

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

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Abstract

DKI Jakarta governor election 2017 is still on process, but there is some interesting political dynamic that is happened. One of the most interesting phenomenon is when Basuki Thahaja Purnama or Ahok declared to join DKI Jakarta governor election 2017 without join any political parties or being independent candidate. This decision gets support from young volunteers which called as #TemanAhok, #TemanAhok is an organization consisting of volunteers gathering law that was founded by a group of young people with the aim of "accompany" and assist the Governor of DKI Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama in his vision to manifest Jakarta clean, advanced and humane. This research aims to describe the phenomenon of anti-party sentiment that arise in DKI Jakarta Governor Election 2017 and to analyze what types of anti-party sentiment arise in DKI Jakarta Governor Election 2017. The types of anti-party sentiment that arise in DKI Jakarta is divided in two types, first type is reactive anti-party sentiment which is dealing with 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.

Keywords: Anti-party sentiment, #TemanAhok, DKI Governor Elections, Volunteers

INTRODUCTION

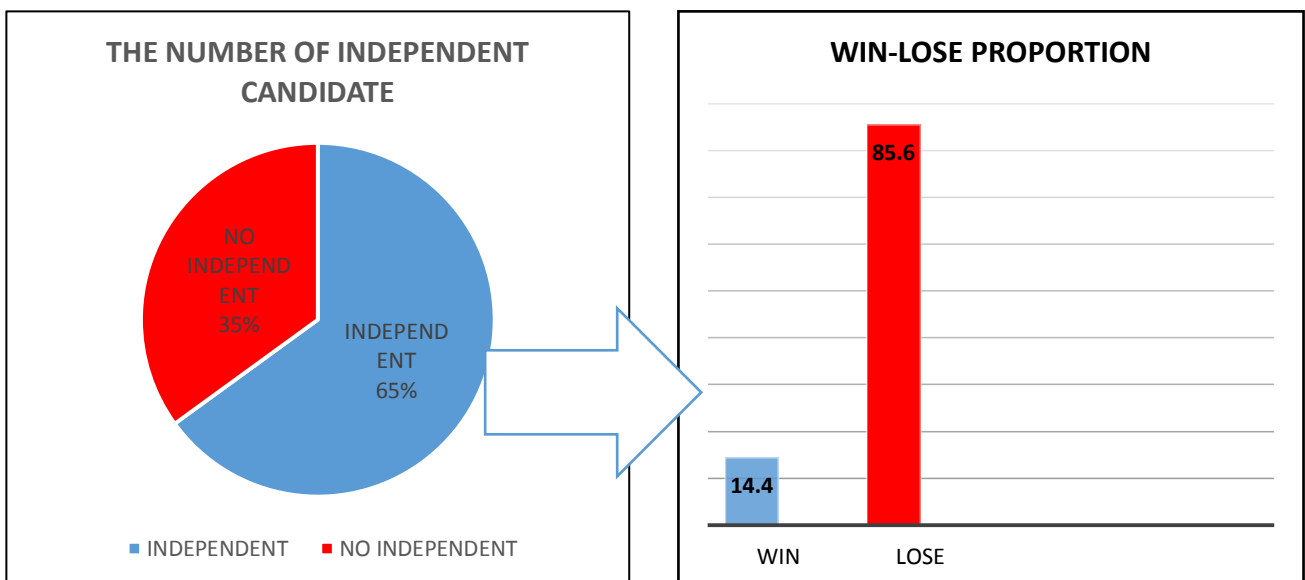
The phenomenon of independent candidates which appear on the general election in Indonesia especially DKI

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 Figure.1 below (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. 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.

Figure.1 The Number of Independent Candidates in Elections 2015 and The Proportion of the Win-Lose



Source: Skala Survei Indonesia (2015)

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 also impacted to 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.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

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).

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is 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). This research with data collection was conducted through literature review by collecting various journal articles, websites, reports and books. The collected data were then described and analyzed to satisfy the research purposes and also direct interview to #TemanAhok.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Inconsistencies Engagement of Political Parties

The 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 in figure 2 (Indikator Politik Indonesia, 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.

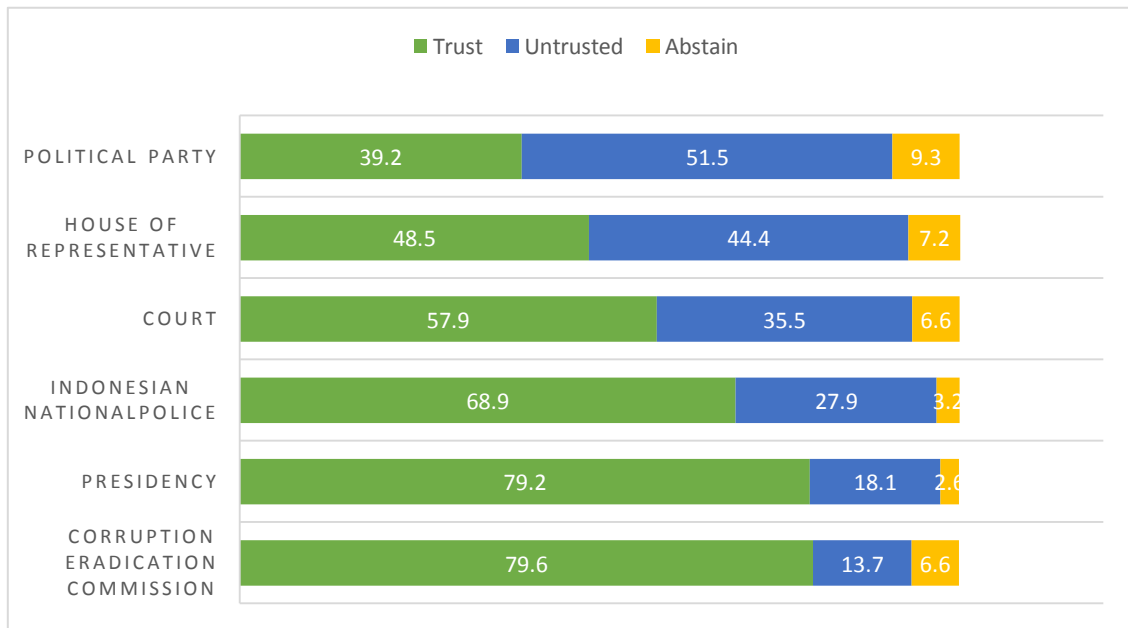
Politicians campaign for themselves and for their parties to get sympathy or support from the people, in an upcoming election. During these campaigns, political parties promote programs that are superior to the course favored by the public and can at least reduce the burden of community life. However, 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.

Figure.2 The Level of Public Trust towards the Institutions of Democracy in Indonesia



Source: Rilis Survei Nasional (2016)

In addition, 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. 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

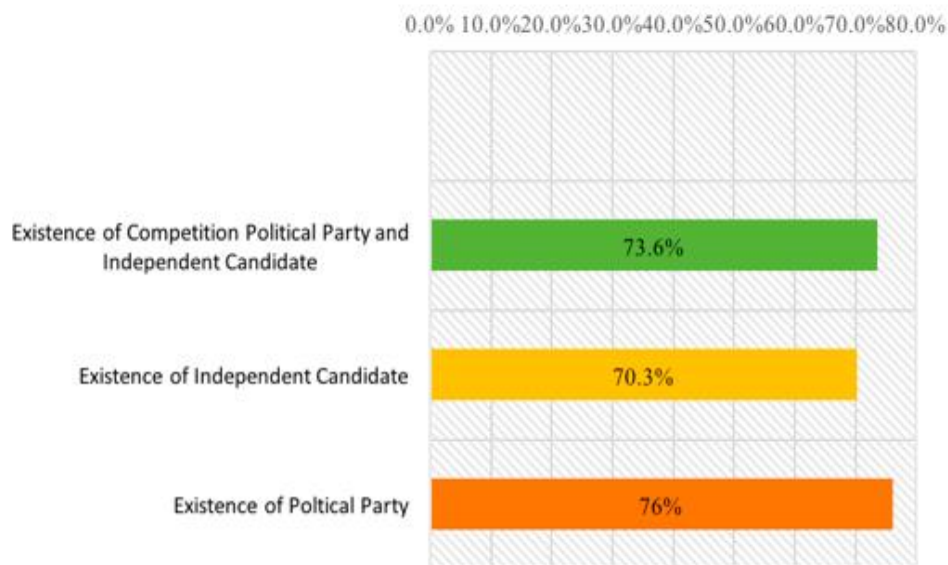
presence of independent candidates will push the party to become more selective in nominating the head of the region. While, 73.6% viewed the existence of competition between independent candidates and political parties will give many options and opportunities for the public to get the best regional head as #TemanAhok support the existence of the independent candidate (Sanur, 2016). This can be seen with the data below in figure 3. 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.

Figure.3 The Views of DKI Jakarta Society Support Independent Candidate



Source: Kompas Survey (2016)

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).

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.

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. 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).

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.

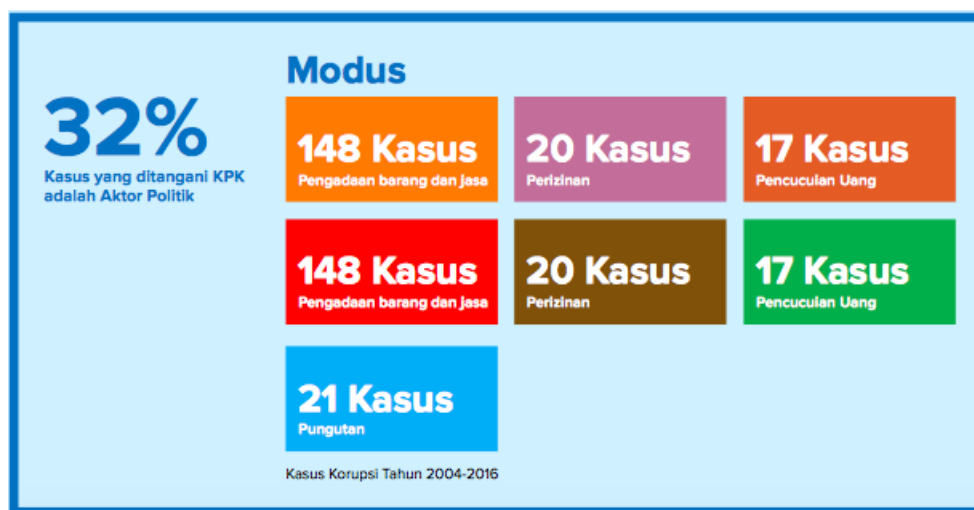
The community started to stop believing politicians who where at first perceived to play political games practices which made the political game rules tend to be ignored (not adhered to and followed), and if the political competition did not go well, it will give chance to political leaders who are not 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.4 The Mode of Corruption Cases Dealt with Corruption Eradication Commission



Source: Corruption Eradication Commission KPK (2016)

According to 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 imposts and the drain. The reality shows that political money is increasingly a great influence in the political life in Indonesia (KPK, 2013).

CONCLUSION

DKI Jakarta governor election 2017 has an interesting political dynamics. One of the most interesting phenomenon is when Basuki Thahaja Purnama or Ahok declared to join DKI Jakarta governor election 2017 without the support and association from any political parties and running independently. The factor to the decision has the support from the young volunteers called, #TemanAhok. #TemanAhok is an organization consist of volunteers, that was founded by a group of young people with the aims to accompany and to assist the Governor of DKI Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama

in his vision to realize a clean, advanced and humane Jakarta. In addition, #TemanAhok has collected more than 1 million ID cards of the DKI Jakarta citizens in order to show the support to Ahok to become the governor in upcoming Jakarta elections through running independently.

The reason of #TemanAhok supports Ahok to be independent in the DKI Jakarta governor election 2017 because #TemanAhok sees the failure of the political parties to carry out its functions. This phenomenon led to the rise of reactive anti-party sentiment in DKI Jakarta which reflects to distrust of the society through the political parties.

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