

**THE ANALYSIS OF ANTI-PARTY SENTIMENT IN INDONESIA  
(CASE STUDY: THE PHENOMENON OF #TEMANAHOK IN DKI  
JAKARTA GOVERNOR ELECTION 2017)**

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**

Submitted to Satisfy the Requirement of Attaining the Degree in Political Science  
of International Program of Government Affairs and Administration, Faculty of  
Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

**Written by:**

**ALIM BUBU SWARGA**

**20130520319**

**INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS AND  
ADMINISTRATION**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES  
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA**

**2017**

**ENDORSEMENT PAGE**

This undergraduate thesis entitled:

**THE ANALYSIS OF ANTI-PARTY SENTIMENT IN INDONESIA  
(CASE STUDY: THE PHENOMENON OF #TEMANAHOK IN DKI  
JAKARTA GOVERNOR ELECTION 2017)**

By:

Alim Bubu Swarga

20130520319

This Undergraduate Thesis has been Examined and Endorsed by The Board of Examiners from Department of Governmental Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta on:

Day/date : Wednesday, May, 10, 2017

Place : Examination Room of Governmental Studies

Time : 11:30 – 14.30 pm

**BOARD OF EXAMINER**

Advisor/Chief of examiner

Tunjung Sulaksono, S. IP, M.Si.

Examiner I

Examiner II

Bambang Eka Cahya Widodo, S.IP., M.Si.

David Efendi, M.A.

Acknowledge by:

Chairman of Governmental Studies Department

Dr. Titin Purwaningsih, S.IP., M.Si.

## STATEMENT PAGE

I the undersigned hereby:

Name : Alim Bubu Swarga

NIM : 20130520319

Department : International Program of Government Affairs and Administration

Faculty : Social and Political Sciences

Research Title : The Analysis of Anti-Party Sentiment in Indonesia (Case Study: The Phenomenon of #TemanAhok in DKI Jakarta Governor Election 2017)

I stated that this Undergraduate Thesis is originally my work result. There are no other works that ever been proposed to gain Bachelor Degree in any Universities. As far as my knowledge, there is also no working result that ever published in the reference list. Moreover, if someday there are certain parties were feeling pain and report, I will responsible and overcome all the consequences.

Yogyakarta, 27 April 2017

Alim Bubu Swarga

*“Stay Hungry, Stay Foolish” (Steve Jobs)*

## **DEDICATION PAGES**

***To my beloved parents***

***(H. Abdul Muin and Hj. Nurhasnah),***

***The reason of what I become today***

***Thanks for countless love, care, and prays.***

***To my brothers,***

***You have been my inspiration***

***Thanks for support, help, and pray.***

***And to my friends***

***Thanks for the discussion, pray, and support***

***to achieve the degree. I hope this friendship***

***will be timeless, both in this world and Hereafter.***

## **THANKS TO**

Thank you to Allah SWT, My Parents, and My Brothers

Thanks to:

1. Dr. Ir. Gunawan Budiyo, M.P. As the rector of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.
2. Ali Muhammad, S.IP., MA., Ph.D. As the dean of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences.
3. Dr. Titin Purwaningsih, S.IP., M.Si. As the chairman of Governmental Studies.
4. Eko Priyo Purnomo, S.IP., M.Si., M.Res., Ph.D. As the director of International Program of Government Affairs and Administration.
5. Tunjung Sulaksono, S.IP., M.Si. As my advisor during to finish this undergraduate thesis.
6. My examiner Bambang Eka Cahya Widodo, S.IP., M.Si. and David Efendi, M.A. who gave me useful advice and input to make this undergraduate thesis becomes better.
7. Thank you to Pak Wisnu and Bu Ning who help me to get entire administrative requirement and Queenie as my English Consultant.
8. Thank you to Dr. Dyah Mutiarin, M.Si. and Dr. Zuly Qodir who give me opportunity to involve in MGGA UMY.
9. Thank you to all lecturers who has taught me in International Program of Government Affairs and Administration, UMY.
10. Thank you to all my best friend in International Program of Government Affairs and Administration 2013: Resty Triska Layina Ningrum, Nindi Utami, Anggi Widya Ningrum, Nawang Kurniawati, Adibah Dhivani Gusmi, Sandra Novike Hidayat, Dian Rosiyanti, Nefrista Claudia Primayasari, Gita Aghzumi, Liya Anggraeni, Rizky Ananda Putra, Rizki Alvinatul Husna, Galih Dwi Rizqi J, Elvandari Intan Komala, Elpa Novita, Wirosasmito, Diky Rizky Ramadhan, M. Rifqi Romadhona, Muhammad

Taufik, Alem, Iswahyudi, Wahyu Santoso, La Ode Idul Fiki Al Akio,  
Hanafi Ahada.

11. Thank you to all IGOV Students, Governmental Studies Students, BEM Fisipol, IGSC, Speaking Department SEA, PKM-KC Team (Mas Akmal, Mas Irfan, Chida), and The Tutors.
12. Thank you to MIP Squad: Mas Edo, Mba Riska, Mba Nisa, Mas Rifqi, Mba Talitha, Mba Juju.
13. Thank you to SAE Squad: Sakir, S.IP., M.IP, Anwar Kholid, S.IP., M.IP, and M. Eko Atmojo, S.IP., M.IP.
14. Thank you to all my friends.

## **PREFACE**

Bismillahirrohmanirrohim

All praise belongs to Allah SWT for all his guidance and mercy so that the writer has been able to finish Undergraduate thesis titled “The Analysis of Anti-Party Sentiment in Indonesia (Case Study: The Phenomenon of #TemanAhok in DKI Jakarta Governor Election 2017)”. Sholawat and Greetings go to Prophet Muhammad SAW, the lighter, the greatest person as the messenger of all knowledge to Muslim and His believers. This research aimed to analyze and to identify the causative factors of the emergence of the anti-party sentiment in Indonesia, especially DKI Jakarta governor election 2017. The writer realized that this research still has many weakness and imperfections, the critique, and recommendations for greatness in the future are hoped. Moreover, I hope it can contribute as the reference for literature studies, about anti-party sentiment in political issues. In particular, the writer would like to thank my supervisor Mr. Tunjung Sulaksono, S.IP., M.Si. which gave the best treats as the guiding supervisor, valuable input and support throughout the entire period. Finally, I would thank my family for being helpful and best spirit during my time studying at International Program of Government Affairs and Administration, UMY.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ENDORSEMENT PAGE</b> .....	<b>i</b>
<b>STATEMENT PAGE</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>MOTTO</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>DEDICATION PAGE</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>THANKS TO</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>PREFACE</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b> .....	<b>x</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	<b>xi</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>xii</b>
<b>CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
A. BACKGROUND .....	1
B. RESEARCH QUESTION .....	9
C. OBJECTIVES .....	10
D. BENEFITS.....	10
1. Theoretical Benefits .....	10
2. Practical Benefits .....	10
E. LITERATURE REVIEW .....	10
F. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....	15
1. Democracy Theory.....	15
2. Anti-Party Sentiment Theory .....	20
3. Independent Candidate Theory .....	24
a. Independent Definition .....	24
b. Independent Criteria .....	27
G. CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION.....	30
H. OPERATIONAL DEFINITION .....	30
I. RESEARCH METHOD .....	31
a. Type of the research .....	31
b. Research Location .....	32
c. Data Collection Technique .....	33
d. Type of Data .....	33
e. Data Classification .....	34
J. DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE .....	34
K. THE SYSTEMATIC OF WRITING.....	35
<b>CHAPTER II DESCRIPTION OF DKI JAKARTA</b> .....	<b>37</b>
A. DKI Jakarta's Profile.....	37
B. The Location and Boundary of DKI Jakarta .....	40
C. Population of DKI Jakarta .....	41
D. Political Situation of DKI Jakarta .....	43
E. #TemanAhok in DKI Jakarta's Governor Election .....	47

<b>BAB III FINDING AND ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>53</b>
A. The Inconsistencies Engagement of Political Parties .....	53
B. The Ideological Labels of Political Parties .....	59
C. The Rhetoric of Politicians .....	64
D. The Political Situation in DKI Jakarta.....	68
E. The Existence of the Experience of Dictatorial Regime.....	73
F. The Existence Political Upheaval and Discontinuity .....	75
<b>CHAPTER IV CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>84</b>
A. CONCLUSION.....	84
B. RECOMMENDATION.....	86
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>APPENDIX</b>	

## LIST OF TABLES

Table. 1 The Meanings of Independence .....	25
Table. 2 Data Classification .....	34
Table. 3 The Total Area and Number of Administrative Units by Regency/Municipality, 2009-2013 .....	41
Table. 4 The Total Area and Number of Population by Regency/Municipality in 2014.....	42
Table. 5 The Total Sex Ration of Population in DKI Jakarta 2014.....	43
Table. 6 The Mayor and Governor of DKI Jakarta .....	44
Table. 7 The Permanent Voters in DKI Jakarta Governor Election in 2017 .....	45
Table. 8 Number of Members of the Regional House of Representatives by Political Parties and Sex in DKI Jakarta Province, 2015 .....	46
Table. 9 Website and Social Media of #TemanAhok.....	48
Table. 10 The Political Parties and Their Ideologies.....	59
Table. 11 The Problems that Shows the Parliament does not Represent the Society .....	80

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure. 1 The Number of Public Trust through Political Parties to Fight for Their Interests (%) .....	4
Figure. 2 The Number of Independent Candidates in Elections 2015 and The Proportion of the Win-Lose.....	6
Figure. 3 The Location and Boundary of DKI Jakarta .....	40
Figure. 4 The Founders of #TemanAhok.....	47
Figure. 5 The Level of Public Trust towards the Institutions of Democracy in Indonesia .....	55
Figure. 6 The Views of DKI Jakarta Society Support Independent Candidate.....	58
Figure. 7 The Mode of Corruption Cases Dealt with Corruption Eradication Commission.....	67