Activities that do not violate the Prohibition of Campaigns and Regulations of the Law	4.100.000		
	Etc	286.850		
	Vehicle Purchases			
	Equipment Purchase			
	Other Capital	96.590.000		
	Debt Payment			
	Provision of Receivables			
	BALANCE	95.731.000		
	Money	0		
	Goods	95.731.000		

Table 3.3.

NAME : TUSTIYANI, S.H.

**ELECTION DISTRICT**: DIY 2

No	Description	IDR	Unit	Information		
	INNING BALANCE + TOTAL					
BEG	BEGINNING OF INCOME					
SAL	DO AWAL (23 September 2018)					
A	TOTAL OF INCOME	25.000.000				
1	Personal Candidate	25.000.000				
	Money	0				
	Goods	25.000.000				
	Services					
2	political parties	0				
	Money	0				
	Goods	0				
	Services	0				
В	TOTAL OF EXPENDITURE	25.000.000				
	Limited meeting	0				
	Face to Face Meeting	0				
	Creation / Production of Ads in Print	0				
	and Electronic Mass Media	U				
	Making Campaign Props Design	0				
	Public Dissemination of Campaign	0				
	Materials					
	General meeting	0				
	Other Activities that do not violate					
	the Prohibition of Campaigns and	0				
	Regulations of the Law					
	Etc	0				
	Vehicle Purchases	0				
	Equipment Purchase	0				
	Other Capital	25.000.000				
	Debt Payment	0				
	Provision of Receivables	0				
	BALANCE	30.000.000				
	Money	5.000.000				
	Goods	25.000.000				

Table 3.4.

NAME : JOKO B PURNOMO

**ELECTION DISTRICT**: DIY 3

No	Description	IDR	Unit	Information
	INNING BALANCE + TOTAL			
BEGINNING OF INCOME				
SAL	DO AWAL (23 September 2018)			
A	TOTAL OF INCOME	108.627.875		
1	Personal Candidate	354.450.000		
	Money	206.600.000		
	Goods	147.850.000		
	Services			
2	political parties	0		
	Money	0		
	Goods	0		
	Services	0		
В	TOTAL OF EXPENDITURE	216.600.000		
	Limited meeting	0		
	Face to Face Meeting	68.750.000		
	Creation / Production of Ads in Print	0		
	and Electronic Mass Media			
	Making Campaign Props Design	13.762.525		
	Public Dissemination of Campaign	0		
	Materials			
	General meeting	0		
	Other Activities that do not violate			
	the Prohibition of Campaigns and	4.100.000		
	Regulations of the Law			
	Etc	286.850		
	Vehicle Purchases			
	Equipment Purchase			
	Other Capital	147.850.000		
	Debt Payment	0		
	Provision of Receivables	0		
	BALANCE	147.850.000		
	Money	0		
	Goods	147.850.000		

Table 3.5.

NAME : Drs. SUDARTO

**ELECTION DISTRICT**: DIY 4

No	Description	IDR	Unit	Information
BEG	INNING BALANCE + TOTAL			
BEG	INNING OF INCOME			
SAL	DO AWAL (23 September 2018)			
A	TOTAL OF INCOME	533.174.000		
1	Personal Candidate	533.174.000		
	Money	263.662.000		
	Goods	269.512.000		
	Services			
2	political parties	0		
	Money	0		
	Goods	0		
	Services	0		
В	TOTAL OF EXPENDITURE	269.662.000		
	Limited meeting	150.000		
	Face to Face Meeting	0		
	Creation / Production of Ads in Print	0		
	and Electronic Mass Media	0		
	Making Campaign Props Design	0		
	Public Dissemination of Campaign	0		
	Materials	0		
	General meeting	0		
	Other Activities that do not violate			
	the Prohibition of Campaigns and	0		
	Regulations of the Law			
	Etc	0		
	Vehicle Purchases	0		
	Equipment Purchase	2.700.000		
	Other Capital	266.812.000		
	Debt Payment	0		
	Provision of Receivables	0		
	BALANCE	269.512.000		
	Money	0		
	Goods	269.512.000		

Table 3.6.

NAME : GIMMY RUSDIN SINAGA, S.E

**ELECTION DISTRICT**: DIY 5

No	Description	IDR	Unit	Information	
	INNING BALANCE + TOTAL				
BEGINNING OF INCOME					
SAL	DO AWAL (23 September 2018)				
A	TOTAL OF INCOME	91.946.700			
1	Personal Candidate	533.174.000			
	Money	263.662.000			
	Goods	269.512.000			
	Services				
2	political parties	0			
	Money	0			
	Goods	0			
	Services	0			
В	TOTAL OF EXPENDITURE	91.946.700			
	Limited meeting	20.100.500			
	Face to Face Meeting	24.083.000			
	Creation / Production of Ads in Print	0			
	and Electronic Mass Media				
	Making Campaign Props Design	3.718.200			
	Public Dissemination of Campaign	0			
	Materials				
	General meeting	0			
	Other Activities that do not violate				
	the Prohibition of Campaigns and	0			
	Regulations of the Law				
	Etc	0			
	Vehicle Purchases	0			
	Equipment Purchase	0			
	Other Capital	44.045.000			
	Debt Payment	0			
	Provision of Receivables	0			
	BALANCE	44.045.000	3.772		
	Money	64.000			
	Goods	43.981.000			

# 3.1.1. The financing source of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Election in Yogyakarta Special Region.

The source of funding becomes inseparable in finding funding patterns for winning elections for incumbent legislative candidates. This funding source is also used to garner sympathy from constituents to elect legislative candidates. Sources of Funding for the Incumbent Provincial Legislative Candidates for the PDI Perjuangan come from the PDI Perjuangan cooperation finance and personal finance. Furthermore, the pattern of incumbent PDI Perjuangan funding candidates in the 2019 Simultaneous Elections in the Province of DIY will be analyzed more deeply. To obtain the pattern of PDI Perjuangan incumbent candidates funding, a direct study was carried out to Provincial Legislative Incumbent Members of the PDI Perjuangan faction who were willing to be resource persons in this study.

From the research conducted on the Provincial Legislative Members of the PDI Perjuangan faction, some findings were found in the field regarding the source of funding for the PDI Perjuangan Incumbent Candidates in the 2019 Simultaneous Elections in the Yogyakarta Special Region.

#### 1. Rb. Dwi Wahyu B., S.Pd., M.Si.

In 2019 simultaneous elections Dwi Wahyu funded the winner using private funds.

For incumbent candidates, there are no sponsors in election funding. So use my private capital as much as 300 million IDR for this year's elections (Dwi Wahyu, interview 16 November 2019).

Dwi Wahyu relies on the programs he has made during his tenure to campaign himself indirectly. In addition to personal funds, he also received financial assistance sourced from friends or volunteers in the form of campaign props. In addition, there is financial assistance from the DPD PDI Perjuangan DIY in the form of campaign props and BSPN witness financing.

Through PDI Perjuangan Gotong Royong financing, there will be an endowment account, which will be used for various purposes, one of which is election, if the form is usually in the form of campaign attributes in general and witnesses for the presidential and presidential elections (Dwi Wahyu, interviewed on 16 November 2019).

Dwi Wahyu entrusted the election to the party as its parent and did not pay more for his campaign so that in this election Dwi Wahyu only spent around 300 million IDR for all his winning needs. Meanwhile in the Revenue and Expenditure Report of Campaign Funds (LPPDK) the total revenue of Dwi Wahyu is 108,627,875 IDR in the form of money and goods.

#### 2. Tustiyani, S.H.

The source of funding for the election of Tustiyani in the 2019 Simultaneous Elections came from his own savings.

It was my own costs from my own pocket, there is no other source of funds (Tustiyani, interviewed on 8 November 2019).

Tustiyani does not rely on sources of funding from other parties such as volunteers or other third parties because in the process of hes campaign she did not promise any projects to other parties who wanted to help win Tustiyani. However, there is a help from the DPD PDI Perjuangan in Yogyakarta Special Region through cooperation funding used in winning elections.

There is no money, but support in the form of attributes such as banners and flags from our contributions. Besides, there are subsidies for witness costs the elected candidates which are divided equally (Tustiyani, interviewed on 8 November 2019).

The assistance was in the form of distribution of campaign props and BSPN witness financing subsidies for each polling station (TPS). The total revenue of Tustiyani listed in the LPPDK is 25,000,000 IDR in the form of goods.

#### 3. Joko B. Purnomo, S.E.

Joko used funding sourced from his personal funds to win 2019 simultaneous elections.

The funding is indeed charged to each of the candidates themselves, so we also have our own costs for the election victory. (Joko Purnomo, interview 7 November 2019).

According to Joko, even though he is an incumbent, the winning funding was still carried out independently. Joko Purnomo used the relations he had built during his time as a member of the Bantul Regency Legislative to reduce costs that had to be spent on the simultaneous election of 2019.

Besides, Joko also received funding from the friend's loan. The obstacle that he faced was the limited personal funds he owned so he had to sell his assets in the form of private vehicles.

The loan is from friends besides we have our own savings. There are also those who help in the form of goods such as attributes and others ... usual when selling vehicles (Joko Purnomo, interviewed on 7 November 2019).

However, the loan and the proceeds from the sale of these assets are not reported in detail in the LPPDK. In addition, there is assistance from DPD PDI Perjuagnan DIY, which comes from cooperate assistance contributions and bank loans.

For funding from the party. The party provided funding for the successful election victory, namely providing assistance to finance the witnesses TPS which was managed by BSPN. In addition, there are party attributes such as flags and party shirts (Joko Purnomo, interviewed on 6 November 2019).

The PDI Perjuangan funding assistance for Joko was received in the form of BSPN witness funding and campaign props. Later selected candidates are obliged to help pay off the loan. Joko's total revenue listed in the LPPDK is 354,450,000 IDR in the form of money and goods.

#### 4. Drs. Sudarto

Sudarto used private funds to fund the socialization of his program and campaign.

It is through self-financing even though the party is the parent organization (Sudarto, interviewed on 6 November 2019)

Moreover, there are funding sources that come from volunteers and parties that provide financial assistance.

My volunteers, for example, good friends or one or two successful entrepreneurs, they also help in the form of money or goods (Sudarto, interviewed on 6 November 2019).

Not only money but volunteers and other third parties also help finance Sudarto campaigns in the form of goods such as campaign attributes and socialization activities in community groups. In addition, PDI Perjuangan also helped finance Sudarto's winnings through cooperate assistance funding in the form of BSPN witness funding, socialization assistance costs, or in the form of banners and billboards. In addition, the party also helped finance Sudarto through bank loans, which after Sudarto was elected, was obliged to help repay the party's loans.

There is a party obligation to the candidates. The party was very helpful because its collegial collective included witness costs, socialization costs and even made it in Kulon Progo to have banners, billboards, and so on. This party will also return the bank's debt to the legislative candidates (Sudarto, interviewed on 6 November 2019).

The total revenue of Sudarto listed in the LPPDK is IDR. 533,174,000 in the form of money and goods. However, not all Sudarto financing sources are included in the LPPDK, for example donations from other parties whose names do not want to be mentioned.

#### 5. Gimmy Rusdin Sinaga, S. E.

Gimmy Rusdin used 80% of personal funds from the total campaign funding he spent.

Funding is the same as the other friends, which is around 80% of personal funds (Gimmy Rusdin, interviewed on 9 November 2019).

In addition, there is help from close friends, although not as much as he spends from personal money.

Yes, there is a help, but not as we expect, for example, helping with making banners or helping to socialize the program (Gimmy Rusdin, 9 November 2019).

Gimmy's limited funds in the 2019 simultaneous elections made him have to find other sources of funds for his campaign, among others, looking for loans to sell wealth assets that he has.

Looking for debt, I also sell land assets (Gimmy Rusdin, 9 November 2019).

Funding from friends or volunteers are in the form of campaign props such as banners or billboards and assistance to socialize programs. The party also provides financial assistance for winning the election through cooperate contribution fees, which are used in the simultaneous election-winning activities in 2019, especially in the distribution of campaign props and BSPN's witness financing.

If the party is obliged to, the money will also come from the candidates. There is a campaign attribute, there is also a joint campaign, we will be invited to stand there ... If there are witnesses, there are from the internal BSPN of the party. (Gimmy Rusdin, interviewed on 9 November 2019).

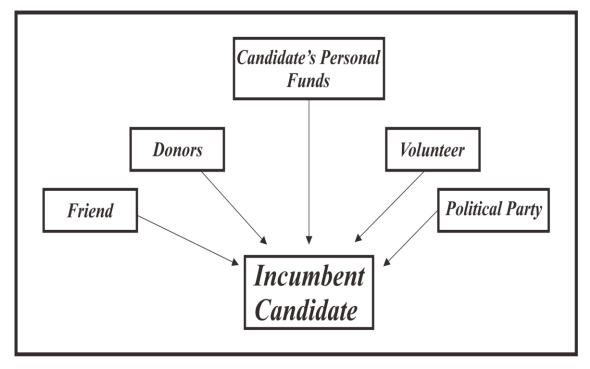
The total revenue of Gimmy itself listed in the LPPDK is IDR. 91,946,700 in the form of money and goods. In its reporting, not all election funding or assistance is included in Gimmy Rusdin's LPPDK.

Fundraising activities for electoral activities are an important agenda for PDI Perjuangan candidates. Donations from friends, volunteers, or other third parties can have the effect of reciprocation for candidates when successfully elected. Therefore, with Article 331 of Law No. 7 of 2017 regulates that individual campaign funds donations from and contributions from groups and companies or non-government business entities are expected to be able to minimize deviations from the campaign funds. From the interview results above, the majority said that the source of funding for their election winners came from private funds, but there were also other funding sources from third parties such as volunteers, friends, businesspersons, and also political parties in this study. DPD PDI Perjuangan of Yogyakarta Special Region through Gotong Royong (cooperation) financing patterns. In addition to relying on personal funds and assistance from other parties, the incumbent also relies on the programs they have made in the previous period and for the future periode also the issues they raise in the 2019 simultaneous general elections. This is proven to reduce the cost burden incumbent candidates must bear in the 2019 simultaneous elections.

From the explanation above, we get a model of the source of funding for PDI Perjuangan legislative incumbent members in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Yogyakarta Special Region can be described as follows:

Figure 3.2.

Financing Source of Incumbent Legislative Candidate of PDI Perjuangan in Simultaneous General Election of 2019 in Yogyakarta Special Region



Source: processed by researcher

### 3.1.2. The financing form of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY Province.

The form of campaign funding for PDI Perjuangan incumbent candidates is usually allocated for various purposes that can effectively and efficiently support the election-winning process. The use of legislative election financing is usually in the form of logistics both for the needs of the candidates' campaign and for the community. Financing form according to U.S. Agency (2003) is divided into a legal, illegal, and borderline financing. The funding is included in the audited in the LPPDK of each incumbent candidate and unaudited financing. The funding can be sourced from private funds or other parties such as friends, volunteers, donors, and PDI Perjuangan through cooperation financing patterns.

In this study, the form of financing for PDI Perjuangan incumbent election candidates can be seen in the LPPDK of each candidate and the results of interviews with legislators in Yogyakarta Special Region, about the form of financing carried out by PDI Perjuangan incumbent candidates in the simultaneous election of 2019.

Table 3.7. Financing Form of Incumbent Legislative Candidate in LPPDK Report

No	Name	Financing Form		
1	Dwi Wahyu	<ul> <li>a. Private Meeting</li> <li>b. Campaign Atribute</li> <li>c. Other Activities Not Violating the Prohibition of Campaigns and Regulations</li> <li>d. Other Capital</li> <li>e. Etc.</li> </ul>		
2	Tustiyani	a. Other Capital		
3	Joko B. Purnomo	<ul><li>a. Face to face Meeting</li><li>b. Other Capital</li></ul>		
4	Drs. Sudarto	<ul><li>a. Private Meeting</li><li>b. Purchase of Equipment</li><li>c. Other Capital</li></ul>		
5	Gimmy Rusdin	<ul> <li>a. Private Meeting</li> <li>b. Face to face Meeting</li> <li>c. Making Campaign Atribute</li> <li>Design</li> <li>d. Other Capital</li> </ul>		

Source: LPPDK DPD PDI Perjuangan in Yogyakarta Province (2019)

#### 1. Rb. Dwi Wahyu B., S.Pd., M.Si.

The funding for Dwi's election victory was used to finance the various interests of the 2019 simultaneous election as a whole. First, the funds are used to finance the procurement of campaign attributes (APK).

It is for Campaign Props such as stickers, banners, t-shirts and so on (Dwi Wahyu, interviewed on 16 November 2019).

Second, the funding is used to fund the program's socialization activities and issues that he raised in the 2019 simultaneous elections.

Program socialization, vision, and mission also need funding (Dwi Wahyu, interviewed on 6 November 2019).

Moreover, these costs are also used to finance consumption and various other equipment that is useful to support these face-to-face activities. In addition, there are unaudited expenditures such as social costs or other small financing that cannot be mentioned and reported one by one. For example, money for gasoline or consumption for volunteers or constituents during visits.

There must be a fee for snack consumption when meeting with constituents, we gather the masses, we also need consumption, gas money and so on (Dwi Wahyu, interviewed on 16 November 2019).

Dwi also provides assistance in the form of goods to community groups.

Depending on the segmentation, if the farmers 'groups are fertilizers or seeds, there is also a sewing training for the housewife's groups that does not provide sewing equipment (Dwi Wahyu, interviewed on 16 November 2019).

For other funding such as witnesses of BSPN, grand campaign, campaign attribute distribution, and the winning team, Dwi fully entrusts the party through the PDI Perjuangan gotong royong financing scheme.

Assistance from the party was in the form of funding for BSPN witnesses ranging from training to honorariums, Grand Campaign, and funding of the winning team or BAPILU (Dwi Wahyu, interviewed on 16 November 2019).

In the 2019 simultaneous elections, Dwi relied more on programs and issues than on activities such as entertainment which resulted in

wasteful spending on campaigns. He believed that as an incumbent, he benefits through programs that he has successfully realized while serving as a legislative member in the previous period.

When talking about incumbent, first, he at least has more stage space because he is supported by the regional budget. Now in that oversight the Legislature has the money to meet constituents. If talking about incumbent relying on the program is legal or not legal, because we have a room governed by the law called Recess (Dwi Wahyu, interviewed on 6 Oktober 2019).

According to Dwi, by relying on these programs, it was able to reduce spending on campaigning and meeting with constituents because the funding source for the recess was funded by the regional budget (APBD). The financing is considered legal because it is not against the law and is not intended to campaign for itself although these activities can promote themselves indirectly. Therefore, that the financing can be categorized as gray financing.

#### 2. Tustiyani, S.H.

In the 2019 simultaneous elections, Tustiyani used her capital to finance all election-winning activities. First, the funding is used to create campaign attributes.

Yes, it is for buying flags, campaign attributes etc (Tustiyani, interviewed on 8 November 2019).

Secondly, financing is used to finance open campaigns and socialization activities to community groups.

Open Campaign means sometimes campaigning in one electoral area andwe will contribute. I mostly go alone to the community, dasawisma groups, farmer groups, and so on, later I will also give cash to each group (Tustiyani, interviewed on 8 November 2019).

The financing is carried out individually and in the form of dues with other candidates in one electoral district to save existing expenses. In addition, Tustiyani also made a cash contribution to the community group. In addition, there are also financing for consumption at the time of socialization. Although sometimes there are residents who voluntarily help provide for consumption.

We also invite people so we should give food and drinks, although sometimes there are also residents who provide those (Tustiyani, interviewed on 8 November 2019).

Tustiyani also used election funding to fund his volunteer operations.

I give them money for buying gas money and cigarettes and not in the form of honorariums (Tustiyani, interviewed on 8 November 2019).

In addition to the above financing, there are forms of financing sourced from PDI Perjuangan. The funding from the party was received by Tustiyani in the form of funding for the witnesses of BSPN and the distribution of campaign atribute from PDI Perjuangan.

Yes, if the witnesses and the attributes, we got it from the Gotong Royong Funding andthe return is also for ourselves (Tustiyani, interviewed on 8 November 2019).

As an incumbent, Tustiyani felt helped by the various programs that he had done to help improve the welfare of the community, thereby growing community satisfaction and indirectly campaigning for her.

Road construction to facilitate access to agricultural land is also from my program, so thank God the community also felt the impact during my tenure (Tustiyani, interviewed on 8 November 2019).

All expenditures will later be reported to the KPU in the form of LPPDK, which in the making is assisted by the PDI Perjuangan reporting team in Yogyakarta Special Region. However, some funds are not reported in the LPPDK in detail.

#### 3. Joko B. Purnomo, S.E.

Joko Purnomo uses his election funds in the form of making campaign attributes.

There are making attributes with personal funds or help from friends (Joko, interviewed on 6 November 2019).

The campaign attributes include stickers, banners, and other campaign props that are personally funded or come from the help of other parties. As for volunteer operations, Joko does not provide formal salaries but in the form of accommodation and consumption money.

If the operational costs are normative, when they gather, we will give them a drink and just transport money as much as 25,000 IDR for gasoline. Then if there is no honorarium because we have a shared interest (Joko Purnomo, interviewed on 6 November 2019).

Then there is social funding that Joko has to spend when visiting several places in his electoral district. The cost is issued by Joko either in cash or in consumption. In addition, in LPPDK Joko's financing is used to finance face-to-face meetings with constituents and assistance from other parties is included in other types of Other Capital financing. Joko's election funding is also used to socialize the programs and issues that he brought to the 2019 simultaneous elections. The funding for the socialization also includes financing for consumption and mass accommodation both in the form of money or goods. DPD PDI Perjuangan through cooperation financing provides assistance in the form of campaign attributes, assistance in making campaign finance reports by the party winning team, and subsidies for financing witnesses BSPN.

For the funding for witnesses is usually we provide subsidies after later elected depending on the value incurred by the party but its nature is cooperation ... Only one district for the cost of witnesses. Bantul for example is almost 1.3 billion for witnesses alone (Joko Purnomo, interviewed on 6 November 2019.)

Specifically, for witness financing Joko had to spend around 1.3 billion to help finance the witnesses of the Election-winning Body as a form of assistance for the cooperation of PDI Perjuangan. Of course, these costs have been adjusted to the total funding spent by the party.

As an incumbent, Joko said that he was greatly helped by the relations he had built during his tenure as a legislative member. It was able to save Joko's expenses to finance all 2019 simultaneous election management activities.

I have been in Bantul for 2 periods and 1 period in the province, I have the support of the relationship that I have built and there is a previous program (Joko Purnmo, interviewed on 6 November 2019).

#### 4. Drs. Sudarto

Sudarto used election funding to finance the creation of campaign props both independently and used joint funds with other parties.

They just want the design. In the form of proposals, for example, to make banners or billboards, how much later will we help (Sudarto, interviewed on 6 November 2019.)

In addition, Sudarto also used the funding in the form of program socialization and vision and mission to the community, especially in Kulon Progo. Then there are social costs that Sudarto has to spend when visiting constituents and volunteers.

We cannot count them all, sometimes if we hang around everywhere we definitely treat them and it is not recorded (Sudarto, interviewed on 6 November 2019).

On the other hand, Sudarto also made activities in accordance with the demands of the community in an effort to gain votes in the 2019 simultaneous general election.

People are smart. When there is a need for elections they also ask things like entertainment or programs (Sudarto, interviewed on 6 November 2019).

Sudarto also provided sports equipment for a village in Kulon Progo.

I also provided the equipment for volleyball in Desa W (Sudarto, interviewed on 6 November 2019).

In the 2019 simultaneous elections, Sudarto also provided funding for his volunteer operations such as accommodation and consumption costs. DPD PDI Perjuangan in Yogyakarta Special Region also helped the success of the Sudarto election victory through cooperate assistance provided in the form of campaign attributes, funding of the winning team and witnesses, assistance in preparing reports by the party secretariat team, and funding for socialization including grand campaign activities.

As a party official and incumbent, Sudarto received a lot of support and assistance from volunteers and friends as well as PDI-P. He received this support thanks to the abandonment of the program and the aspirations of the people he accommodated. Therefore, in the 2019 simultaneous elections, Sudarto did not need to pay a large amount of fee to win it.

#### 5. Gimmy Rusdin Sinaga, S. E.

In the 2019 simultaneous general elections, Gimmy use the funds to made campaign attributes.

I use the funding for campaign attributes such as poster, banner, tshirt, name card, etc. (Gimmy Rusdin, interviewed on 9 November 2019).

Those funds come from personal funds and assistance from volunteer in the form of cash money or logistics. In the LPPDK, he also put the campaign funding in form of private meetings and face to face meetings with the constituents.

It used for private and face to face meetings (Gimmy Rusdin, interviewed on 9 November 2019).

There is also financing in the form of activities in the community. This activity is intended to support the campaign organized by Gimmy through the success team and the community. The financing of these activities is carried out individually or in the form of dues with candidates in one election district (electoral district).

If we make a program for example entertainment, we also make contributions in one electoral district, for example, I donating the stage, later the sound system from my friend, and so on. If people ask for more, we will contribute more (Gimmy Rusdin, interviewed on 9 November 2019).

Funding from the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) is provided in the form of BSPN witness funding, campaign attribute, grand campaigns, and reporting assistance through the party

secretariat team. Although the party provides subsidies in the form of witness funding managed by BSPN and party administrators at the regional level, Gimmy still incurred costs for his own witness team.

For BSPN witnesses there are fees that are charged but that is the cost of the contributions taken from each member. We personally also need our wittness, our team is there so I funded it myself because I have five witness for each village. One person is borne around 150 thousand IDR, including gas money and our food. I approximately paid 400 million IDR for those (Gimmy Rusdin, interviewed on 9 November 2019).

The advantage that Gimmy can get as an incumbent is that besides campaigning during the election campaign period, he can also do the campaign well before the election campaign period when they are serving as legislative member.

The advantage of the incumbent is because we have the people's aspirations answered so we can rise again those issues (Gimmy Rusdin, interviewed on 9 November 2019).

With the realization of Gimmy's programs to meet the needs of the community, he no longer needs a campaign that is too massive so that funding can be diverted to other activities that can support his victory. The rise of money politics practices carried out by new candidate results in incumbents feeling insecure about bringing their policy programs to the public. In addition, money politics resulted in a waste of money in funding the election of legislative candidates, especially the PDI-P incumbent candidates in Yogyakarta Special Region (DIY).

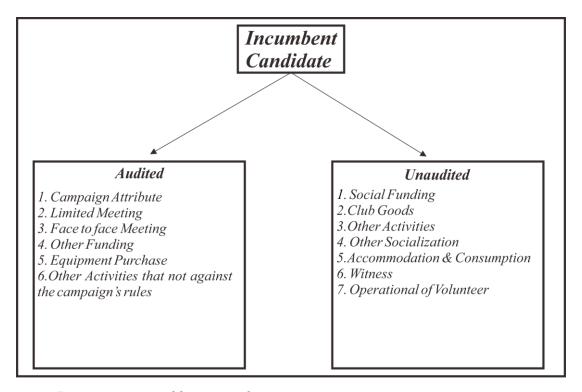
If asked about money politics, it do not exist, but those "new candidates" who have no political history and programs must do so because they are afraid of losing competitiveness. Yes, as a result we cannot bring the program that we make to the constituents (Dwi Wahyu, interviewed on 6 November 2019).

Therefore, DPD PDI in DIY carry out Gotong Royong financing pattern to reduce the amount of funding that must be borne by its candidates so as to minimize the existence of money politics practices both before the implementation of the campaign and during the election.

From the data obtained both through interviewed ons and from the LPPDK of each candidate, it was found a model of the form of financing of incumbent PDI Perjuangan candidates in 2019 simultaneous elections in DIY:

Figure 3.3.

Financing Form of Incumbent Legislative Candidate of PDI Perjuangan in Simultaneous General Election of 2019 in Yogyakarta Special Region



Source: Processed by researcher

From this figure, it can be seen that the incumbent expenditure of PDI Perjuangan's incumbent legislative candidates in the 2019 simultaneous elections used to finance all election-winning activities campaigns. Those are for campaign atribute, private meetings, face-to-face meetings with community groups, program socialization and vision and mission candidates, consumption, operational volunteers, and other activities that do not violate the rules set by the KPU.

In addition to the above financing, there are borderline financing, which are not regulated in legislation and are considered not to violate existing regulations. This

financing is considered reasonable because the candidates do not feel they are campaigning by issuing the funding. This funding includes such as providing access and facilities, giving cash to a community group, social costs such as donations for people who have a celebration, and programs or work for donors, volunteers or candidates who fail in elections. According to Dwi Wahyu as chairman of the BAPILU of DPD PDI-P Yogyakarta, the existence of distribution to the party is the cause of the emergence of borderline financing. Eventhough the party has provided facilities in the form of winning teams, joint campaigns, BSPN witness funding, and campaign props. In addition, he considered that the practice of money politics had damaged competition between legislative candidates so that the incumbent did not believe in relying on the programs and issues they had built during their tenure. As a result, several incumbents eventually issued financing that could actually be categorized into money politics practices.

- 3.2. The financing utilization of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI

  Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY

  Province.
  - 3.2.1. The financing use mechanism of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY Province.

#### 1. Rb. Dwi Wahyu B., S.Pd., M.Si.

The use of financing for the election of Dwi Wahyu mostly uses personal funds. The funds are used to finance all the needs of winning the election, starting from the design of campaign props, private meetings, face-to-face meetings with constituents, and other activities deemed not to violate KPU rules. In addition, there are sources of funding from third parties in the form of services in making campaign or consumption attributes for meetings with constituents. DPD PDI Perjuangan Yogyakarta also provided assistance in the form of distribution of campaign props, BSPN witness financing and party winning teams, grand campaigns, and loans from banks. The funding came from cooperation funds from all PDI-P cadres throughout Yogyakarta Special Region. Later, all auditable expenditures will be submitted to the DPD PDI-P secretariat team and will be reported to the KPU in the form of LADK, LPPDK, and LPSDK.

Whereas as an incumbent Dwi Wahyu has the advantage of a policy program that has been realized during his serving as a member of the Provincial Legislative of Yogyakarta Special Region in the previous period through a space called *Reses*. The funds used naturally come from the APBD funds and the activities and uses of these funds are legalized by law. This can indirectly campaign for him even before the election campaign period. In addition, Dwi Wahyu also utilizes all the facilities provided by the party so that he can save the costs he needs in winning the 2019 simultaneous general elections.

#### 2. Tustiyani, S.H.

The funding for Tustiyani's election was largely sourced from her personal funds. The funding is used for various campaign-winning purposes such as creating campaign attributes, and costs for socialization in community groups. To save on costs incurred for the election, Tustiyani prefers to go directly to community groups. For consumption costs at each meeting, there is help from residents in the form of snacks or drinks so that later Tustiyani only provides cash assistance to these groups.

In addition to those mentioned above, the use of Tustiyani's electoral financing is also used to conduct a joint campaign in one electoral district in the form of contributions. This was done to save expenses on the campaign and declaration of winning of Tustiyani and other candidates.

The role of the party in assisting her financing is assistance in the form of party attributes such as flags and banners, as well as assistance in the form of subsidies for BSPN witnesses. The assistance was obtained through

contributions from the PDI Perjuangan cooperation voluntarily in the interests of winning 2019 simultaneous elections.

The funding for the election of Tustiyani has been adjusted to the needs and regulations made by the KPU. All revenues and disbursements of the campaign funds are handed over to the party secretariat, which will later assist the candidates to prepare all reports submitted to the KPU of DIY.

#### 3. Joko B. Purnomo, S.E.

Joko relied on the relations he built during his tenure as a legislative member of the Bantul Regency and the Provincial Legislative of Yogyakarta Special Region in the previous period to reduce the costs of simultaneous election elections in 2019. Joko Purnomo's election winning funding came from various sources namely personal funds, assistance from friends or volunteers, as well as from the party. The obstacle faced by Joko is the limited funds needed to win the election. As a result, Joko had to borrow from friends and sell his assets in the form of a car. This fund is used by him to finance the making of campaign attributes, face-to-face meetings with community groups, and contributions to finance witnesses and other activities.

Apart from personal funds and loans from friends, Joko also received assistance from PDI Perjuangan in the form of attributes and witness financing managed by BSPN. Aside from the Gotong Royong contributions, the DPD PDI Perjuangan DIY also obtains funds from bank loans that are

used to help finance the election of candidates. Later, candidates elected as legislative members are required to voluntarily pay off party loans to banks. For reporting on campaign funds, Joko is assisted by the PDI-P secretariat team by collecting memorandum of receipt and expenditure of campaign funds, which will later be compiled into LPPDK and LPSDK to be submitted to KPU DIY. Whereas for other funding that is not included in the LPPDK or LPSDK, it is not reported to the KPU but to party leaders at the regional level. The receipt of this report proves that his financing did not violate the rules set by the KPU.

#### 4. Drs. Sudarto

In the 2019 simultaneous elections, Sudarto's campaign funding also came from private funds. However, his biggest source of revenue came from friends or volunteers and political parties. The assistance Sudarto received from friends and volunteers was received in the form of donations from campaign props such as banners, billboards and stickers distributed throughout the Kulon Progo area. In addition, there is assistance in the form of socialization in community groups by volunteers. As party administrator, he also received assistance from parties in the form of campaign props, socialization costs and BSPN witness funding. The party financing comes from the contribution of party cadres and party management to fund all party activities including election winning.

Sudarto's financing was used to make campaign props and help fund volunteer activities. In addition, Sudarto also spent funds to finance the provision of volleyball equipment in a village. Beyond these funds, there are social costs given to volunteers or friends when visiting the community. The funding is countless and does not need to be reported to the KPU or political parties because it is considered as something natural and not included in election funding.

Costs reported by Sudarto in the form of a memorandum submitted to the PDI-P secretariat team included receipts in the form of money and goods while for expenditures for private meetings, equipment purchases, and other capital. Thus, the funding mechanism for Sudarto's winning election is not much different from other candidates and in accordance with regulations set by the KPU. Although in practice there are still financing done outside the provisions set.

#### 5. Gimmy Rusdin Sinaga, S. E.

Gimmy's funding for the 2019 simultaneous election wins comes from private funds and third parties. The funds are given in the form of services or goods such as banners, stickers, and so on. In addition, there is funding from the DPD PDI Perjuangan DIY in the form of joint campaign activities, financing for witnesses and the distribution of campaign props BSPN. The funds are used to finance the design of campaign props, private meetings, face-to-face meetings, and other activities in the community that are not

included in the LPPDK. Although the DPD PDI Perjuangan DIY provides assistance to finance witnesses, Gimmy also has his own witness team in each village in his electoral district and personally supports it.

In preparing the LPPDK report, Gimmy was assisted by the DPD PDI Perjuangan secretariat team by sending a receipt and release note. Later all the funding will be summarized and reported to the DIY KPU. Thus, the mechanism for funding the election of Gimmy Rusdin is not much different from other candidates from the dimensions of revenue, expenditure and reporting.

From the results of research on the pattern of incumbent PDI Perjuangan funding candidates, no specific mechanism was found in the financing of election wins. According to Dwi Wahyu, the mechanism for using election funding depends on the source of funds used by the candidates. When using private funds, the mechanism is determined based on the total revenue and expenditure of candidates in the election while financing sourced from PDI Perjuangan funds follows the PDI Perjuangan Gotong Royong Pattern. All financing mechanisms carried out by PDI Perjuangan incumbent candidates do not violate the rules set by the KPU because all of the financing reports have been received by the KPU.

## 3.2.2. The financing use purpose of Incumbent Legislative Candidates of PDI Perjuangan in the winning of 2019 Simultaneous General Election in DIY Province.

The purpose of the financing incumbent legislative candidates of PDI Perjuangan is to finance all winning activities in the 2019 simultaneous elections in the Yogyakarta Special Region. Various activities were carried out with the aim of socializing the program and vision and mission of the candidates to the community either through campaigns or by going directly to the community through meetings. In addition, the other purpose of using election funds is to finance the creation of campaign props for each candidate, a joint campaign with other candidates in one electoral area, as well as volunteer operational activities and other funding that cannot be mentioned in detail in the LPPDK or LPSDK.

PDI Perjuangan also has a pattern of cooperation funding originating from party pillars namely legislative, political party, and legislative candidates. The aim is to help ease the burden of electoral winning funding that must be borne by each candidate. Funding given to candidates can be in the form of subsidies for the funding of BSPN witnesses ranging from the training process to honorariums, campaign props, or in the form of grand campaign activities. The source of this funding comes from the contributions of all party members and candidates who voluntarily returned to the candidates for winning the election. Aside from the contributions of

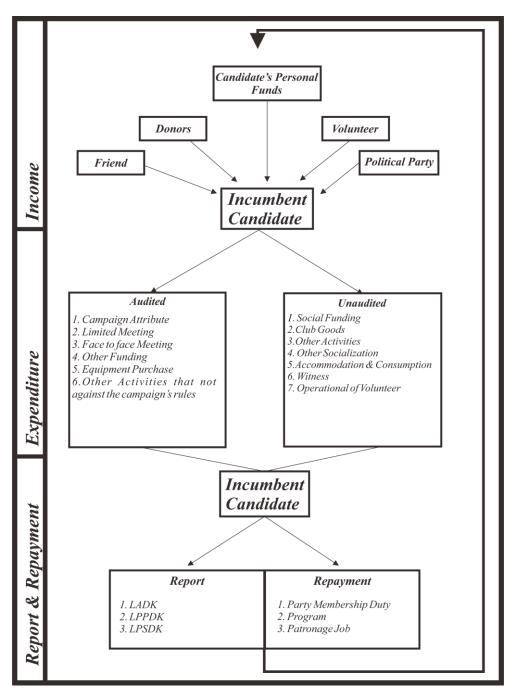
members and candidates, the party also borrows from banks with assets guaranteed by the candidates which will then be repaid by candidates who are later elected. Another and main objective of cooperation assistance financing is to become an independent PDI Perjuangan in financing activities or political movements both internally and in the field.

According to USAID (Schimpp & Ward, 2003) The funding can be seen through the dimensions of revenue, expenditure and repayment. Meanwhile, the financing pattern of incumbent legislative candidates of PDI Perjuangan in 2019 simultaneous general elections in DIY is divided into several dimensions, namely the dimensions of revenue, expenditure, and report and repayment. This pattern can be seen in the following picture:

Figure 3.4.

Financing Pattern of Incumbent Legislative Candidate of PDI Perjuangan in 2019

Simultaneous General Elections in Yogyakarta Special Region



Source: Processed by researcher

In terms of revenue, the majority of candidates use personal funds to finance 2019 simultaneous election winnings. In addition, there are receipts in the form of money or goods and services from friends, volunteers, or DPD PDI Perjuangan DIY, which is adjusted to KPU regulations. In terms of expenditure, incumbent legislative financing is used to finance all election-winning activities such as the creation of campaign atributes, private meetings, face-to-face meetings, volunteer operational assistance, and other audited and unaudited financing. In terms of accountability and financial reporting, it is divided into 2 types namely audited and unaudited financing. The audited financing reported to the KPU in the form of official documents such as LADK, LPSDK, and LPPDK, originating from each candidate and compiled by the party secretariat team in DPD PDI Perjuangan DIY. Meanwile non-audited or underground financing reported to every party leader who at that time carried out cooperation financing. In terms of repayment, the form of return to friends, volunteers, or the community will take the form of policy programs that have been absorbed from various existing aspirations. They are also required to assist party funding through the cooperation financing of the PDI Perjuangan, which will be used to finance all party activities including subsequent election-winning activities.

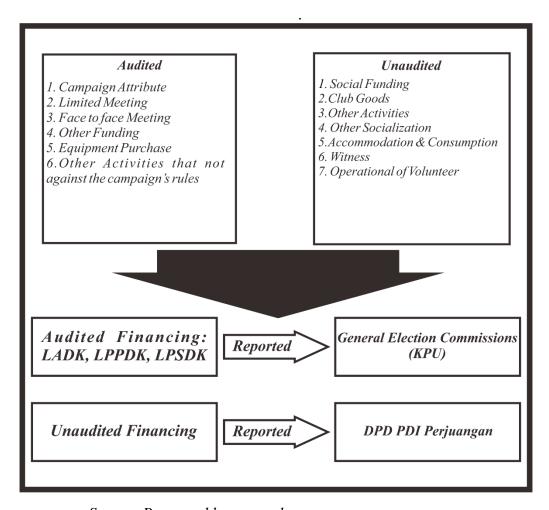
The financing pattern for election-winning process of incumbent legislative candidates from PDI Perjuangan in the 2019 simultaneous elections in Yogyakarta Special Region has similarities in terms of revenue, expenditure, and reporting as well as repayment. The pattern of funding for the PDI Perjuangan incumbent legislative candidates begin with the activity of collecting sources of winning funding sources in

the form of private funds owned by the candidates or donation funds, namely financial assistance from other parties such as friends, volunteers, or entrepreneurs. In addition, there is a source of funding from the DPD PDI Perjuangan DIY for winning the election that comes from the Gotong Royong financing pattern of PDI Perjuangan obtained through voluntary fund collection by the DPD PDI Perjuangan cadres throughout DIY including regional heads and candidates for legislative members. All of the above revenue can be in the form of cash money or goods and services that are delivered directly or indirectly to the incumbent candidates. In addition, the incumbent candidates also benefit from various programs that they have made during their previous tenure. In the period before the election campaign, an incumbent through the "Reses" and program socialization provides benefit in the form of campaigning themselves indirectly through a policy program they made that was financed by the APBD. Although not included in the expenditure for winning the election, according to the incumbent, this was approved by the law because it is their duty and function as a legislative member. That way the incumbents can campaign themselves both before and during the election campaign and be able to save money that must be spent on winning the election.

Furthermore, the funds that have been collected are used by candidates to finance all election activities including the cost of holding private meetings, face-to-face meetings with constituents, costs for making campaign attributes, and other funding deemed not in violation of election rules. Then the cooperation funding assistance from DPD PDI Perjuangan DIY is provided in the form of joint campaign, campaign atributes, BSPN witness financing ranging from witness training to witness honorarium, and party

loans to banks with guaranteed assets from the candidates that will later be repaid by selected candidates. In addition, there are financing categorized as borderline financing because it is unclear in the law such as operational costs for volunteers i.e. accommodation and consumption costs, costs to make activities in the community such as entertainment, or social funding for the community which of course are not audited and reported to the KPU. Although included in borderline financing, the incumbents agree that these costs are not costs that violate the rules because the purpose is not used for direct campaigns and the amount is too much if it must be reported one by one. In addition, the unaudited financing is also not available and is strictly regulated in the form provided by the KPU so that the funding is not reported to the KPU. This funding has the potential to trigger money politics in the legislative environment after being elected.

Figure 3.5.
Audited and Unaudited Financing



Source: Processed by researcher

All financing undertaken by incumbent candidates must later be reported to the KPU and DPD PDI Perjuangan. For the preparation of LADK, LPPDK, and LPSDK reports, the PDI Perjuangan Yogyakarta provincial secretariat team assists the incumbent candidates by submitting expenditure reports or expenditure notes for the election. Reported funding includes financing for private meetings, face-to-face

meetings, design of campaign props, and other financing that does not violate KPU regulations. While for unaudited financing only reported to the leadership of the DPD PDI-P in Yogyakarta.

After the candidates are elected, the form of return to friends, volunteers, or the community will take the form of policy programs that have been absorbed from various existing aspirations. In addition, the elected candidates are still required to assist party funding through the cooperation financing of the PDI Perjuangan, which will be used to finance all party activities including subsequent election-winning activities. Funding assistance to parties is adjusted to the total party expenditure on each DPC of PDI-P in DIY.

In this study, researcher found the fact that there are many sources of funding and expenditure that are not reported to the KPU in detail such as funding sourced from friends, volunteers, or from other parties. Meanwhile, in terms of expenditure, financing are such as social costs, club goods, operational volunteers, personal witnesses, and other financing are not mentioned in detail in the LPPDK. In addition, researcher found that the financing audited or reported to the KPU was smaller than the costs that were not audited. For example, financing for personal witnesses carried out by Joko Purnomo spent nearly 1.3 billion for the Bantul district alone, then the cost of witness of Gimmy Rusdin spent around 400 million IDR for his electoral district. Whereas in LPPDK, Joko's total expenditure was only around 200 million IDR and Gimmy Rusdin was only 91 million IDR. Therefore, it can be seen that the PDI Perjuangan incumbent financing was not reported in detail by the candidates. In addition, the unaudited financing types

are also not found in the form prepared by the KPU. It means that the KPU does not explicitly regulate the type of financing so that the legislative candidates argued that the financing does not need to be reported because it is already a public secret if the candidates issue more costs in the interests of winning himself in the election.

According to Dwi Wahyu, the existence of funding outside the costs reported to the KPU is a result of the distrust arising from the candidates for the party.

Distrust of the party makes the financing increase to the legislative candidates because they incur other costs that the party has actually funded, for example witnesses, campaigns, and attributes (Dwi Wahyu, interviewed on 16 November 2019).

As a result, candidates must pay more to finance their wins in the 2019 simultaneous elections even though the party has provided facilities in the form of cooperate assistance financing in the form of funding for the witnesses of the BSPN and party winning teams, joint campaigns, and distribution of campaign attributes. In addition, the practice of money politics carried out by other candidates raises the incumbent's distrust of relying on the program and the issues they have raised during their tenure. Furthermore, the distrust growing of incumbent legislative candidates resulted in issuing financing that tend to money politics such as providing club goods, entertainment, and other social funds.

Money politics has proven to damage our vote in the election, so some friends feel insecure about the programs and issues they raise (Dwi Wahyu, interviewed on 16 November 2019).

Dwi also believes that the swelling of incumbent candidates' financing and the birth of money politics in the 2019 simultaneous elections are a result of the current

electoral system, which is opens a gap for unhealthy competition between candidates and other candidates with different parties or candidates with the same party. Thus, the 2019 simultaneous election win is not only determined by the political history of a candidate but the capital or logistics owned by the candidate. As a result, this has an impact on the quality of a legislative member who lacks political knowledge as a political official. In addition, this system also results in the fading of the loyalty of the community and candidates to the party because the elected candidates feel that they can win this election using a private fund that is greater than the funds from other parties including political parties.

In this research, no assistance was found from the government or KPU in terms of campaign finance.

There was no assistance from the Government or KPU, only a place was provided to install the attributes so that it would not become rubbish such as banners or billboards, and even it is only for parties not the candidates (Dwi Wahyu, interviewed on 16 November 2019).

The facilities provided by the KPU are only limited to assisting the installation of party campaign attributes in accordance with the location determined by the KPU and these facilities are only intended for parties not candidates for legislative members. Therefore, the incumbent candidates in this study argue that the assistance provided by the KPU is not effective to use and cannot support the activities of winning legislative incumbent candidates because those who feel the impact are not candidates but political parties although not too significant.