

Political Party Funding Problems: Studies on PPP And PERINDO Parties in West Java

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Abstract: *Political parties have a fundamental role in democracy. This fundamental role ultimately places political parties in a vulnerable and strategic situation. On the one hand, political parties must compete strictly with funding that is not small, and on the other hand, the presence of fund donors can erode the function of political parties as a liaison between society and the state. The theory used in this article is about political parties, especially funding for political parties. The method used is a qualitative research method with descriptive analysis. The data sources in this article are primary data through interviews with political party officials and secondary data through financial reports and literature studies from journals, news, and other articles. The results of this study indicate that parties that get small votes in political contestation in West Java experience problems in terms of carrying out political education and operational activities due to the lack of sources of funding for political parties. This situation causes political parties to only be able to organize political education internally due to the availability of existing funding. The impact of this situation is that the role of political parties does not work in providing political education to the community, which in turn has an impact on the political participation of the community, which is less effective.*

Keywords: *Political Parties; Political Education; Political Party Funding.*

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Introduction

In many democratic countries, political parties have a very strategic function. Recruitment of public officials and representative institutions related to political parties (Yanuarti, 2020). Political parties as the only entry point are also a driving factor for the practice of democracy as an instrument for periodic change of power. This strategic role ultimately places political parties in a vulnerable and strategic situation. On the one hand, political parties must then compete strictly in a contest that causes substantial funding to exist, but on the other hand, the presence of fund donors can erode the function of political parties as intermediary agents or liaisons between society and the state to fight for people's interests (Wildianti & Syahda, 2019). This vulnerable and dilemmatic condition ultimately has an impact on the practice in which political party funding is controlled by elites and owners of capital, which causes party oligarchy to become stronger (Junaidi et al., 2011).

The Indonesian political system places political parties as a main pillar in supporting democracy. Political parties are expected to be able to guarantee the growth of democracy that is effective and functional both in terms of giving birth to political actors based on a recruitment system as well as political education and effective social control in order to create conditions of maturity in terms of politics in society (Natalia, 2015). To achieve this condition, a high level of public trust in political parties is also needed. However, the rampant cases of corruption and political dowries by members of political parties have caused the level of trust in political parties to decrease (Wildianti & Syahda, 2019). Based on the results of a survey processed from Indonesian Political Indicators on public trust in state institutions in 2023, it is noted that out of 10 state institutions, political parties have the lowest percentage (Santika, 2023). This can be seen in the following table:

Table 1. Public Trust in State Institutions in Indonesia

No	Institution	Score (%)
1	TNI	94,6
2	The President	92,8
3	Attorney General's Office	80,6
4	The Court	77,8
5	The Police	73,2
6	Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK)	72,4
7	Regional Representative Council (DPD)	71,5
8	People's Consultative Assembly (MPR)	71,3
9	People's Representative Council (DPR)	63,4
10	Political Parties	61,8

Source: Processed from Indonesian Political Indicators (2023)

Based on the table, the lowest two orders, namely the People's Representative Council (DPR) and political parties, received the lowest scores or percentages, namely 63.4 and 61.8. From

these results, the People's Representative Council (DPR), through political parties, is a representative of the community in terms of bringing the people's interests to be aspired to side by side. Low scores

between the People's Representative Council (DPR) and political parties can be said to be caused by the rampant cases of corruption and political dowry that have occurred. In 2021, this statement can be seen in most of the largest corruption cases in Indonesia being carried out by members of political parties. According to the results of the data quoted from the

2021 Sentence Trend Monitoring Report from Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), the total value of bribes and gratuities reaches around IDR 369.47 billion, of which four of the six defendants throughout 2021 are members of political parties (Ahdiat, 2022). This can be seen from the following table:

Table 2. Background of the Defendants in the 2021 Bribery Corruption Case in Indonesia

No	Name	Background	Value (Billion)
1	Hardinoto	Director of GIA	70
2	Nurhadi	Secretary of MA	49,4
3	Juliari B	Political party's member	32,4
4	Ismunandar	Political party's member	27,4
5	Edhy P.	Political party's member	25,6
6	Taufiqurrahman	Political party's member	25,6

Source: Results of data processing from ICW (2021)

There are two aspects related to political party constraints, namely structural and financial. Structurally, the political parties are weak in terms of organization, so they cannot absorb public aspirations, which causes the emergence of oligarchic leadership. In the financial aspect, as already explained, there is dependence in terms of political party finances on donors, which in the future will have an impact on ignoring the interests of the public (Supriyanto & Wulandari, 2012). At least, from these conditions, it can be said that political parties need improvement. There are at least two reasons why political parties need improvement: first, political parties in a democratic structure have an important role in terms of representation between the interests of the community, so that they become a link between the government and the community. Second, talk about guarantees for constitutional rights and human rights (Asshiddiqie, 2008). These improvements refer to the role of parties, which are often called

political parties, in creating democracy (Schattschneider & Pearson, 2017).

The presence of a new party is something that is expected to answer the public's wishes based on the decreased level of trust in political parties by presenting figures who can carry and channel the aspirations of the public. Siavelis (in Katz & Crotty, 2006) states that the growth of political parties is inseparable from the social and political roots of society. However, conditions arose where new political parties were faced with conditions in terms of sufficient funding and figures occupying positions in state institutions. The presence of new political parties in Indonesia is not only based on the condition of a pluralistic society but also supported by ongoing and sustainable democracy (Marijan, 2010). These conditions give rise to the belief that there are differences in public interests or aspirations, which ultimately lead to different actions and thoughts about what they want (Pruitt & Rubin, 2004). Several research references discuss the

emergence of new political parties in the 2019 election as an alternative to political choices for old parties, but on the one hand, there are challenges faced in terms of leadership, namely the lack of popular figures and minimal funding, and challenges in funding political parties, including studies from Hanafi (2018), Muhammad et al. (2020), and Yanuarti (2020).

In the West Java region, challenges to funding political parties are also faced

by new political parties. In the 2019 legislative elections, political parties that get votes, especially new political parties, feel that they have minimal competition with old political parties that get votes in the 2019 legislative elections. This can be seen from the results of the vote acquisition in the 2019 legislative elections, as follows:

Table 3. Vote Acquisition of Political Parties in West Java Province in 2019

Political Party	Number of DPRD seats	Number of Valid Votes
Gerindra	25	4.182.896
PKS	21	3.529.869
PDIP	20	3.519.559
Golkar	16	2.933.982
PKB	12	1.893.303
Demokrat	11	1.784.417
PAN	7	1.352.742
Nasdem	4	1.040.625
PPP	3	1.124.578
Perindo	1	671.781
Total	120	22.033.752

Source: Results of data processing from the West Java KPU (2019)

From the table, the Perindo Party, which is a new party, won 1 seat with a vote of 671,781 when compared to the Gerindra Party's 25 seats with a vote of 4,182,896. If this is related to the financial assistance of political parties, of course it is not comparable to parties that get large votes. The impact of this situation, of course, is how political parties carry out their strategic role in democracy, namely as an intermediary for the interests of the community and the government, absorb, formulate, and aggress against the interests of the community, and also as a vehicle for the recruitment of public officials. This situation requires a significant amount of funding to carry out political education for the community as

well as to move the wheels of political parties with operational financing.

Related to this dilemma, there are at least three types of arrangements for political party finances in terms of minimizing the misuse of political party financial funds. First, regulations on funding sources for candidates and parties; second, regulations on political party spending; and third, regulations on financial transparency (Yanuarti, 2020). In many countries, arrangements regarding political party finances through private donations are the most widely implemented. Most democracies have at least some restrictions on the use of this type of private donation. Studies in Italy, for example, provide a limit of 100,000

euros per year. Several studies also provide an overview of funding for political parties through writing (Faisal et al., 2018; Fontana & Speck, 2011; Yanuarti, 2020; Zamora-Casas, 2008). Some of these articles describe funding sourced from private donations and provide an overview of several funding schemes for political parties.

The need for funding for political parties to move the wheels of the party while assistance from the state is very limited can cause parties to depend on contributions from individuals or groups of people, whereas at this time almost all parties depend on funds originating through party officials (Faisal et al., 2018; Norris, 2005). Problems that can then occur related to low public funding or state subsidies for political parties are: first, party exploitation of parliament as an alternative income. Second, dependence on donors who have short-term business interests. Third, the growing gap between central and regional party officials. Fourth is the inability of the party to nominate candidates for local government (Mietzner, 2007). This was also added by Ward (2003), who explained that without funding in politics, democracy cannot function as well as government. Public funding is important in driving the democratization process; proposals for public funding for political parties are not something new. Related to this, there are several studies that show that there is a need for ideal funding regarding financial assistance to political parties (Faisal et al., 2018; Junaidi et al., 2011; Supriyanto & Wulandari, 2012).

This article will discuss the financial situation of political parties in West Java through financial assistance obtained based on vote acquisition and see how each party is obliged to carry out the roles and functions of political parties at

least related to political education and financing operational costs to keep the political party's machine moving due to unbalanced funding, as in the case of the Perindo Party compared to the Gerindra Party, which of course can have an impact on how unequal competition will be in the future. Apart from that, this article will also discuss patterns of public funding to increase political party financial assistance as support for political party funding to carry out its strategic role in democracy and increase aspects of independence from political and business interests through donations to political parties.

Overview of the Funding of Political Parties

Political parties have a central role in channeling people's aspirations to achieve the welfare of the nation and state, or, in other words, political parties also play a role as a strategic liaison between the government and citizens (Nurhada & Haramain, 2000; Supriyanto & Wulandari, 2012). To carry out this central role, the need for funds for political parties is relatively large in moving the wheels of the party, but on the other hand, assistance from the state is very limited, causing parties to depend on contributions from individuals or groups of people (Faisal et al., 2018; Junaidi et al., 2011).

In the funding pattern of political parties, there are several groups of funding sources, such as membership fees, fees for recruiting new members, gifts in kind, donations, and assistance from the state (Schröder, 2008). Public funding is one approach that can be used to regulate regulations regarding private donations by providing access to public funds to political parties and candidates (Ohman, 2016). Public funding for a political party is urgently needed to provide the ability

for all election contestants to compete on a relatively equal basis as well as ensure the sustainability of multiparty democracy (van Biezen & Kopecký, 2007).

There are several patterns of funding for political parties in several countries, namely financing from the state; private and corporate contributions are larger than state aid; assistance from the state; and contributions from individuals or companies are relatively balanced. In some countries, such as Uzbekistan, where the state finances all political party activities, there are several countries that are not funded at all, such as New Zealand. Meanwhile, in other countries, contributions from individuals and companies were greater than aid from countries such as Britain, Australia, and Italy. On the other hand, there are larger state aid schemes than individual or corporate contributions, and there is a balance in some countries between individual contributions and state aid, such as France, Denmark, and Japan (Ohman & Zainulbhai, 2009). The problem with political party funding is explained by the fact that the sources of funds regulated by laws and regulations, namely through member fees, legal donations, and financial assistance from the APBN and APBD, are not running optimally and have not met ideal standards. He continued that these sources of funds could not cover the minimum funding requirements, and it was difficult to expect legal sources of funds for political parties. The impact is that there will be a cycle of transactional

politics and corruption that will harm the country later (Asmarni, 2022). Basically, the state must be able to aid political parties sourced from the APBN/APBD budget because the central tasks of political parties are often hindered. From the research that has been done, financial assistance to political parties from the government is only able to meet 1.32 percent of the party's total needs per year (Nurita, 2017).

Method

This article uses a qualitative research method with a descriptive analysis approach (Creswell, 2015). The data collection technique in this study uses primary data sources through interviews with political party officials, such as political party treasurers who manage party finances in the West Java area, including Perindo and PPP, and primary data sources based on political party financial reports and related literature both through online media and journals. The data analysis technique used is qualitative data analysis (Amdar, 2023) and then interpretation and interpretation of the data to then obtain data in findings that are relevant to the purpose of this research (Hidayat et al., 2023). From the data obtained with informants through interviews, reduction is carried out in searching for themes and patterns and then given a code on certain aspects (I123) to indicate the list of informants. This can be seen in the following table:

Table 4. List of Research Informants

No	Occupation	Informant's Code
1	West Java DPD Perindo Party Management	I1
2	West Java DPD PPP Party Management	I2

Source: Researcher (2023)

Result and Discussion

In the 2009 elections in West Java Province, the number of votes obtained by political parties was Rp. 2,500 sourced

from the APBD of West Java Province. The amount of financial assistance per valid vote can be seen from the following table:

Table 5. Amount of Financial Assistance for Political Parties in West Java Province in 2019

Political Party	Seat Acquisition	Valid Votes	Financial Assistance
Gerindra	25	4.182.896	10.457.240.000
PKS	21	3.529.869	9.924.672.500
PDIP	20	3.519.559	8.798.897.500
Golkar	16	2.933.982	7.334.955.000
PKB	12	1.893.303	4.733.257.500
Demokrat	11	1.784.417	4.461.042.500
PAN	7	1.352.742	3.381.855.000
Nasdem	4	1.040.625	2.601.562.500
PPP	3	1.124.578	2.811.445.000
Perindo	1	671.781	1.679.452.500
Total	120	22.033.752	55.084.380.000

Source: Results of Processed Data from various sources

In Article 9 paragraphs (1) and (2) of Government Regulation No. 5 of 2009 concerning Financial Assistance to Political Parties, it is explained that the priority of political party financial assistance is to carry out political education for political party members and

the public and is also used for the operational secretariat of political parties. Based on the 2022 financial reports of political parties in West Java, the total expenditure of political parties in West Java Province in 2022 is as follows:

Table 6. Total Expenditure of Political Parties in West Java Province in 2022

Political Party	Volume of Implementation of Political Education	Total Political Education Expenditures	Total Operational Expenditures	Total Expenditures
Gerindra	60	7.854.904.357	1.658.335.643	9.513.240.000
PKS	107	7.198.527.795	1.626.110.525	8.824.638.320
PDIP	30	7.839.863.115	967.269.816	8.807.132.931
Golkar	26	5.553.480.700	1.781.474.300	7.334.955.000
PKB	36	2.441.450.776	1.361.084.570	3.802.535.346
Demokrat	32	3.078.049.350	1.383.007.422	4.463.056.772
PPP	22	2.490.692.670	320.752.330	2.811.445.000
Nasdem	33	1.555.000.000	884.400.000	2.439.400.000
Perindo	21	1.446.359.887	233.242.500	1.679.602.387

Source: Results of data processing from various sources

From the description in the table above, the comparison between the volume of implementation and available funds shows that the Gerindra Party, Perindo Party, and PPP are quite far apart in the amount of political education spending and its implementation. One of the causes of this imbalance can be shown from a study conducted by Wibadswa (2009) that the number of subsidies or financial assistance provided by the government is in comparison to the reality on the ground in open campaign activities where only large and well-established parties can carry out while other political parties are said to be unable to stage their appearance in an open campaign for various reasons. In addition, in the same study, it was explained that maturity in politics had not been demonstrated by political party elites, where various forms of negative debate, blasphemy, and blaming each other had deviated from the initial design as a means of political education to the public and were not optimal (Rafni & Aina, 2016) because it became a forum for debate for each political party.

This non-optimality causes the community to ultimately not participate in using their choices in elections. Various reasons, such as in the study (Aina, 2013; Yanuarti, 2009), such as being forced to abstain for technical reasons (not registered on the DPT), disappointment with the design of the election format, and protesting the existing system and conditions. This illustrates that the high and low levels of public trust in the government can be seen from the community's assessment that originates from the level of public concern for the community's assessment that originates from public concern for the level of concern for political conditions (Ramadhanil et al., 2015).

The political process is important for the community to follow because, so far, it has been considered a part of political education (Triono, 2017b). Building political awareness and fostering better political participation is important in political education (Triono, 2017a). Political parties, as a representation of political power tools, are obliged to then carry out political education for the public. In this case, political education is not limited to campaigning and mobilizing the people to be present in a political socialization, but political education is a programmed and continuous effort in transforming political struggles related to constituents.

The problems of political parties in the reform era are explained in several studies, such as not having a clear ideology and basing themselves on power that is oriented towards self-interest so that there are cartel relations (Robison & Hadiz, 2004; Slater, 2004) or predatory power in democracy (Ambardi, 2008), as well as the failure of political parties that leads to internal problems of political parties, especially in terms of party funding (Mietzner, 2013). In Wahyuningroem's study (2021), it is explained that there are three main problems facing political parties now, namely corruption, money politics, and the fragility of representation. The rise of the phenomenon of corruption is none other than due to the need for large sources of funds for political parties to move the wheels of politics in a democracy, such as nominating presidents and regional heads, as well as channeling public aspirations to the state (Asshiddiqie, 2008). The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), together with the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), stated that the corrupt behavior of political party cadres while in office was

due to the high political costs during general elections (KPK & LIPI, 2018). In a survey conducted by the KPK, it was explained that candidates for regent or mayor ranged from Rp. 20–30 billion, while for governors or deputy governors, Rp. 100 billion was needed. Based on KPK data for August 2022, as many as 310 DPR and DPRD members, 154 mayors and regents, and 22 governors were caught up in corruption cases (Ferdiansyah, 2022).

This role is certainly followed by the need to hold activities in carrying out functions in maintaining and trying to win political contestation. Political parties require relatively large funding sources in terms of implementing political education, secretariat operations, public demonstrations, advertising, birthday celebrations, social services, seminars, and other activities, as well as official trips for chairpersons based on political parties, and so on (Junaidi et al., 2011). This was conveyed by I1 as an informant.”

“In carrying out their role, political parties experience problems in terms of funding. Financial assistance originating from the acquisition of valid votes is not sufficient to accommodate the needs of political parties both for the implementation of political education and operational activities”.

The amount of this expenditure is not accompanied by sufficient income to carry out the political activities of the political party. In Article 31, Paragraph 1, of Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties in Chapter XIII regarding Political Education, it is explained that "political parties carry out political education for the community in accordance with the scope and responsibilities..." In 2022, the activities of

the DPD of the PPP Party of West Java Province, spending in the period from January to September, amounted to Rp. 1,215,853,000, with activities in political education that are only able to accommodate internal parties. The same thing happened with the West Java Perindo Party, which only had 1 seat in the West Java Provincial DPRD with 671,781 votes and a total financial assistance of IDR 1,679,452. When compared to party events that get many votes in West Java, such as the Gerindra Party, there is an imbalance in activities based on the party's financial capacity. In 2022, in February, for example, PPP can only carry out 2 activities, while the Gerindra party carries out 6 activities in the same month. Informant I1 said that the activities of political parties were not only limited to political education, but there were also several other activities carried out, such as political party regeneration, celebration of party holidays, coordination meetings of administrators, and various other activities. The same thing was conveyed by I2, in which, in the operational activities of the party, there are routine expenses such as maintenance costs for the secretariat and the salaries of the staff who work in the secretariat office.

For the percentage of expenses, for example, Kopel's study (2013) states that for office operational activities, the percentage of the budget is 31% of the total annual budget of political parties. Apart from that, the financial assistance that remained was not directly proportional to the needs of the party in certain years. If you look at 2024, where the election contestation will be carried out, it will have an increasingly dense party agenda, and in the same study, budget absorption increased by around 3.43%. This reality ultimately makes the role of political parties with minimal

availability of funding to ensure party independence from the influence of elites who have strong capital difficult to avoid. This was conveyed by informants: minimal funding coupled with large party expenditures put the party in a dilemma.

What then happened? In the end, political parties cannot maximize their political education. The available funding is often only able to accommodate political education to the extent of internal political parties. The important position of political parties in the constitution is not in line with the ability of political parties to provide effective political education. One of these problems is the format of political education, which is clear both in terms of methods, guidelines, and the implementation of an inclusive, tiered, measurable, and sustainable political education system.

To overcome this, political parties with minimal funding must be able to provide real change to increase opportunities for public consideration to choose the party. The implementation of the roles and functions of political parties that are oriented towards the public interest (society) is expected to add new preferences from the public to elect these parties. This statement is supported by problems in political parties in the reform era, such as First, there is the blurring of political ideology, where one party is almost no different from another. Second, the approach taken by the elite is more towards a pragmatic-transactional approach in which political activities or movements are governed by an incentive structure rather than ideology. In the end, this condition is not an ideological marker but a character, so that the existence and role of a figure become the main thing, and society is only an object of penetration from the influence of the party elite (Alfian, 2013). In Muchtar's study (2006),

it was explained that using the right strategy and synergizing all potential parties, such as aspects of leadership, management, cadre, programs, sympathizers, and funding, can be a method used to gain community support and overcome existing problems.

Conclusion

The rise of corruption cases committed by political party cadres is caused by several things, one of which is the high political costs required during political contestation. The financial limitations of political parties' cause problems for political parties to carry out their roles, one of which is political education. The same thing was experienced by the PPP Party and the Perindo Party, where, when compared to the vote acquisition with financial assistance obtained, it had an impact on the volume and quality of political education. In the end, this activity was only able to accommodate internal political parties due to limited funding sources. Finally, the situation that occurs is that political parties can only rely on funding sourced from donations from political elites who have financial capital which will have an impact on the independence of political parties in the future. Political parties must be able to provide a change that can be offered to the community and be able to carry out activities oriented to the interests of the community to increase opportunities for political parties to receive support from the community. In addition, political parties also need to carry out political education that is inclusive, tiered, measurable, and sustainable.

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