

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

Democracy is one of the systems of government which many countries have adopted. Despite the wide adoption of democracy, sentiments varying from pro to contra are all visibly clear. To define democracy etymologically, democracy came from the Greek word "demos" which means populace and "cratein" which means government (Syafiie, 2013). Abraham Lincoln, on the other hand, defined democracy as a government which comes from populace, by populace, and for populace (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1998). Thus, democracy is a system of government in which the power rest upon the participation of the populace, either directly or indirectly, in the governing process. The mechanism of participation of the populace in a democratic system various ways, among one others is to join political processes in the government system. Indonesia itself has been struggling with democracy for decades.

Indonesia has been struggled with democracy for decades, in the "old order", there are two type implementations of democracy which are the liberal democracy and the guided democracy (Soehino, 2010). In the liberal democracy, the power of democracy has not looked because democracy and governance is still centered on elite and scholars. So that, most of the people do not understand what is the democracy. On the other hand, guided democracy is described to be a vehicle. Like a car, this type

of democracy is a means of political leaders to go forward. It is seen to be the means to exploit the sympathy of the people. Shifting into the view of democracy in the “New Order”, democracy is seen to be a mere formality and that even if the society shows resistance, the regime is powerful enough to reinstate rulers (Soehino, 2010).

Democracy at the time of the “reform era” has totally changed (Marijan, 2010). The reformation brought about a change in the political sphere and the upholding of the sovereignty of the people, as well as enhances the role of the community and reduces the dominance of the Government in political life. Executive, legislative, and judiciary, there is clearly no excess power at one of the institutions, such as the following (Mahfud, 2000);

1. The President and Vice President are elected to a term of 5 years and can be re-elected once and for the same term,
2. The Supreme Advisory Council (DPA) was abolished,
3. The members of the people's Consultative Assembly made up of members of the House of Representatives and the regional representative Council elected through elections.

Shades of democracy are very pronounced in the era of reforms which has reflected through election. Election is one of the ways to run democratization that election is believed to be one of the instruments to encourage the process of democratization in Indonesia (Fithrorozi, 2015). The election is a means for the people to decide the country's leadership

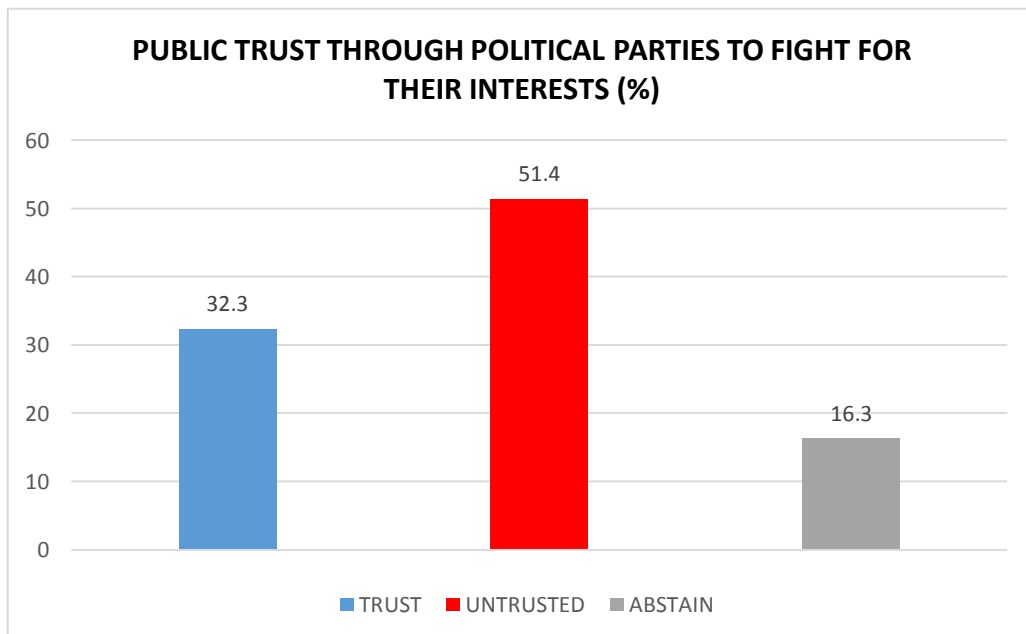
and direction of the figures in a certain time period. Increased public participation in the life of a nation and a country is channeled through increasing mechanism that reflect the principles of openness and equality for all citizens. One of the mechanism is the implementation of the election of the regional head (Lukum, 2013).

After Indonesia became independent until the year 2005, heads of regions such as governors, regents, and mayors were selected by the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD). Since the enactment of Act No. 32 of 2004 on local government, heads of regionals are directly elected by the people through elections. The first election was held in June 2005. Since the enactment of Act No. 22 of 2007 about the re-organization of the elections, the elections were synchronized to the national level election, thus officially named the general election.

The head of a region and Deputy Head of the county are abbreviated regional elections. The first regional head election in compliance to this act is Jakarta election of 2007. In 2011, new laws have been enacted, one monumental law is Act number 15 of 2011 which called for establishment of the Electoral Management Body (EMB). As elections were extended to the local and regional level is, elections invited widespread attention and questions. There is proposed change to the constitution, because the implementation of regional elections still has some weaknesses (Hakim, 2011).

The idea of democracy is to set up a basic government organization from the will of the people. This is the rationale behind holding democratic elections. To this end, political parties exist as bridges in voicing the aspiration and also The vehicle for the people to echo their interests (Hofmeister, 2011). However, there is an emergence of anti-party sentiments towards political parties, and this is due to dwindling public trust to them (political parties). This is a political reality in the current Indonesian society, the low public trust towards political parties is apparent in the political context of Indonesia. This is shown in the table below (Skala Survei Indonesia, 2011).

Figure.1 The Number of Public Trust through Political Parties to Fight for Their Interests (%)



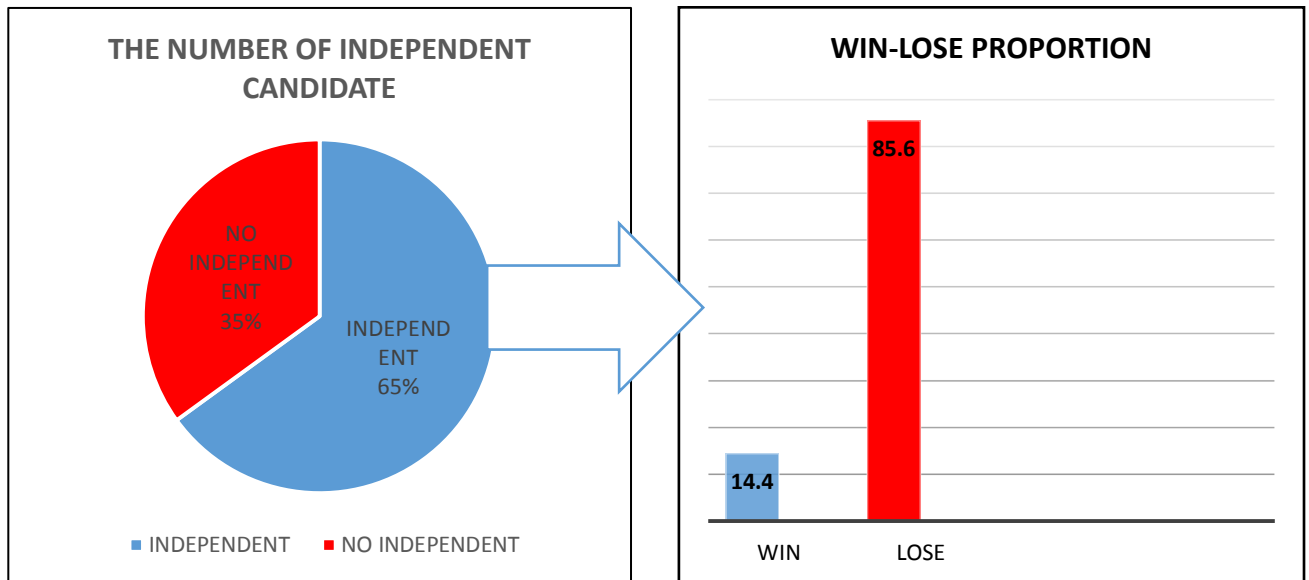
Source: Skala Survei Indonesia (2011)

The Indonesian society as reflected by the respondents of this survey revealed that 51.4% do not believe political parties will fight for their

interests. 32.3% believe that political parties will fight for their interests. While 16.3% abstained (Skala Survei Indonesia, 2011). These data unveil community's disappointment to political parties, this anti-party attitude spur up the support to independent candidates in regional elections (Novita, 2015). The presence of independent candidates is seen to be an alternative of political parties, this is enforced the political parties should be able to improve themselves in accordance with their functions and can restore public trust (Novita, 2015). Running independently becomes a powerful to win the election, this is different from the candidates proposed by political parties, who already have cadre recruitment and roots to start up with, including a strong mass base. Independent candidates, on the other hand still have to gather support during campaign period.

The phenomenon of independent candidates which appear on the general election in Indonesia especially DKI Jakarta governor election 2017 is an interesting thing. Independent candidates can be the alternative choice of the public in the general election as there is a distrust towards the candidate of the political parties (Ishak, 2010). However, some advanced independent candidates in the elections have often suffered defeat. This is shown in the table the proportion of win-lose independent candidates in next page (Skala Survei Indonesia, 2015).

Figure.2 The Number of Independent Candidates in Elections 2015 and The Proportion of the Win-Lose



Source: Skala Survei Indonesia (2015)

From the results of research Skala Survei Indonesia (2015), it shows that, the independent candidates who is ahead in the election in 2015 amount 35.0% and the candidate from political parties amount 65.0%. But the survey shows that the independent candidates who successfully won a seat in the 2015 elections, are only 14.4%. While the rest, 85.6% must confess losing with the candidate who carried out by political parties. The lack of an independent candidate who is ahead in the elections, certainly not in line with the original spirit why independent candidates gave space in the elections. The independent candidates were accommodated in the legislation as an attempt to provide an alternative leader for the citizens, and also to the leaders of the political parties (Skala Survei Indonesia, 2015).

This is done considering the low level of trust the community has towards political parties.

However, with various efforts, it is seen that independent candidates have "deliberately" is reduced. It can be linked from the increase in the threshold requirements for candidacy in elections which initially amounted to 6.5 – 3.5 percent to 10 percent depending on the population (Skala Survei Indonesia, 2015). The limitations of legislation, resulted for the independent candidates to appear only from areas that have fixed number of voters (DPT) (Skala Survei Indonesia, 2015). It has been observed that independent candidates are having difficulty reaping the early support from the masses. The value of anti-party sentiment therefore appears to have an important role into change of heart of the masses towards the political parties.

One of the most interesting phenomena in the process of the 2017 Jakarta elections is the rise of anti-party sentiment among Ahok supporters directed to the majority party. In addition to that, the party's stance, have appeared due to the disappointment towards Ahok, certain group called #TemanAhok voiced behavior the oligarchy of the majority (Pontoh, 2016). The phenomenon of the emergence of the anti-party sentiment has also occurred in several other countries such as New Zealand, Italy, Germany etc (Leppink, 2008). But the phenomenon of the anti-party sentiment in the governor election in DKI Jakarta 2017 is unique from the anti-party sentiment which not appears in other countries. This is the reason why governor election in DKI Jakarta 2017 is called as the regional election with

the sense national level election even this phenomenon is also impacted to the worldwide issue. One factor to that is the rise of the #TemanAhok group, #TemanAhok became phenomenal since they rose to become a movement supporting Ahok and to run independently. This group have also been vocal in their negative views towards political parties that mostly showed negative behavior for candidacy process in the election. It is undeniable that political parties are ruled by oligarchs. Oligarchs are described in Indonesia to typically be family-based, economically, wealthy, and religious elites. The domination of oligarchs resulted to the pursuance of the oligarchs' interests rather than the interests of the constituents. In other words, the party only became the vehicle of the oligarchs who were the men of capitalism (Airlangga, 2015).

In addition, The #TemanAhok have criticized the political parties for ignoring the sentiments and concerns of the public. Making an even bigger problem, #TemanAhok strongly criticizes the parties for the rampant corruption cases that they are involved in it. Growing anti-party sentiments and attacks directed to the political parties, it is also seemed to be of importance to look into its functions and on its ideal democratic purpose.

As the previous paragraphs have focused on the political party functions as an aggregator of existing interests for the society. Because is an aggregator of the interests of the society, then the party is also the best vehicle for political education of the civilian population. At this point, the Party hold a crater functions as for the formation of the cadres. These party

cadres are tough in politics, militant in organizing and mobilizing mass, smart in putting together and fought for the program, as well as dedicated to defending the interests of their constituents.

The party's purpose is to serve as the political machine for the people in forwarding their interests and addressing their complaints. In recent years, political parties have difficulties in producing credible leaders from within themselves, so recruitment of non-party members who are seen to be overachievers is observable (Lusi, 2016). This practice reveals the weakness of the ideological backbone of political parties as it continues to open doors for the turn coats and political butterflies with no party loyalty but has political ambitious (individually). This is the reason of #TemanAhok to insist for Ahok to run independently instead of being under the banner of any political parties (#TemanAhok, 2016). #TemanAhok criticized political parties and highlighting their purpose, that is to forward of its constituents and not its personal ambitions and also personal gains.

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the problems presented in the background above, the research question of this study are as follows:

1. What are the types of anti-party sentiment in DKI Jakarta's governor election 2017?
2. How do the types anti-party sentiment arise in DKI Jakarta governor election 2017?

C. OBJECTIVES

In accordance with research issues and questions of the research, the purpose of this research is to identify and to know the causative factors of the emergence of the anti-party sentiment in Indonesia, especially Jakarta's governor elections in 2017.

D. BENEFITS

This research is expected to bring benefits to the basic research field to understand the rise of anti-party sentiment in Indonesia. Based on the purpose and objectives of the research, the benefits expected from this research are as following:

1. Theoretical Benefits

This study can contribute to the vocabulary of political science, especially in the studies of the anti-party sentiment in regional election. In addition, this study could bring new scientific arguments in looking into the anti-party sentiment in regional election.

2. Practical Benefits

This study will be used as a reference in researches related to anti-party sentiment in Indonesia. In addition, this research can help present information for a variety of the elements especially as reference for the citizens to assess the political parties.

E. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Tunjung Sulaksono (2016). The research of Sulaksono (2016) is entitled *Soft Anti-Party Sentiment in Indonesia*. The main focus of this research

to identify recent works on anti-party sentiment which mostly focused on established western democracies. The decline of voter's turnout, decrease of party membership, and the emergence of third parties were evidences of the symptom of anti-party sentiment. The attention is given to this existence of the same phenomenon occurring in developing countries, such as Indonesia; A country who has remarkably succeeded in replacing its authoritarian regime into a more democratic era.

The result indicates that the track record of anti-party sentiment in Indonesia is as follows: First, public disappointment towards political parties has been emerging during the very early times nation-state formation. surveys conducted recently have been connecting the Indonesia history into the development of anti-party sentiment. This was reinforced by Daalder that anti-party sentiments have been rooted in Indonesia as well same as in other countries. Research provides an analysis in the relationship between anti-party sentiments and democracy. The conclusion that had been drawn revealed that even with the apparent negative perception towards political parties, the public still believes on the importance of democracy.

2. Sigit Pamungkas (2011). The research of Pamungkas (2011) is entitled *Anti-Party Party Sentiment in Reform Era*. The main focus of this research is to identify anti-party sentiment phenomena that is occurring in Indonesia. The research had provided points of understanding anti-party sentiments and study focus of anti-party sentiment. The research

further deepened its analysis on political events that ignited anti-party sentiment in Indonesia as well as other forms of anti-party sentiment. The research provided a reflection on the implications that are arising from the presence of anti-party sentiment in the society. The results of the study indicate that on a superficial level, it usually occurs depressions of party's identity, psychological erosion of party voters, deteriorating of voters, and increased abstain. Another factor linked to the rise of anti-party sentiment is the return of the classic perception of the political party as something evil and sickening, so it needs to be destroyed as it did at the beginning of the growth of political parties. On the higher levels, the growing anti-party sentiment can increase in support for the party that is anti system and eroded the legitimacy of democracy. When the political system without political parties then form political system already can be estimated. The centralization of power in one hand became inevitable.

In preventing the wickedest of the rise of anti-party sentiment, a number of measures to strengthen the political parties need to be considered. First, political parties need to balance political behavior to seek political power and advocate for the interests of the people. Political parties should be aware that the history of the existence of political parties is not for the pursuance of personal interests, but for the welfare of the people. Second, in order to balance political behavior, political parties need to have a clear ideological line. The being ideology

referred here acts as guide the political choices in what should be taken to consideration and deliberation when a policy has to be made. Lastly, there is a need for institutionalization of political parties. The institutionalization of political parties will be an avenue for political parties to be rooted and linked in the community and will stabilize the political party in the election standings, and also will help internal stability political parties foster as an organization.

3. Eric Bélanger (2003). The research of Bélanger (2003) is entitled *Anti-Party's and Third-Party Vote Choice: A Comparison of Canada, Britain and Australia*. The main focus of this research is to identify the impact of anti-parties to the voting behavior in a comparative perspective, with a particular focus on the potential role of third parties as safety valves allowing disaffected voters to express protest in a pacific and democratic way. The findings indicate that there are important similarities to be observed across the countries (Canada, Britain, and Australia) examined with respect to third-party vote choice. The results suggest that these minor party movements are able to benefit from popular dissatisfaction with the existing system of party-based democracy. To the extent that, traditional established parties may be having a harder time at mobilizing citizens "to participate in parties, elections, and the processes of representative government," third parties thus might, in a way, help maintain some basis of legitimacy for the democratic system of party politics in most advanced industrial societies

Furthermore, the research results have four other implications. Firstly, the results demonstrate the importance of theoretically distinguishing between discontent towards major parties and dissatisfaction with parties, since the two attitudes seem to have different effects on vote choice. Secondly, the results with respect to the Australian case indicate that electoral rules, such as compulsory voting, can have a significant impact on third-party support and voting behavior in general by restraining the paths of action available to citizens disaffected with party politics. Thirdly, the differentiated effect of party disaffection on third-party voting and abstention, as well as the constraining role of compulsory voting in Australia, clearly stress the relevance of taking account of abstention when trying to explain third-party vote choice (Bélanger, 2003). Since the actual level of abstention is under-estimated in the surveys examined, in the study the estimates of the researchers are considered conservative as to the macro-level effect of anti-party sentiment on turnout.

The findings finally suggest that, as much as third parties can act as safety valves that channel political discontent, they are not entirely safe from anti-party sentiment. If disaffected citizens increasingly come to perceive third parties as being in the same bag as traditional party alternatives, there could no longer be any partisan remedy to the so-called “crisis of representation” faced by advanced industrial countries, and electoral participation in these societies could continue to drop.

F. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Democracy Theory

According to Abraham Lincoln in (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1998), democracy is “*government of the people, by the people, and for the people*”. Democracy, which is derived from the Greek word *demos* or people, is defined, basically, as government in which the supreme power is vested in the people. In some forms, democracy can be exercised directly by the people; in large societies, it is by the people through their elected agents. Democracy may be a word familiar to most, but it is a concept still misunderstood and misused at a time when dictators, single-party regimes, and military coup leaders alike assert popular support by claiming the mantle of democracy (Ober, 2007). Yet the power of the democratic idea has prevailed through a long and turbulent history, and democratic government, despite continuing challenges, it continues to evolve and flourish throughout the world. Freedom and democracy is often used interchangeably, but the two are not synonymous. Democracy is indeed a set of ideas and principles about freedom, but it is also consisted of practices and procedures that have been molded through a long, often tortuous history (Ober, 2007). Thus, it can be noted that democracy is the idea of institutionalization of freedom.

Moreover, Robert Dahl in Budiadrjo (2015) suggests five criteria of democracy as a political idea and on how a Government can be identified as democratic. First, the passage of the Government of a State based on the law

that was enforced, such as the Constitution, human rights, legislation, and the courts that are free and impartial. Second, the passage of the wheels of Government under the control of a real community. This indicates that the high society of political participation is indispensable. Third, the existence of a general election (elections) are free, fair, and periodic. Fourth, the existence of the principle of majority, i.e. the passage retrieval in consensus, if the election is not achieved with the most votes. Fifth and last, any warranty against democratic rights of civil society both in the fields of politics, economy, society, and culture. From some of the things expressed by Dahl, the important points that are considered to be associated to procedural democracy in the elections are the first and second statements. Procedural democracy here has a close relation towards the general election.

Dahl also argued as cited in Budiadrjo (2015) that there are seven fundamental principles of a State for it to be called democratic. These fundamental principles include: selection of officials, the free and fair election, voting rights include all people, the right to be a candidate or an elected Office, freedom of expression oneself (orally as well as in writing), the existence of alternative information, and the freedom to form associations. These principles emphasize that democracy is the idea of community that puts people as holders of sovereignty (power). Robert Dahl States "*... there is no democratic theory ... there are only democratic theories*". This means that democracy is the integration of the ideas, procedures, and practices that synergized with each other.

In principle, democracies are not excessive government dominance, that is to say not every aspect of life is monopolistic and controlled centrally by the State. As evidence of its citizens are involved in some degree to certain activities such as making of particular political decisions, either directly through their chosen representatives. In addition, they have the freedom to participate and obtain information and communicate. Indra J. Piliang, Dendi Ramdani, and Agung Pribadi as cited by Utomo (2003) explained that the involvement of citizens in the political decision-making include:

1. The equality between citizens.
2. The level of freedom or independence of citizens.
3. Respect for the rule of law.

Based on the above description, it can be concluded that all citizens who apply democracy have the same tendency in terms of the principles. Budiadrjo (2015) mentioned that some democratic principles is applied universally, such as:

- a. The involvement of citizens in the political Decision-making.

The involvement of citizens in the Government is primarily intended to rely on the actions of political leaders. In this case, the election became the starting point. In addition, the people also convey criticism, file a proposal, or assert their interests through other democratic channels that are in accordance with the law. In

this case, there are two approaches to citizen involvement. These are the elitist approach and the participatory approach.

1. Elitist Approach asserts that democracy is a method of public administration wisdom with demands of response for elite alongside public opinion. In practice, this is what is seen in the representative democracy.
2. Participatory approach insists that democracy demands a higher level of engagement since it's for profit. This asserts re-establish of direct democracy.

b. Equality between Citizens.

The problem of the equality becomes the main interest in the theory and practice of politics. Countries, democratic or not, are both trying to reach a level of higher and under equality. In General, the level of the intended equality, are among others: the political equality, equal opportunities, economic equality, equal rights.

c. Freedom or Independence are recognized and used by citizens.

Freedom and independence were originally incurred in political life as a reaction to absolutism. Both of these things are necessary to give opportunities to citizens to assert their interests against the will and control of the State organizers. The freedom and rights that are covered in the universal declaration of human rights (such as political equality, economy equality, equal under the

law, cultural expression equality, and personal rights). In a very basic understanding, those rights must be recognized and protected by the State.

d. Rule of law

Respect for the law must be noteworthy either by the authorities or by the people. There are no arbitrariness that could be done in the name of the law, therefore the Government must be based on the law that favors justice (Rule of Law). All citizens stand equal before the law without any exception. If the law is made in the name of Justice and composed with attention to the opinion of the people, then there is no reason to ignore much less abusive legal institutions. Thus, justice and adherence to the law is one of the fundamental conditions for the realization of the democratic society.

e. Periodic Elections

The elections, as well as the mechanism for determining the position of the Government on a periodic basis, are the primary means for the political participation of individuals who live in a society that is vast, complex and modern. Election is a key to determine if the system is democratic or not. Electoral systems are becoming an essential tool for political participation, from one individual/group to another. Election is one of the ways to bring Government that has the legitimate (legitimization) with the

support of the people because it's important to keep the existence of this mechanism for the sake of a standing popular sovereignty.

2. Anti-Party Sentiment Theory

According to Webb & White in (Sulaksono, 2016) anti-party sentiment is a terminology that refers to a condition of public trust decrease toward the political party, even if the expectation of the public toward democracy is still high. Webb & White as cited by Sulaksono (2016), stated that the anti-party sentiment is divided into two types, those are soft anti-party sentiment and hard anti-party sentiment. Sulaksono (2016) noted that soft anti-party sentiment differs from hard anti-party sentiment in its influence toward democracy legitimacy. Soft anti-party sentiment is a phenomenon of anti-party sentiment that manifest people's disappointment toward political parties' performance and political parties' behavior, but there is still an existing trust towards democracy. On other side, the hard anti-party sentiment, is the minor attitude towards political parties that manifest the distrust of the public towards the ongoing system of democracy (Sulaksono, 2016).

Sigit Pamungkas (2011) also defined anti-party sentiment as the attitude of citizens towards the minor political parties regarding the existence of the party or the party's behavior. According to Torcal, Gunther, and Montero as cited by Pamungkas (2011), there are two forms of anti-party sentiment, namely:

1. Reactive Anti-party

Reactive anti-party is a critical attitude of the citizens in showing their dissatisfaction against elite performance and party institutions. This negative assessment is the product of the existence of a contrast and the inconsistencies and appointments, ideological labels and the rhetoric of politicians, and the perception of citizens about the actual performance of the democracy and the political elite on the other side. This causes the existence of cynicism toward the political parties who could not perform its function and with low levels of the people participation.

2. Cultural Anti-party

Anti-party cultural is an expression of displeasure towards the existence of political parties in a country. In contrast to reactive anti-party reactive who still tolerates the presence of political parties, but is disappointed with the performance of the citizen's party. Cultural anti-party, shows that citizens do not like the presence of the political party itself. So, the existence of cultural anti-party sentiment, the institution of the party is denied with its presence in a country. This type of anti-party stance is rooted from the party's tradition in the history of a nation and the process of planting certain values by the party.

The cause of the rise of the cultural anti-party attitudes among others, are the political circumstances of the country, long

experience of the dictator's regime, a political upheaval, and discontinuity. Those factors give rise to negative political socialization towards citizens giving rise to the existence of a distrust in politics. Cultural anti-party attitudes are also caused by the manipulation of the ruling political elite such as the practice limited democracy, the patron-client relationship, a systematic cheating in the elections and the intimidation that aims to limit the political rights of citizens to participate in political activities. Cultural anti-party sentiment became an important component of the political discontent which can expand the gap between the citizens and their representatives, as well as reinforce the marginalization of important sectors of the citizens with political resources that is lower than the others.

Nevertheless, anti-party sentiment is a strange phenomenon considering that political parties anyway are admitted as relevant institutions in the modern democratic system (Sulaksono, 2016). The role and functions of parties can not be replaced by any other institutions such as civil society organizations and interest groups that also represent public interest as parties do. Political party can be described as a bridge connecting government institutions to elements of civil society and the public in general. The party organizes ideological differences and interest dwelling in the society. Macridis, as cited by Hofmeister (2011), the very importance of party within

democracy encourages some academics to believe that there can be no single democratic political system that could be sustained without political party. Almost all of the mainstream works regarding democracy put party as an inseparable element from democracy. The existence of party plays as an indicator of the degree of democracy of a country. Party becomes a structure that strengthen democratic building. Meanwhile democracy permits party to execute its essential roles and functions in the social and political life of society. There is a correlative relation between democracy and political party. It could be concluded that if there is a high public trust towards parties, there should also be a high public trust toward democratic system as a consequence, and vice versa.

Those dissatisfied with parties may choose nonetheless to support one of the established parties. Some voters may not see abstaining or voting for an anti-party as viable options, hence they support an established party especially the opposition in the hope that it will change politics. According to Gidengil and Torcal, as cited by Russel J. Dalton (2005), citizens who are disenchanted with political parties have three basic options at election time: abstaining, voting for an anti-party, or voting for an established party. To address this issue with greater precision, Anti-party sentiment is widespread in advanced industrial democracies, but such sentiment does not directly translate into anti-party establishment behavior (Russel J. Dalton,

2005). More than two out of three distrustful citizens continue to vote for one of the established political parties. However, when voting for an established party, they are much more likely to vote for the opposition. This suggests that anti-party sentiment is at least partially a criticism of the ruling parties. Moreover, given the option between either abstaining or voting for an anti-party, dissatisfied citizens are more likely to choose the former. Far-right parties are preferred to their counterparts on the Left, but equally important is that a large proportion of the left-wing anti-party voters do, in fact, believe parties care what individuals think. In other words, the Left attracts both party cynics and party optimists, whereas supporters of the Right are overwhelmingly cynical of parties (Russel J. Dalton, 2005).

3. Independent Candidate Theory

a. Independent Definition

Independent (often abbreviated as indie) means "free", "independent" or "stand alone" (Kartika, 2010). In a simple sense, independent candidate is referred to the decision of the constitutional towards independent candidates that can compete in the nomination of the recruitment of regional heads through the mechanism of the elections without political parties and use the media as a struggle (Supriyanto, 2007). Gunawan, as cited by Wardani (2015) that stated independent is free from the influence, the will, or the control of the Executive Branch, while the notion of an independent candidate is a citizen who ran as a

candidate for President or Head Area in the general election but not under any political parties. Presidential candidates or head of regional candidates are open for independent way as well as from non-party institutions. However, there was rarely case which happened in Seruyan regency election that one of the candidate Sudarsono-Yulhaidir (SURYA) was actually member of political party but he did not present and chose by his political party. In order to follow the election, SURYA is used independent way to follow the election. This case proved that anomaly in independent candidate can be happened.

Timothy (2002) in his book, explained that in general, the independence means differently in every philosopher. Fraser and Meyer distinguished independence into categories:

Table.1 The Meanings of Independence

Goal-Independence	Independence of views in terms of goal-setting
Instrument Independence	Independence in the way of achieving the objectives that have been set

Source: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2002)

Besides in Kartika (2010), mentioned that there are also scholars such as V.Grilli, et al. and Robert Elgie who distinguished independence in terms of politics (Political Independence) and in terms of Economics (Economic Independence), while W.Baka distinguished independence into three aspects, namely: Institutional Independence, Functional Independence, and Financial Independence. Meanwhile, Mboweni distinguished four aspects of independence, namely, Functional

Independence, Personnel Independence, Instrumental Independence, Financial Independence.

Based on the opinions of the experts above, Jimly Asshiddiqie (2006) integrated the entire category of related independence into three forms, namely:

- a. Independence of the institution or structure (institutional or structural independence) which is reflected in the external relationship between mechanisms and State agencies.
- b. Independence of the function (functional independence) which is reflected in the decision-making process, which can be either goal-independence, namely in setting goals or policies, and instrument independence, the i.e. non-policy instrument in setting not set itself.
- c. Administrative Independence, which is namely independence in the administration of policy to determine the support of both kinds of independence above (institutional and functional independence), namely in the form of the financial independence (financial independence), which is manifested in the independence in supporting the budgets, the independence of personnel (personnel independence) which is the independence in determining and regulating the appointment and dismissal of personnel themselves.

b. Independent Criteria

The term independent candidate to date is still to subject, a lot of debates because there are still a lot of proposals from several political parties. Currently, it could be seen that any candidate who submits herself independent manner without the proposal of a political party must have the support of potential voters 3-6.5% to be considered an independent candidate. Even the House of representatives (DPR) is planning to design a law for independent candidates' eligibility that would require them to have a 10-15% potential votes to be official candidates (Baso, 2013). The first independent candidacy in Indonesia is only allowed if its support is high enough for as observed independent candidates have difficulties in winning, and whether there is the intervention of political party or not, independent candidates will find difficulties in regeneration. However, the Indonesian community strongly agree by 70% to allow independent candidates to participate in elections.

In law No. 8 year 2015 which altered the law No. 1 year 2015 about the election of Governors, mayors referred to the terms of the independent candidates in the following election in the provincial level:

1. Independent Candidates can enroll as a candidate for Governor and Vice Governor if qualified support are provided:

a. The province with a population of up to 2 million (two million) must have at least 10% (ten percent) of popular support;

- b. The province with a population more than 2 million (two million) to 6 million (six million) must have a popular support of at least 8.5% (eight and a half percent);
 - c. The province with a population more than 6 million (six million) to 12 million (twelve million) must have at least 7.5% (seven and a half percent) of popular support;
 - d. The province with a population of over 12 million (twelve million) must have a popular support of at least 6.5% (six and a half percent); and the amount of the support referred to letter a, letter b, letter c and the letter d is distributed more than 50% (fifty percent) of the total number of districts/cities in the province.
2. Independent Candidates can enroll as a candidate for Regent and Vice Regent as well as the Mayor and Vice Mayor if qualified support are provided:
- a. District/municipality with a population up to 250,000 (two hundred fifty thousand) must have a popular support of at least 10% (ten percent);
 - b. District/municipality with a population more than 250,000 (two hundred fifty thousand) to 500,000 (five hundred thousand) of the population must have popular support at least 8.5% (eight and a half percent);

- c. Counties/cities with a population more than 500,000 (five hundred thousand) to 1.000.000 (one million) must have popular support of at least 7.5% (seven and a half percent);
 - d. District/municipality with a population more than 1.000.000 (one million) of the population must have a popular support of at least 6.5% (six and a half percent); and the amount of the support referred to letter a, letter b, letter c, letter d and is distributed more than 50% (fifty percent) of the total number of districts in regency/city.
3. The ratification referred to in paragraph (1) and paragraph (2) made in the form of a letter of support that accompanied with a photocopy of the electronic ID card, family card, passport, and/or another identity in accordance with the provisions of the legislation.
4. The support referred to in paragraph (3) was given only to one (1) independent candidate.

In what is revealed above, democracy gives opportunities to independent candidates to participate in regional elections. J. Kaloh as cited by Ulfa (2012), the chances of independent candidates in the regional elections can be assessed by considering the following:

- a. Independent candidates must have contributed positively in order to fix the political system (and also the party system).
- b. Independent Candidates must be able to affirm the political functions as the function of articulation and aggregation of

interests and should also have agencies that contribute to the strengthening of the existing political system.

- c. Independent Candidates must be clear accountability in the system of democracy and do not tend to ignore the interests of the community just to pursue ambitions of power, personal interests, and classes.

G. CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION

There are definitions to support the terms used in this research.

1. Democracy

Democracy is a form or a system of government mechanisms in a country to attempt to embody the sovereign people of the country with a Government run by those countries in achieving goals together.

2. Anti-party Sentiment

Anti-party sentiment is a situation where the public trust towards the political parties is decreasing due to the political party's behavior.

3. Independent Candidate

Independent candidate is a person who joins the general election without any influence, is free, and standing alone from political parties.

H. OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

In this study, the operational definition used are as follows:

a. Reactive anti-party sentiment, as measured in:

1. The inconsistencies engagement of political parties
2. The ideological labels of political parties

3. The rhetoric of politicians
- b. Cultural anti-party sentiment, as measured in:
 1. The political situation in DKI Jakarta
 2. The existence of the experience of dictatorial regime
 3. The existence political upheaval and discontinuity

I. RESEARCH METHOD

The research method is an assessment in the study of the rules contained in the research with perspective of philosophy. The research method is the epistemology in conducting a research. There are some parts of the research methods that the author considers significant in this research.

a. Type of the research

According to Marshall & Rossman (Creswell, 2014) the approach used in the research are exploratory, descriptions, explanatory, and emancipatory.

1. Exploratory research is conducted to determine an occurrence when researchers are a lack of knowledge and understanding of a phenomenon. This research is looking for new insights by asking questions and generates ideas for future research (Creswell, 2014).
2. Descriptive research is a research that describes an accurate profile of a person or situation (Creswell, 2014). According to Sukmadinata (2006), descriptive research is a form of research

that aim to describe the phenomena that exist, both a natural phenomenon and man-made phenomenon. The phenomenon could be a form of activity, characteristics, changes, relationships similarities and differences. Descriptive research can be used to identify and classify the elements or characteristics of the subject.

3. Explanatory research is research which is needed to explain the relationship between two or more symptoms or variable (Creswell, 2014). This research does not only illustrate the phenomenon in the research. The research is to test hypotheses about cause and effect (Creswell, 2014).
4. Emancipatory research is research that aims to empower social subjects in the study, creating opportunities and willingness to engage in social action (Creswell, 2014).

In this research, the researcher used explanatory qualitative research, focused on analyzing the anti-party sentiment in the governor election of DKI Jakarta 2017. The problems of this research were related to the anti-party sentiment of #TemanAhok that occur in the governor election of DKI Jakarta.

b. Research Location

The research location of this study is DKI Jakarta. The reason for choosing DKI Jakarta is because it is the center of business, politics and so

on. The researcher is interested to know the anti-party sentiment of #TemanAhok in DKI Jakarta's governor election 2017.

c. Data Collection Technique

The researcher uses the following data collection technique; interview and library research by collecting data from the books, academic journal, article and other sources that relevant with this research. Types of data used are primary and secondary data. The data are obtained from the result of the interview of #TemanAhok and the previous interview which has conducted by any institutions related to the phenomenon of the rise of anti-party sentiment. Data were also obtained from the result or documentary materials about the research objects and from the literature study.

d. Type of Data

1. The primary data source is the data information regarding the research concept from the unit analysis used as objects of the research obtained directly through interviews and observations (Moleong, 2011).
2. Secondary data sources are the data obtained indirectly (Moleong, 2011). Data obtained through the documents, in the units of analysis used as objects of research. These can also be obtained from the literature, document, and previous individual research that is relevant to object of research (Moleong, 2011).

e. Data Classification

In this research, the writer uses the primary and secondary data classification. The primary data is the data that is directly collected from main sources of the study such as the results of the interview conducted. The secondary data are not directly collected from main sources of the study. The secondary data collected from various sources such as books, journals, literature, document and either from the media related to anti-party sentiment in DKI Jakarta governor election 2017.

Table.2 Data Classification

NO	Data	Primer	Secondary	Sources
1	a. The inconsistencies engagement of political parties b. The ideological labels of political parties c. The rhetoric of politicians	✓	✓	Interview, books, journal articles, and media
2	a. The political situation in DKI Jakarta b. The existence of the experience of dictatorial regime c. The existence political upheaval and discontinuity	✓	✓	Interview, books, journal articles, and media

J. DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE

The researcher uses data analysis technique such as interview results and library research by collecting data from the books, academic journal, article and other sources that relevant with this research. There are four steps in qualitative data analysis. First is the compilation of data and

assessing it if it is sufficient and useful or if it is not. Thus, it needs selection and preparation. Second is data classification which includes the attempt to classify the data based on categories created. Third is data processing which involves the selection and arrangement of obtained data into qualitative data. Fourth is interpretation and inference. According to Bogdan & Taylor as cited by Moleong (2011), the researcher makes a combination of the data between a variable and others to come up with a good research. The conclusion from the entire data of each variable is attained by comparing the data obtained from the various sources to see the possible variations occurring.

K. THE SYSTEMATIC OF WRITING

The researcher employs a systematic writing technique which is as elaborated below:

CHAPTER I, Introduction, consist of: background, research question, objectives and benefit of the research, theoretical framework, literature review, conceptual definition, operational definition, type of the research, research location, data collection technique, data classification, data analysis technique.

CHAPTER II, Description of DKI Jakarta, consist of: boundary, location and population, physical conditions, #TemanAhok.

CHAPTER III, Results, and Discussion, this chapter discussed the following: The inconsistencies of political parties, The ideological labels of political parties, The rhetoric of politicians, The political situation in DKI

Jakarta, The existence of the experience of dictatorial regime, The existence political upheaval and discontinuity.

CHAPTER IV, Conclusion, consists of: the conclusions of the research, recommendations, and literature on sentiment anti-party of #TemanAhok.