

BAB III

FINDING AND ANALYSIS

This chapter describes the findings and analysis to answer the formulated problems presented in the first chapter of this research. This chapter discusses about the types of anti-party sentiment in DKI Jakarta governor election 2017 and how these types of anti-party sentiment arise in DKI Jakarta governor election 2017. The contents of that are presented in this chapter one divided into two sub-chapters to test in-depth the theory of anti-party sentiment in the case of DKI Jakarta governor election 2017. Dealing with reactive anti-party sentiment which discusses the inconsistencies of the political parties, the ideological labels of political parties, and the rhetoric of politicians. While in the cultural anti-party sentiment, the chapter discusses the political situation in Jakarta, the existence of the experience of dictatorial regime, and the existence the political upheaval and discontinuity.

A. The Inconsistencies Engagement of Political Parties

Democracy in the life of a country is reflected through the conduct of the elections. The election is the embodiment of sovereignty that is vested in the people. The elections held in Indonesia and DKI Jakarta are evidences of a viable democracy, which aims to realize the national goal of electing the legislative members, the President and Vice President, as well as a regional level to choose Governor and Vice Governor. The elected Governor through elections is the people's leader at the executive level in the province. Because of that, the Governor as leader for the society should have ability to speak and act on behalf of a larger group in order to respond the public interests (Budiardjo, 2015).

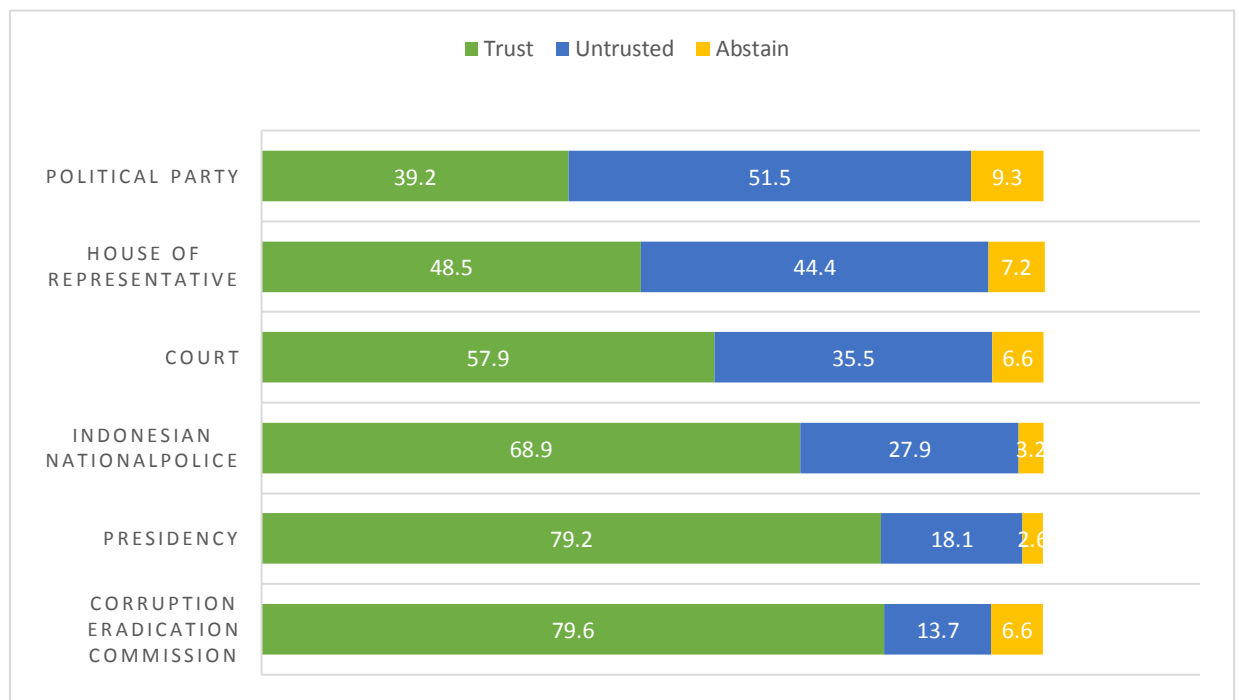
The idea behind elections is the recognition and realization of people's political rights and simultaneously, the delegation of the people's rights to enforce governance (Budiardjo, 2015). People's political representation is not only determined by the election, but more importantly by how much active roles political parties can play in the political process. According to Karim in Iis Sumarwati (2011) the general election is the only way to embody the people's participation in politics through political parties which vital roles in the elections and these are as follows:

1. Choose the leader of the nation through political parties.
2. Helps to run election process.
3. The party as a means of political campaigns.
4. Supervise the activities of the house of extremists from both sides of the political spectrum.
5. Encourage public discussion about important issues
6. The party as a bridge between the people and the Government

Based on the above description, it can be noted that through elections, existing democracy in Indonesia especially Jakarta can be validated upon the conduct of elections, there should be political parties which are competing freely. Since a free election is a reflection of democratic society. The political parties then, act as a bridge that connect the candidate representatives and the people, the political parties should recruit prospective candidates' members openly and democratically. In fact, in the conduct of the general election today, there is a growing number of communities that do not want to actively

participate in political party activities. People have started to turn apathetic and are cynical to the promises of political parties that are perceived to sell the vision and mission of the moment (election period). This can be seen by the level of public trust towards the institutions of democracy in Indonesia by 2016 (Indikator Politik Indonesia, 2016).

Figure.5 The Level of Public Trust towards the Institutions of Democracy in Indonesia



Source: Rilis Survei Nasional (2016)

The survey shows that amongst some institutions of democracy in Indonesia, the political parties are the least trusted democratic institution. Distrust of the community compounded with some cadres of political parties are entangled in corruption (KPK, 2013). The emergence of a negative opinion to the political parties is reinforced by the existence of political parties which

were previously assessed to be clean and trustworthy, but eventually have gotten involved into corruption cases. The typical public, which are expected to carry the people's mandate by serving the interests of the general public, are too busy catering the political parties' interests and other political promises made to the few powerful elites.

Politicians campaign for themselves and for their parties to get sympathy or support from the people, in an upcoming election. During these campaigns, political parties promote programs that are superior to the course favored by the public and can at least reduce the burden of community life. However, over time the community became more critical due to the numerous sources of information available. The community became more sensitive to the political problems of the country and became critical in determining the choice of leader that possesses the competency and strategic plans to resolve the problems Indonesia currently faces. Political parties and its cadres convey the vision and mission in various of geographical of Indonesian archipelago, visions like free education, quick response service, free health services and others (Mashuri, 2015).

Party foul promises like these are merely considered common by the people and are viewed to be language of marketing the candidates. These strategies of deception that are targeting the society are already normal election scenarios, it is been difficult for such community to expect political parties to realize their promises. Based on the above issues, the political parties are served only as a political vehicle to few people to be in power and pursue personal interests. This

led to the emergence of #TemanAhok to act as a supporting organization to create a clean government in Jakarta by looking at the performance of the political parties that has not been functional representation-wise.

Based on the results of the interviews to #TemanAhok:

“In my opinion, the performance of political parties is not shown ideal political parties yet, although it has emerged some new political party, following by repair of the old parties. However, in the maintenance, are not presented with an ideal political party process. #TemanAhok see the ideal political parties should be clear in the recruitment process, financial reports, and explain their political activities. But as long as it is on their website no mentioned about financial statements, related information and no work programs narrative in order to develop the regions. Political parties are still very formalities with campaign promises such as manifesting a better Jakarta with values and others that are very common”. (Amalia Ayuningtyas, February 21th 2017)

In addition, this statement is supported by the importance of the role of the public in choosing a leader used sharp, but sometimes a society stuck in the groove of the political elite with promises that are not in accordance with reality. Therefore, #TemanAhok sees these leaders to possess the proper personality, and ethics of a political leader.

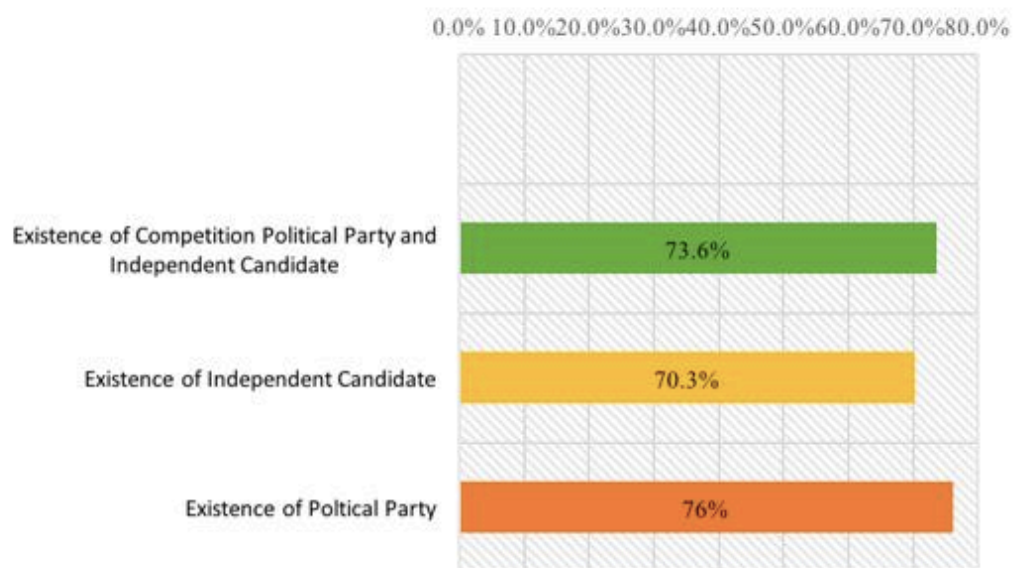
Based on the results of the interviews to #TemanAhok:

“I am not concerned with those of political parties, where the important thing is personality. And I see Ahok who has personality to lead Jakarta”. (Richard Saerang, February 21th 2017)

However, according to the findings of a survey conducted by Kompas, 76.1% of the society declared that political parties remain necessary and should remain existing within the context of democracy. 70.3% argued that the presence of independent candidates will push the party to become more selective in nominating the head of the region. While, 73.6% viewed the

existence of competition between independent candidates and political parties will give many options and opportunities for the public to get the best regional head as #TemanAhok support the existence of the independent candidate (Sanur, 2016). This can be seen with the data below:

Figure.6 The Views of DKI Jakarta Society Support Independent Candidate



Source: Kompas Survey (2016)

This survey is presented the magnitude of the number of the community that supports the existence of DKI Jakarta independent candidates which is reflected to be 70.3% of the respondents. This proves that DKI Jakarta society supports independent political candidates through the line without interference from political parties than the political parties organized (Sanur, 2016). Therefore, the existence of independent candidates can be assessed as part of the effort of fixing the political parties system, because until recently most of the existing

political parties in Indonesia have yet to implement a system that professionals can be chosen to be prospective leaders. There are some leaders who have had professional experiences but the amount in government is still not having much. Moreover, since the political parties actually determine the direction of democracy in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta, this is causing the phenomenon of #TemanAhok supporting independent candidates.

B. The Ideological Labels of Political Parties

A political party is an organization formed to influence the shape and character of public policy within the framework of the principles and interests of a certain ideology through the exercise of power directly or popular participation in elections (Budiardjo, 2015). Ideology is an important element for the political parties, as provides guidelines and goals for political parties in making political decisions. In this case, each political party must have an ideology that serves not only as a unifying identity, but also as a party destination (Surbakti, 1992). The table below shows some of the political parties in Indonesia based on the ideology:

Table.10 Political Parties and Their Ideologies

Political Parties	Ideologies
Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	Pancasila
Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)	Pancasila
Partai Golongan Karya (Partai Golkar)	Pancasila
Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB)	Islam
Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)	Pancasila

Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	Islam
Partai Demokrat	Pancasila

Source: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (2009)

However, it seems paradoxical to the behavior of political parties at this time. The phenomena of political parties presented above expose behaviors that tends to be inconsistent with its claimed. The behavior of political parties tends to be pragmatic and the ideological values that are left have an impact on the political education of the community. Society is not conditioned to have ideality, because these as pursued are merely for short-term gains.

The rampant practice of money politic in the elections is an example of pragmatism that occurs in the community. In addition, the ideology that is used as reference to make political decisions. Become the characters for the members of the party, as a reference in creating a work program and determine the objectives of a political party. According to #TemanAhok, although political parties in Indonesia claimed that they have an ideology, but, in fact the ideology is just as a branding.

Based on the results of the interviews to #TemanAhok:

“I am actually confused to explain because of the definition of ideology according to political parties and politicians themselves. but if I see the political parties have their respective ideologies such as PDIP with Pancasila ideology, PKS as Islamic party or for example the political parties advocate Islam. I see that ideology is simply branding by political party, but there are still happened some pragmatic activities. For example, PKS in several areas, the prospective of non-Muslim also does not matter, even though the narrative presented by the ideology of the political parties and dealing with their political election. They also will certainly be pragmatic”. (Amalia Ayuningtyas, February 21th 2017)

It is also made clear by Cornelis Lay that there are three orientations of political parties, namely: first, the political party as a political machine-collecting sound (electoral), where the party is fully functional as hunters votes (voter seeker); Second, the party as a means of achievement of power and position (power seeking office or seeking) or vehicle for the scramble for political office and public office; third, political parties as a means of achievement of ideological goals are achieved through the control of political power and influence over state policy (policy seeking) (Makhasin, 2016). The political parties in Indonesia belong type mentioned by Makhasin (2016) which are political parties that appear to no longer have the orientation as a means of achievement of the goals of the ideology but more on the goal for collecting votes (electoral machine), or as a means of achievement of power and position (power seeking office or seeking). The tendencies of these are shown in the below:

1. Political parties tend to work pragmatically;
2. The occurrence of dynasty politics and oligarchy of political parties;
3. Power-oriented political party, not built from closeness ideology;
4. Political parties have not been fully adhering to their claimed ideology as reflected in the policy-making process.

In addition, the tendency of the political parties to be inconsistent with its ideology and pragmatically work into recruiting regional heads are more concerned with the popularity of the character rather than ideological affinity, is a reality in Indonesia political parties tend to use the incumbent or

incumbent's family as the candidate to be carried, because it is more popular and have the capital money than on ideological proximity or similarity (Makhasin, 2016). It is also expressed by #TemanAhok that political parties use the incumbent or incumbent's family as the real nature of the oligarchy:

Based on the results of the interviews to #TemanAhok:

"I think political parties have a lot of functions that might in some way already functioning well. Although, in my perception, it is really difficult to find the information about the political parties. However, there have been many internets could connect with members of parliament and political parties but as the young generation is still difficult to get the access. For example, we young people who want a career in politics but there is not clear mechanism how to enter political parties, in fact who enter the political parties have interpersonal relationship such as their son/oligarchy. A lot of times that cannot be ignored by political parties because it is also an organization that is very plump and filled by the senior people. So I think the reform of political party's system is still very slow" (Amalia Ayuningtyas, February 21th 2017)

Therefore, from the above interview results, it shows that #TemanAhok viewed the failure of the function of cadre recruitment and the recruitment undertaken by the political parties, in providing opportunities for young people to participate in politics (period). This impact on the recruitment of prospective headsof region does not consider the proximity of the ideological basis of political parties, but the popularity of the candidates. Political parties only bring the popular candidates and those with the capital money.

Recruitment of public officials conducted by the political parties is tended to be shortcut, such as recruiting from families of the incumbent and also among the artists, without consideration shown on the orientation of ideological values (Deni, 2014). Its impact is the fact that less political parties take into account

the quality of the candidate recruited. The phenomenon can be seen from the large number of head area, and members of the national legislature which are caught in the problem of corruption. Daniel Dhakidae argues that this fact strengthens public opinion that public officials who snagged a variety of criminal cases did not have a noble vision that is in the ideology of the party (Abdullah, 2011).

Political parties' inconsistencies to its ideologies also appeared to how political parties seek coalition partners. Currently, the coalition built by political parties are not oriented to ideologies but are focused on securing political seats. Ideology should be manifested in political decisions made by political parties through those should have been existing parties in the legislature or executive. Political parties are organization founded in order to influence the shape and character of public policy within the framework of the principles and interests of a certain ideology, through the exercise of power directly or popular participation in elections (Kristin Samah, 2011).

The inability of the political parties to consistently make ideology as a guide in making public policy also reflected the view of how political parties make public policy issues, political statements, pattern or direction of legislation that serve the interests of representatives of political parties in the legislature or executive. In addition, the inability of the political parties to consistently make the ideology as a guide in making political decisions also appears from the homogeneity of public policies generated by any regime that came to power (Surbakti, 1992).

C. The Rhetoric of Politicians

Ahead of the event, the people's democracy party through the election of the Governor of DKI Jakarta still in progress, designed and implemented communication strategies to gain political sympathy of the community. The campaign also is an arena of political maneuvering to attract many voters in the election in order to secure political power. To it, all means may be used, including the grandiose promises and often-unreasonable (Herpamudji, 2015). Political parties' campaigns and strategic involve wearing primordial reasons, the achievement of equitable prosperous circumstances, even intimidation to be in power. The campaign is often considered merely political banalities. After the election is over and the power is obtained by someone, politicians forget promises, then start to acting all on their own and often just for self-interested goals or group interests.

One of the strategies of political communication in the campaign often culminate in a term often heard lately that is political Imaging. This term carries negative perception. As communication practitioners in particular corporate communication and marketing, often struggled with the word "image" in the company's imaging or imaging products (brand image) (Herpamudji, 2015). Imaging more or less is about creating something or someone to look good or get a positive perception from the public. In the context of politics, it is about a politician or political parties working to gain a positive perception. Imaging is expected to positively better to politicians with good performance. Meanwhile,

politicians or political parties is not stellar, Imaging surely will encounter challenges in executing communication strategies.

Political party's cadres having good performance or real contribution to society is certainly easier to implement it because it is supported by positive imaging and political credibility or a good track record. While the political parties whose negative issues, certainly require a communication strategy that is mature and well-planned and luck to be able to reverse the negative perception of which of course also need to be supported by an increasing credibility (Gafur, 2014). In addition, the credibility is also influenced by the credibility of who's delivering. So, everything depends on the politicians and the political parties themselves, to achieve the objectives of the communication strategy.

Politicians with bad performance and track record but is repeatedly doing imaging, will also pose questions and affect the politician's credibility. Related factors exist in politicians and the political parties themselves. Bad public perception towards politicians provided more understanding for society towards the political access to information along with the rise of the Internet and social media. Imaging will be getting better if the politicians have good performance and are already well into a positive perception by the society (Sugiarto, 2010).

Implementing the political imaging is encouraged but it must not be abused or overused. Even those politicians with good track record but not detected by the preaching of the media or not known by the public, will affect the level of their electability. Related factors exist in politicians and the political parties

with regard to the achievement of a political expediency then the unambiguous political imaging to get sympathy from the community (Herpamudji, 2015). However, #TemanAhok wild-eyed, Ahok looked good in communication policy without doing a multitude of political imaging.

Based on the results of the interviews to #TemanAhok:

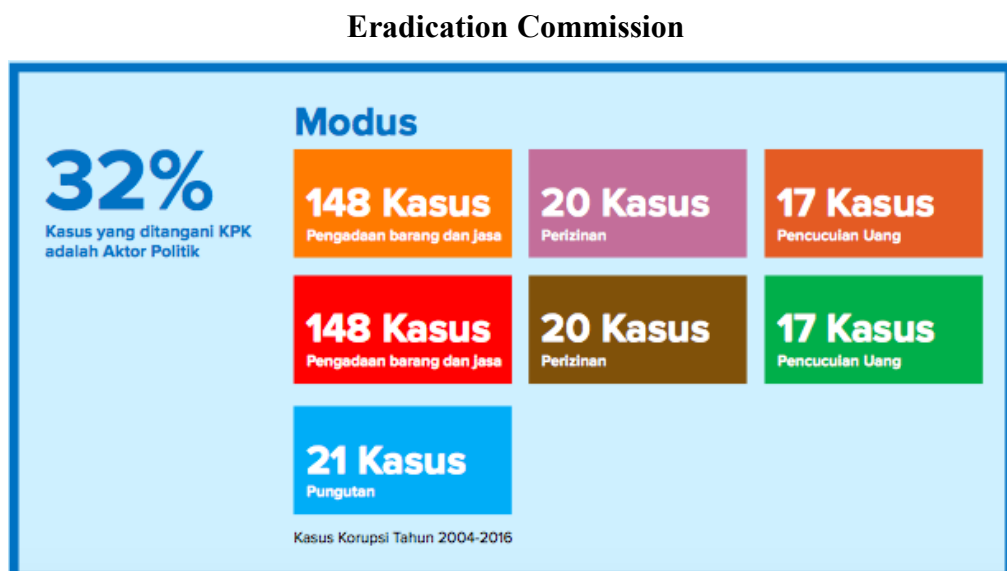
“Ahok is the best leader in communicating what he wants in the governance with very details, he even does not need spokesman because if ahok talked about time, infrastructure and so on, he can certainly explain. So I think if he is reelected, Ahok can execute all of his programs in Jakarta.” (Amalia Ayuningtyas, February 21th 2017)

However, the community started to stop believing politicians who where at first perceived to play political games practices which made the political game rules tend to be ignored (not adhered to and followed), and if the political competition did not go well, it will give chance to political leaders who are not responsible (Sugiarto, 2010). Money politics, for example, becomes the political habits of politicians in the political game. Whereas in the game rules of political democracy, money politics is not allowed to be utilized by anyone (Jainuri, 2014).

The practice of money politics in Indonesia seems to grow lush and spread in various socio-political layer level. Money politics practices resulted in the break down of government management. Political leader born of money politics directly affects the management of corrupt governments. Take for example, in the 2009 election and then a politician practicing money politics in politics so as to have an impact on the creation of management the current administration that corruption (Jainuri, 2014). This can be seen in corruption cases that the

Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) have dealt with, these corruption cases are involving members of the executive board or the political parties done systemically, together, and from upstream to downstream. The politicians were vying for a number of strategic sectors. Therefore, a total of 391 cases dealt with by the KPK by 2016, 32% of whom come from political actors (KPK, 2016).

Figure.7 The Mode of Corruption Cases Dealt with Corruption



Source: Corruption Eradication Commission KPK (2016)

According to the study of Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), the strategic sectors that include energy, forestry, agriculture, and management of the Hajj are sectors used for corruption. The Corruption Eradication Commission's study also shows that there are weaknesses in the setting of legislation in the matter of the funding of political parties as this, causes rampant corruption by the politicians (KPK, 2013). In addition, the expensive cost of politics is caused by the politicians and political parties who see country's

tradition of patrimonial heritage of making power as pageant imposters and the drain. The reality shows that political money is increasingly a great influence in the political life in Indonesia (KPK, 2013).

D. The Political Situation in DKI Jakarta

#TemanAhok formed the description of the problem which is caused by a crisis of trust in the political parties. It is often triggered by a conflict between members of DPRD of DKI Jakarta and their disagreement with the Governor of DKI Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, since his tenure began November 19th 2014 (Aritonang, 2017). Poor communication and massive media coverage between the executive parties represented by the Governor of DKI Jakarta with several members of the legislature upon the perception of each interest goals, poses different perceptions, especially among young people who belong to a generation Y (Aritonang, 2017).

They move and manifest themselves into a group they call #TemanAhok as a form of expression of their perception. At first, #TemanAhok started its activism in Social Media and volunteering in Jakarta Baru, in which they help and support Ahok that tried to open case of UPS in DPRD of DKI Jakarta.

Based on the results of the interviews to #TemanAhok:

“The background is actually based on social media activist movement, which chronologically have a link to write in social media. An overview of the magnitude of #TemanAhok that used to be initially more than movement, because some people involved in that movement have a similarity of background. We previously were both volunteers in Jakarta Baru that called at the time, because it was incessant with PBD and Ahok tried to open a new sheet with various stealth budget. The strongest case is a problem with the UPS case for education”. (Amalia Ayuningtyas, February 21th 2017)

Changing the head of the DKI Jakarta is still on process, but the situation of political rivalry has gone intense since 2016. Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or often called Ahok already determined going forward again in upcoming Jakarta elections. Even the volunteers on behalf of the "#TemanAhok" already organized a movement gathering one million ID cards to support Ahok to run as Governor again. The incumbent party is an advantage from Ahok and started to appeared to challenge his former political seat. Starting from Sandiaga Uno, he already declared to run as governor as well as Adhityaksa Dault.

In addition, there was an issue appeared that the Mayor of Bandung, Ridwan Kamil, and the Mayor of Surabaya, Tri Rismaharini will be also run for the upcoming Jakarta Elections (Aritonang, 2017). Despite the emergence of prospective candidates, the Governor's seat needs to be analyzed more deeply including aware candidates that has really actual goals to step up and support the citizens of Jakarta. To know, the action opportunity on who will advance as Governor, it seen from two things. First, the results of the acquisition of a sound political party in Jakarta during the legislative elections of 2014, and second, the candidates who had the support of the people of Jakarta due to the crisis of character on the internal political party (Agustinus, 2016).

The emergence of #TemanAhok coloring the dynamics of the political situation in Jakarta, especially Jakarta governor election this time, provided there much debate among members of Parliament, political parties, as well as related media about campaign finance the Tempo's news of the Rp.30 billion reclamations of #TemanAhok (Pitajaly, 2016). The information of the alleged

flow of funds from Jakarta Bay reclamation project developers to group volunteers of #TemanAhok amounting to Rp.30 Billion still needs to be proved and justified. In order for the public not to wonder, as especially the open letter came from Sandyawati Sumardi "Let's be honest #TemanAhok, who actually #TemanAhok" became viral on the internet.

In this case, the group of #TemanAhok founded by young independents that do not have any interests other than to support Ahok's re-election, #TemanAhok is having an active role in the current political setting. However, many of the articles on social media that reveals the fact that #TemanAhok has a particular affinity with consultant political and PR Cyrus Network. Cyrus Network is a business entity that serves the purpose of seeking material gain by giving political consulting and public relation services to political candidates from regional and national leaders (Sumardi, 2016).

The fact that #TemanAhok had a close relationship and ought to be thought as the continuation of a political consultant paid by Cyrus Network is seen to have high journalistic values when further investigation might be opened, a criminal case and even illegal gratuities campaign, can be filed (Sumardi, 2016). However, this contrast of what #TemanAhok conveys is that the generated funds came from donors and from #TemanAhok merchandise sales.

Based on the results of the interviews to #TemanAhok:

"In my opinion, Jakarta is the regional election with the sense of national election. It is so many national political actors get involved this time such as general Chairman of the political parties and public figures. If I see at the political dynamics in Jakarta is already much has changed, for example the process of fundraising (Merchandise) from 2012-2017 and

in order to support Ahok, we need NPWP". (AmaliaAyuningtyas, February 21th 2017).

Although, #TemanAhok get various kinds of comments from the political parties. Those comments appeared to motivate the #TemanAhok who insists on pushing the Governor of DKI Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama aka Ahok to run independently on the Elections 2017. Not to mention the attitude of #TemanAhok who had insinuated PDI-P with the analogies such as Red Bull party which hypnotized Ahok. Recently, #TemanAhok rejected a candidate of PDI-P Hidayat Syaiful Djarot Vice Governor for Ahok because Djarot is a cadre of PDI-P.

This noted by Chairman of DPP of PDI-P Andreas Pareira, the assessment of political parties of seeing as arrogant group of people against the political parties. Then, Andreas Pareira also impressive as if there are some mistrust from the public towards the institution of party where the party is an important instrument for the system of democracy in Indonesia (Carina, 2016). In addition, the secretary of DPD of PDI-P Prasetio Edi Marsudi also assessed that #TemanAhok has attempted to deparpolize political parties in Indonesia. As the indicators, are attempting to negate the role of political parties in the elections to the head of region.

Differed opinion from Cyrus, #TemanAhok's attitude is not a form of arrogance. #TemanAhok had already collecting community's ID card in order to support Ahok before political parties approached Ahok. Their goal collecting the ID card support is only one, bringing Ahok into an advanced level in the line. This is the reason why #TemanAhok's attitude try to prevent political parties

approached Ahok (Carina, 2016). Nevertheless, there is a fundamental difference between the options of following Ahok or political parties. If #TemanAhok follows Ahok, then still open the opportunity for political parties to support him. The role of the political parties is not totally eliminated in this regard, so it cannot be called deparpolization.

For example, Nasdem political party also agreed to support Ahok if Ahok forwarded through an independent line. However, different things will happen if Ahok choses to forwarded the election with the political parties. The option will close the total involvement of #TemanAhok in advancing Ahok. But it is indisputable that the collection of the ID Card is a tool of bargaining on the party because the path is just considered one, that is independent. Some of the opinions that appeared reflect the attitude of #TemanAhok to not have any other choice. Arrogant comments by political parties was only the interpretation of politics (Carina, 2016).

Nevertheless, political dynamic in DKI Jakarta is always surprised when Ahok declared to run in DKI Jakarta governor election 2017 through political parties. #TemanAhok claimed to accept Ahok's decision using the political parties. Which means, currently Ahok no longer need the one million ID Card that #TemanAhok has collected to help Ahok in DKI Jakarta election 2017. This is reduced the effectiveness of #TemanAhok roles towards Ahok in DKI Jakarta governor election 2017. However, #TemanAhok still welcomes political party recommendation for Ahok with the reason #TemanAhok still belives Ahok's personality to lead DKI Jakarta in the second period (Tripeni, 2016).

Based on the interviews to #TemanAhok which conducted by CNN Indonesia:

"We appreciate and support Ahok's decision, after we have a dialogue with Ahok and a three-party representative, Ahok decides to go forward using a party vehicle together with #TemanAhok," said Amalia Ayuningtyas.

E. The Existence of the Experience of Dictatorial Regime

The leader is an important figure in hanging an organization, in this case subordinate and followers. It is seen to be a strange thing when someone is referred to as a leader but not have followers or also influence to stir his people in achieving the desired goals (Prasetyo, 2014). Each of the leaders certainly have the characteristics and the different models of leadership in accordance with its own character, so it will also affect the region or his organization, because this is how an area community characteristics be reflected to the characteristics of its leader (Prasetyo, 2014).

The discussion about democracy lately is marked more by the tendency of more optimism. In the election of the Governor of DKI Jakarta 2017 for example, the majority of 47.0% of voters in Jakarta idolized Jakarta Governor for the period 2012-2017 under the leadership of leaders like Ali Sadikin (Lingkaran Survei Indonesia, 2012). In their thoughts, Ali Sadikin is a bold figure that escorted Jakarta into a modern city. They envisioned the development of Jakarta into a global city where the culturally diverse world can interact. They are concerned with the development of cutting-edge city of Jakarta which are tinged with primordial violence action (Lingkaran Survei Indonesia, 2012).

This shows that the majority of the public expect the Governor-elect had the leadership of leaders like Ali Sadikin, a Governor that boldly and firmly protects

Jakarta to all, including protect its diversity. Strict control of Jakarta grew into the modern city of crossing global culture (Syarif, 2016). Avoiding the primordial fall of Jakarta, anti diversity, threats of violence, makes the city of Jakarta became an international city.

Therefore, it is also deemed to impact Ahok firmly and courageously as the aspiring Governor of DKI Jakarta. the Governorship of DKI Jakarta under Ahok is often compared Ali Sadikin who also used to be a Governor. The leadership style of the firm and speak out frankly both of political figures are rated to have a resemblance. There is still a myriad of other similarities between the former Jakarta Governors, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and Ali Sadikin (Syarif, 2016).

In this case, Salim Said compared the former Governors of DKI Jakarta, he stated: (Liputan 6, 2014).

“The movement was done by Ahok as well as done by Ali Sadikin. Some Ahok personalities, it reminds to Ali Sadikin such as in giving the command. I know Ali since I were actively teaching in University of Indonesia (UI). He tells the story about the former DKI Governor that does not like the precedence. At that time, Ali was the General Officer ever without hesitate pursuing a pander. Ali Sadikin also came to lead spraying in the courtyard, he absolutely came down to the bottom. In my generation, Ahok is not the new person who has common sense., he also clashed with many people same as Ahok, for example clashed with the clerics when he planed to legalize gambling” (Salim Said’s Interview by Liputan 6).

In addition, according to #TemanAhok, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or known as Ahok is one of the leaders who has different leadership characteristics when compared to the head of other regions. When many people want to be leaders in hoping of gain power and afterwards used for the beneficial of personal

prosperity, but Ahok precisely using the authority of leadership which he has fought for the interests of the people.

Based on the results of the interviews to #TemanAhok:

“Ahok does not have flying vision and mission (rational), what he is going to be vision and mission and it is going to be the real one. For example, I will give you hospital free service whatever your sicknesses as long as you are going to class three in every sub district”. (Richard Saerang, February 21th 2017)

While many leaders like to be served because they feel that they have authority, Ahok is attempting to be a leader that this is a mandate from the people and it should be obliged to struggle and serve the interests of the people who have elected for him. A leader of public office is not a leader companies, but it has to be served and not served (Prasetyo, 2014).

F. The Existence Political Upheaval and Discontinuity

Decentralization is distribution of authority by the central government to the local government in the context of the Republic of Indonesia. The real product of decentralization is the autonomous region (Hayati, 2009). Autonomous region, in law No. 32 of 2004 on local governance, is a right, authority, and obligation of autonomous regions to set up their own government affairs and the interests of the local community. The autonomous region referred to here is the unity of Community that has territorial boundaries which authorities manage and administer the government affairs and the interests of the local community according to its own initiative, based on the aspirations of the community in the system of the Republic of Indonesia.

In law No. 32 of 2004 on local governance, the local governance of a province is made up of provincial and local government provincial and regional district/city, consist of the local government (regional head and device area) district/municipality and regional district/city. Regional autonomy is granted to the autonomous region and it responds to complaints from local government by issuing policies aimed at improving the welfare of society, public services, and the competitiveness of the area (Hayati, 2009). In order to have clear regulation on local governance, law No. 23 of 2014 has been established to replace Law No. 32 of 2004 which is accordance with the development of circumstances, attempt, and demands the organization of local governance.

The policy of the autonomous region has provided a great opportunity for the region to manage and develop the area based on the potential of its area accord with the aspirations and initiative of each region. The authority has given from the central government to the regions to set up its household, is trying to overcome the constraints faced in its efforts to manage and develop the area in order to be more advanced than the previously (Arifin, 2007). As a manifestation of real autonomy of the area, the regional expansion is the most alternative chosen for the acceleration of development as well as services in the area. The regional expansion implies distance and narrower service coverage.

Logically, the narrower scope of the service is and the closer institutional givers are, ministries will be getting better and more effective. However, the regional expansion will also need to consider the background of its extraction, based on the interests of a certain group of people may result in a mismatch with

the purpose of early regional expansion that is to improve the welfare of society, public services, and the competitiveness of regions (Arifin, 2007).

Therefore, it must be prefaced by the regional expansion community aspirations and spirit to improve the quality of service to the community. However, the expansion area would also have an impact on the causes of political instability in Indonesia following two factors that led to the country's political instability, including the Republic of Indonesia (Djafar, 2008):

1. Political participation deviates.

Political participation is the organized efforts of citizens to choose their leaders and to influence policy that concerns the intention of living people. Political participation in Indonesia realized through elections of President and Vice President, members of the legislature, and the regional head and vice election. The people of Indonesia can also participate in the selecting of their representative. Some researchers from LIPI had conducted a research regarding the interaction of political parties with the public post during the 2004 election.

The result is quite startling. The interaction between society and the political parties usually only occurs during late antiquity and during the general election. Political parties suddenly disappear when the election is over and the democratic representatives are already elected to sit in the legislature. The aftermath of the election of legislative members simultaneously made the election activity in political parties increasingly receding, the activities in the center were moved to the legislature.

Nevertheless, it is precisely the interaction of political parties with the public that is perceived to be an important factor in building up the local government that favors the public interests. Unfortunately, the fact of political parties just focused on their interests that it fosters an attitude of disbelief from the public, as well as increasing apathy, and political instability.

Furthermore, when compares between the behavior of political elites in both the legislative and the executive, with conditions and destitution experienced by small people lately, it would seem paradoxical. On the one hand, the political elites of wealth and luxury are lining up to get salary increases and other benefits. While ordinary people must survive even though by being forced to eat rice, recycled meat found in waste places, food remnants removed from restaurants or hotels, and so on. But the country believes that Indonesia has all the requirements for success: a stable democracy, the abundant natural wealth, as well as a huge market. However, Indonesia unfortunately is still slumped as before. These problems inflict to public distrust to see the political parties that is reflected to #TemanAhok.

Based on the results of the interviews to #TemanAhok:

“I do not believe the political parties, but I am not anti-politic. But I do not believe the political parties. Hence, at this time, I do not join any political parties because there are no cadres that are not followed the political parties’ interests. So, it is impossible that their cadres can do anything freely”. (Richard Saerang, February 21th 2017)

A variety of pessimism, apathy and distrust of the people, would affect the conduct of the elections. According to LIPI, the numbers' indicating apathy reach up to 30% and is a strong indication of the decline of political participation of the people in the elections. Its effects were also in the general elections of 2009. Indeed, this also partly due to technical issues, such as the call letters that were not accepted by electors, voters, or data discrepancies, and sound card problem. However, if the issue arises because of non-technical problems, this is dangerous to the country's democracy.

Most of the community apathy towards the conduct of the elections and the election cannot be dammed or more as an expression of protest, that departs from their deepest conscience. The attitude may be still within the bounds of reasonableness, however, when the impact on the effort against a boycott of the election, the legitimacy of the election concerned affects itself.

2. Political Institutionalization that do not represent the people.

In addition to the fact that, political participation is needed in the development of a country's political stability, institutionalization of political institutions (political parties to parliament) it is also needed to institutionalize political participation from the community. In understanding the political institutionalization, there are two fundamental divisions between the relations of political institutionalization and political participation. Political system with a low political institutionalization has

high political participation, where in social forces use their own power in the midst of the political arena. While the other is the pretorian institutionalization of political institutions and is counter balanced by the existence of high political participation referred to as populist.

In addition, other factor in Indonesia that is causing political instability in detail is the political institution itself. Following this issue of the institutions is causing political instability (Djafar, 2008):

1. The Parliament does not represent the society

In the case of Indonesia, a very basic problem faced by the people is the political situation that the people's representatives no longer represent the people's wishes. As presented by Indonesia Forum, for the transparency of the budget of the parliament are as reflected below page:

Table.11 The Problems that Shows the Parliament does not Represent the Society

1	Construction of a luxury SPA and pool facilities Rp.1,8 trillion.
2	The cost of the luxurious inauguration Rp.12 trillion.
3	Budget traveling to abroad Rp.170 trillion.
4	Discussion of the parliament bill Rp.170 billion.
5	The Fund's aspirations of Rp.8,4 trillion.
6	Dividing blank check Rp.1,1 trillion.
7	Fund misappropriation of office members construction in Kalibata worth trillions rupiah.

Source: Indonesia Forum (2008)

Not to mention the political maneuvers of beef trade and the barter cases considering the excessive appeals made by political institutions, which all increase the instability of the political conditions.

2. Conflicts between political parties

Conflicts occur between the parties in the era of Liberal democracy along with the introduction of the parliamentary system at that time. These conflicts occur because in the roles and functions of each of the parties collide in terms of ideology, utilization of national issues. This is clearly visible on the journey of each party in the Liberal democracy of the time. Using ideology, a party is trying to attack the other party. The trick is connecting the respective ideologies and national issues that are considered to reduce the influence of other party. Each party has specific social groups, which provided a vehicle for seeking influence and fight for their respective ideologies.

The dynamics of the unstable political imaged with frequent turnover of Cabinet is the impact of the conflict on top. The dynamics of politics during the period of Liberal democracy, among others, can be reached through the amount of turn of the cabinet. As quoted by Arbi Sanit, during the Indonesian independence, not less than 25 Cabinet has ruled Indonesia, in addition to that, other experts also calculate the average age of the 12 Cabinet in an era of Liberal democracy, which reached to no more than 8 (eight) months.

That is because the multi-party system is being as a source of national conflict at the time, due to the consequences of the occurrence of a horizontal conflict between the parties that made the unstable political situation. The definition of a political party that describes the existence of the possibility of conflicts between political parties is defined by Sigmund Neumann in his *Modern Political Parties*, stated as follows:

“a political party is an organization of political activists trying to control government power and captured the popular support on the basis of competition with a group or the other factions who have different views” (Sigmund Neumann).

In addition, in carrying out its role in national political life, a political party is organized in several functions and these are as follows:

- a. The party as a means of political communication,
- b. The party as a means of political socialization,
- c. The Political parties as political recruitment, suggestions
- d. The Political parties as a means of managing conflicts.

Four of the above functions examined the extent to which the political parties who are in the era of liberal democracy can act and perform within the multi-party system.

3. The functions of political parties that are not carried out.

The function of political parties as a means of managing the conflict does not seem to be performed well enough by political parties that exist in the era of Liberal democracy. This can be provided by evidence that are occurring in the current political reality. Political parties

do not prioritize programs for national integration, but rather seeks to maintain the viability of the party.

The function played by political parties in the multi-party system tend to refer to the onset of the conflict. However, this does not make the multi-party system became irrelevant in a country of democracy, because when referring to the definition of a political party pointed out by Sigmund Neumann, it argues that the system used, it still will not be able to change the nature of the political party itself. Trying to grab power and retain popular support based on rivalry between parties that have a different view.

Therefore, efforts can be made to minimize the potential conflict such as the changes concerning the ways of seizing and retaining power, seeking support by leaving the ways that would lead to anarchism, such as charges, and others. The difference is indeed a reasonable thing in the life of a democracy and this does not become the basis of the incidence of splits, but instead became a cornerstone of the creation of national integration.