Voters' Mobilization on Election in Indonesia

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Abstract: The implementation of political marketing by political parties is a recent phenomenon and is still partially implemented and without us realizing, the political parties even have carried out political marketing practices in communicating with constituent community and public. Although until now, the investigation and publication that discuss political marketing is still relatively limited it does not mean that the activities of the past political parties did not involve political marketing activities. Realizing it or not a number of political parties in Indonesia have done a series of these activities. Mass gathering (meeting with cadres, Tabligh Akbar and declarations), march on the streets, print media coverage (TV, newspapers, magazines, radio) on the activities of a political party to the visits of the political party representatives to a constituent community or a certain community are commonly held. In the legislative elections of 2009 and 2014, mobilization was also recorded in terms of the change in the electoral system from proportional to open-proportional, with the decision based on candidates' votes, causing political mobilization to get stronger compared to the previous elections. Candidates of a particular party would certainly perform independent political movements. The great power of political mobilization causes candidates make their own mobilizations apart from mobilization held by their own party. Factors of one's figure, politics of identity to money politics will also be seen as the possible factors of mobilization.

Key words: Mobilization of voters, party, political marketing, independent, declarations

INTRODUCTION

Election in Indonesia has undergone some changes from the period of election (General Election) to another election period. Since, the year 1971-2004, it has been known as the proportional electoral system with closed lists. The election of candidates is an authority of an elite political party authority in accordance with the composition of the list of legislative candidates and their code number. In such a system, political parties have a very strong influence on their cadres in parliament. However, on the one hand, the social base and political relations between representatives and their constituents become weaker. This is what causes the position of their elected candidates to be "far" in its relationship with constituents.

That kind of electoral system is also considered to make the representative body of the public become elitist, exclusive, inaccessible and not sensitive to the citizens' problems. Direct elections began in 2004 Election through Law No. 12 of 2003, using a proportional system with an open candidate list. Voters could select a picture and choose the candidate of a political party. Voters who only chose candidates were considered invalid while voting the logo of a political party was considered legitimate.

The 2009 Election no longer used the code number system and it was replaced with a system of majority voting. This raised a variety of responses from all interests and all sides. From a legal perspective of laws, decisions of the Constitutional Court were seen to trespass the authority of the Constitutional Court, whose job was only interpreting and not creating new legal products.

Since, the enactment of the Election system in Indonesia, the government passed Law No. 10 of 2008 on the Election of members of the house of representatives, regional representatives council and the regional representative council. In general, the enactment of law No. 10 of 2008 resulted in the change of the electoral system in Indonesia from the open proportional system "half-hearted" into a proportional system, rising the hope for the spirit of direct voting.

After observing the above phenomenon, the author will see the performance of political parties and behaviours of the candidates as a medium in conducting voters' mobilization to gain a voice for themselves as well as will see the forms of mobilization that arise as a result of changes in the electoral system.

PARTIES

A political party is a political organization undergoing a certain ideology or is formed with a specific purpose. Another definition is an organized group whose members

have the same orientations, values and goals. The objective of this group is to gain political power and seize political position constitutionally to implement their policies. Political parties are categorized into various types by some political experts.

Max Weber categorizes political parties into two types, namely the elite and mass parties. Indirectly, Max Weber categorizes them based on the financing model of the party which automatically shows its constituents. Elite party is defined as a party that is supported by the elite in the public system such as lawyers, doctors, businessmen and others. Mass party is defined as a party that is supported by people in a lower social status. Franz Neumann categorizes political parties into two types, namely the democratic integrative party and the totalitarian integrative party. Franz Neumann categorizes them based on the party's efforts in integrating their political values. Democratic integrative party is defined as a party that makes the efforts in accomplishing the political objectives in a democratic way.

Meanwhile totalitarian integrative party is defined as a party that makes the efforts in accomplishing the political objectives in a non-democratic way. Legislations governing Political Party in Indonesia since independence are:

- Notices X of Vice President Mohammad Hatta
- Act Number 7 Pnps year 1959 on terms and simplification of political parties
- Act Number 13 Year 1960 on recognition, monitoring and dissolution of the parties
- Law No. 3 Year 1975 on political parties and the functional group
- Law No. 3 Year 1985 on the amendment of law no. 7 Year 1975 on political parties and the functional group
- Law No. 2 Year 1999 on political Parties
- Law Number 31 Year 2002 on Political Parties
- Act No. 2 Year 2008 on political parties (implemented until now)

FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties along with the citizens try to reach the control of government, create a good policy which is relevant to their interests or groups that support them as well as organize and persuade voters to choose their candidates in order to occupy a certain position.

Although, many are involved in running the government at all levels a political party is not a central government. The basic purpose of political parties is to nominate a person (representative) for public office and to

get as many votes as possible. Once elected, officials will try to achieve the goal of their party through the legislative process and program initiatives. There are some functions of political parties, namely:

Means of political communication: Political parties have the function of formulating policy proposals based on the aspirations of the citizens. The formulation is then articulated and aggregated to the government so it can be used as a policy.

Means of socialization and political education: Political parties have an obligation to socialize their entire political discourse to the citizens.

Means of political recruitment: Political parties have an obligation to carry out a series of selection and recruitment activities in preparation for filling a variety of positions and political office in accordance with regulations.

Means of reducing and regulating conflicts: Political parties are required to have high sensitivity to a variety of potential conflicts whose intensity is increasing over time.

Political mobilization: Regardless of whatever the results and the winner is there are things that are being neglected. Systems that have been implemented have led to political mobilization rather than democratization itself. Simply, mobilization is always opposed to participation.

Political participation is the involvement of citizens in all phases of the policy, ranging from the decision-making to the assessment of the decision itself including the opportunity to participate in the implementation of the decision. The participation of citizens in the political process does not merely mean that the residents support the decisions or policies that have been outlined by the leaders because if this is the case it is an evidence of the occurrence of political mobilization.

Mobilization is defined as the development of a social relationship between the two actors, individuals and parties. The concept of mobilization activity consists of three processes: the process of interest (cognitive dimension), the process of community formation (affective dimensions) and the use of instruments (instrumental dimension).

Political mobilization is defined as one's attempt to influence the distribution of power. A directional variable is introduced in order to describe precisely the type of relationship that develops between the Party and Individuals.

There are two models in the mobilization: First is a vertical mobilization which is a mobilization working in a vertical relationship. Vertical mobilization includes downward mobilization model, grass-root or populist mobilization model and ideal democratic model.

Second is a horizontal mobilization which includes all possibilities of internal processes in the mobilization taking place between the party and individual. These models help to analyze the current political situations as characterized by the continuation of vertical and horizontal mobilization process.

However, this general definition does not mean that the concept could be used to look at the political context, such as in China. As stated by Baines *et al.* (1999), mobilization has many meanings. Mobilization can be interpreted in at least three different social phenomena.

First is in the social and economic aspects. As defined in the theory of traditional and social mobilization, mobilization refers to a process of "social consideration and economic development." In this process a number of "urbanized individuals have already become educated and it has been shown in the division of roles in the economy" and the "medium of communication" (Budiarjo, 1989; Nursal, 2004).

Secondly, mobilization could mean 'cleanup' efforts by totalitarian regimes as described in Barnett's "Mobilization model" (1962) as a description of what was happening in the Maoist regime in China. Third, the "mobilization" can also refer to a selective process to involve citizens in politics.

Mobilization is sometimes regarded as an initial condition of the evolution towards Political Participation. Political participation is regarded as an ideal condition of a good democracy. However, in practice it sometimes does not work as it should be. Results of the study of mobilization and participation conducted by Karp *et al.* (2007) in countries that have already run the system of Democracy for a long term (Germany, Denmark australia, Iceland israel, Spain, Sweden, Belgium, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, Finland, France, USA, Portugal, Switzerland) and in countries that are new to the system of Democracy (Brazil, Hungary, Bulgaria, Korea, Czech Republic, Mexico, Poland) state that mobilization occurs not only in new democracy but also in the Old Democracy.

Another manifestation of political mobilization is the orientation of political parties which focuses more on the election of officers and the seizure of power over certain positions rather than on the empowerment of the ideological basis of political party members. As a result, inter-party coalitions are made not because the coalition parties have a common ideology to build a country but rather to increase the number of party members who occupy certain positions. Therefore, jargon like "in politics nothing is eternal except its own sake".

Those coalitions are very shallow and superficial and are easily changed in accordance with the existing "vacant" positions. Politicians involved also become more professional and they have a belief that being a politician is now a matter of position level in career and is for a living and is not a means of implementing principles or ideology. As a result, politicians can easily switch from one party to another party, even though the two parties have different ideologies or even the opposite. In this regard, the ability of organizing the party becomes an important aspect in the behavior of the Party (Karp *et al.*, 2007)

The political process in the political style of mobilization segregates society even further from the actual purpose of politics, which is, regulating the community life. Political circles do become professional circles that support the politicians. They depend their living on the political process of mobilization without having any other financial resources other than the political positions they have. An apparent result which could then be observed as a result of this political style of the mobilization is public apathy towards the electoral process and actions related to the mass mobilization. The high number of non-voters (abstention) is another parameter that can be commonly noticed.

The strongest statement from Bookchin toward this style of politics is that politics of mobilization was the one which brought Hitler to power by mobilizing the mass against the Nazi Party. The support through a "seemingly" democratic and popular process has plunged the process of democratization itself (Karp and Susan, 2007).

PRACTICE OF MOBILIZATION

In carrying out mobilization a political party is able to take advantage of the resources it has. The utilization of these resources can be done through political marketing. Political marketing is a new branch of science that tries to combine theories of marketing in the political life. As a branch of science, political marketing is still considered something new but its presence has become a trend in the political sphere in developed countries that embrace democracy. Political parties and individual candidates compete to exploit this knowledge for a campaign strategy either to mobilize voters, get political support in the general election as well as to maintain the image during

the hiatus period of the election. As a scientific assessment, political marketing continues to develop diverse and changing definitions. Shama and Kotler give emphasis on the transactions that occur between voters and candidates O'Leay and Iradela emphasize the use of marketing mix to promote political parties. Lock and Harris propose that political marketing gives attention to the process of positioning. Wring uses opinion research and environmental analysis. Meanwhile according to Nursal who 1st published a book about political marketing in Indonesia he defines it as a series of planned, strategic but also tactical activities, having short-term and long-term dimension, in order to spread the meaning of politics to voters. Political marketing itself aims to create and instill hope attitudes, beliefs orientation and behaviour of the behaviors. The expected behavior of the voters is, in general, supporting the election with all of its dimension, primarily giving a vote to a particular party or candidate.

Political marketing is basically a political campaign strategy to establish a series of political meaning formed in the minds of the voters that become an orientation of their behavior that will direct them to choose a political party or a particular contestant. This definition is an important output of political marketing which determines which party would be chosen by the voters.

The formation of political meanings can be carried out through 9-P method (Positioning, policy, person, party, presentation, push marketing, pull marketing, pass marketing and polling) (Butler and Collins, 2001).

- Positioning is a communication strategy to enter the voters' mind so the contestants have a certain meaning that reflects their superiority against their competitors in the form of an associative relationship
- Policy is a bid work program offered if the contestants are elected later. Effective policy must meet three conditions, namely attractive, easy to understand attributable
- Person is a legislative or executive candidate who will be chosen through elections. The quality of the person can be seen through three dimensions, namely instrumental quality, symbolic dimensions and optical phenotype
- Party, the political parties have a main identity, reputation assets and aesthetic identity. Those three aspects will be considered by voters to make informed choices
- Presentation is how the three substances of the political products are presented. Presentation is very important because it can affect the meaning of the voters. The presentation is presented through the presentation medium. Political product is delivered to the political market through push marketing pull marketing, pass marketing and polling
- Push Marketing is the delivery of products directly to the public
- Pull marketing is the delivery of products through the use of mass media
- Pass marketing is the delivery of products to the influencer group
- In order to ensure that a political product is delivered to the target, polling and other research activities are conducted. This research is an important requirement for the issue, segmentation and program mapping

The above methods are commonly called the Totally Political Marketing. In totally political marketing market, the political parties present any potentials they can "sell", either potentials, positive points and performance of political parties. In this study, those efforts can be used as one method of mobilization.

All units in the performance system of political parties are decent and should be "sold". People, however, often neglect several significant conditions: whether the performance of the institution of political parties does not have negative conflicts, members of the parties and their behavior, the performance of selected candidates in the previous election and other candidates who have a positive image. Thus, good political marketing practitioners are not only focusing on the cultivation of the issues and the work program although the work program itself is important and should be attractive. Totally Understanding Political Marketing also means that a political party is able to carry out two campaign models, the election campaigns and political campaign at one time consistently and continuously. In election campaigns and political campaigns, political marketing is a process. The process must be done through two main aspects, namely marketing programs and voter segmentation. Marketing program is about conveying a political product called 4-P (Product, Price, Promotion and Place).

Voters segmentation is about determining the categories of voters at some level, so that the political product packaging can be done according to that category. For political parties and candidates at least the concept of political marketing can be done through several methods:

- Communicate messages and ideas
- Develop self-identity, credibility and transparency, interaction and response to internal and external communities while presenting an image of political parties at the same time

- Provide training, process and analyze data for the benefit of the campaign
- Continuously influence and encourage the community to support political parties

Campaign as a form of political marketing, can be applied in two models. First is the election campaign which is in a short term and usually carried out prior to the election. Second is the political campaign that is in long term and carried out continuously.

This opinion is supported by Fritzs Plasser and Gunda Plasser, who claim that there has been a shift in the form of toda''s campaigns from the modern campaign model to the post- modern campaign mode. Modern campaigns use "media logic" and put voters as the audience while the post-modern campaigns apply the logic of "marketing" that puts people as consumers. Thus, political marketing is appropriate to be applied in the model of a political campaign that has mobilization as its main goal.

Through the logic of marketing, the close relationship of the political parties to the constituency and the floating mass is maintained at all times. The public political education is created by placing the community as a political subject not only as a political object arising during the celebration of election campaign after which the relationship between the public and political parties become severe that could lead to public antipathy and apolitical trend toward politics. This condition is caused among other things, by two things.

First, the intensity of the interaction between political parties and the public mostly only occur at the time of elections through the implementation of the campaign. At this time the parties compete to offer political products in the form of ideology or ideas, policies and track records. Public is treated as a "temporary object" to hear, see and choose their products. Outside this period, the communication between the parties and the public is disconnected due to other business. On one side, the political parties are busy with their respective agendas that often do not come into contact with the public and on the other hand, people often forget and apathetic to whether campaigned programs have been implemented or not. Society loses their critical power to control the political parties and government. Thus, the political parties put political marketing only during the election campaign.

Secondly, the political world often incorrectly interprets the word marketing. Marketing is narrowly interpreted as marketing or selling. Thus, political marketing means merely selling or marketing the products of politics. For political parties the right time to sell and market products is only during political election campaign although, in fact, the meaning of marketing is much more complex than selling or marketing. Marketing also implies product innovation, new product research, decision-making and resources made at any time.

If it is interpreted correctly, then a political party should do campaign all time (political campaigns) to cultivate ideas, ideas and innovative new programs aspiration research a rational policy that benefits the community and produces superior human resources and leadership to run the government and state policy in favor of progress and public interests.

In conducting mobilization, party or candidate can also take advantage of the figure. This is certainly done by looking at the quality of the figure, so that voters are able to accept it as a political value that will be selected. The quality of a figure can be seen through three dimensions: instrumental quality, which is a candidate competence that includes managerial and functional competencies. Managerial competence is related to the ability to manage an organization in planning organizing actuating and controlling. Functional competence is an ability that is considered essential for carrying out duties, for example expertise in economics, law, security, technology and some others.

Instrumental quality can be seen from the personality of the candidate, which is the candidate's ability to perform his duties as a representative of the people. This can be seen from the track record when he/she is leading a group or organization. This instrumental quality is greatly needed because the political position requires the ability of a leader that has a good response to the challenges in front of him/her. Regarding the quality of the candidate adman Nursal argues that there are four factors included as a part of symbolic factors, namely: Principles of life that includes a number of beliefs or basic values adopted by a candidate such as integrity, openness, solidarity, sincerity, selflessness, modesty, caring, faith, piety, independence and responsibility.

- Emotional Aura is an emotional feeling that radiates from the candidate as an ambitious, brave, patriotic, energetic, happy, optimistic, loving, strong, compassionate, fine, etc
- Inspirational aura are certain aspects that emanate from the candidate that make people inspired, motivated and moved to act or do certain things
- This aura can include the encouragement, the ability to influence, exemplary, power of persuasion, the attitude of sharing knowledge, experiences, expectations etc. Inspirational aura will be reflected in reputation attitudes actions, including the substance and speaking manner of the candidate

- Social Aura is a representation or an association to a particular social group. For example a particular candidate is a representation of young people, small people, religious leaders academics, intellectuals,artists, technologists activists and even celebrities

Regarding the quality of the candidates it is explained that there is a factor of visual appearance of a candidate. In other words it can be said the quality of the candidate is also influenced by the optical phenotype. Optical phenotype consists of three factors:

- Physical charm is the beauty of the posture and the shape of the body and its parts. The responses of the voters to this phenotype are: handsome, beautiful, flawless attractive, young, tall, slim athletic and others
- Factors of health and fitness of a candidate emanated from being strong, energetic active, sporty, cheerful, bright and others
- Style or appearance includes the manner and choice of clothing and body language that can be observed from the candidate

These three dimensions are mutually affecting each other. Instrumental quality instrumental related to the managerial ability and functional competition should also supported by another dimension such as a symbolic dimension. There are four main things underlying the importance of the use of political marketing for political parties.

First, the paradigm shift of the voters from ideology to work program. The existence of deidology after the end of the Cold War has globally changed the perspectives and preferences of the voters of political parties. People tend to replace ideological bonds (traditional) with things that are more pragmatic that is, the work programs offered by the contestants. Second, the increasing number of non-partisan voters. There is a trend that shows the increasing proportion of non-partisans in the elections. Non-partisan is a group of people who are not members or who are not bound themselves in terms of ideology with a particular political party.

Third, the increase number of mass (floating mass). The greater the number of non-partisan voters, the greater the number of floating masses. Floating mass is often crucial to decide whether or not a political party wins the election.

Fourth, the political competition. Multiparty system that is now being embraced by countries that are pursuing towards democracy or just in the transition process from authoritarianism to democracy along with the tendency of public to be more critical when choosing a political party has put political parties on the climate of intense competition to compete for voters.

Through the above considerations, political marketing aims to: Make voters as subjects and not as objects of politics. In this case the voter is not just a vote being competed by the parties with various product they offer but voters will participate in determining what political programs and products the political parties should make and carry out.

Make the problems of the voters as the first step in preparing the proposed work programs within the framework of each political party's ideology. Political marketing does not guarantee a win but it provides the tools of how to maintain a relationship with voters to build trust, mobilization and vote.

Types of mobilization are categorized into two forms, namely direct mobilization which is mobilization activity in the form of mobilizing the voters in order to perform political actions as desired by a political party. Indirect mobilization is a mobilization activity in the form of influencing the way of thinking or the perspective of voters, so that voters will express their understanding in the form of political decisions of voters. Category distinction between direct and indirect mobilization is based on the mechanisms of mobilization carried out by political parties.

While direct mobilization can be done by giving instructions through the mechanism of political parties to the electorate, indirect mobilization can be done through direct campaigns or through mass media. Direct mobilization can be done through mobilizing sympathizers of the party to carry out the road convoy to carry out political actions and so forth. Indirect mobilization, on the other hand, can be performed through political advertisements in the media, seminars of the political parties, dialog campaigns and so forth.

POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN INDONESIA

During the New Order, the elections did not run democratically. Hegemony of the government put a particular party as the winner in every election. It happened for several reasons: First, the government's desire to strengthen the pillars of its power. As already known, the New Order government power was supported by three pillars, namely the military, bureaucracy and Golkar. Related to this, Golkar was an electoral participants.

Second, the creation of the hegemonic party system in order to realize political stability. As a participant election it was possible that Golkar political power was not transparent. In a democratic system with a democratic election, the political power of a Party might change from periodto the period according to how much support of the public. Seeing this, the creation of the hegemonic party system is important in order to eliminate the nature of uncertainty in the election.

Third, closing the opportunities of other political parties, so it was always been a minority in Parliament so they did not have enough political power to the opposition.

The implication arising from this situation is the failure in noticing the quality of the elections, especially in relation to the constituents. Political participation as a pillar of democracy became something that is difficult to accept in the New Order politics. Efforts done by the government was to mobilize the masses to impose their choice on a particular party while other parties did not have enough space for mobilization. Mobilization undertaken by the government was very strongly felt by the Government employees. The 1999 Election is in contrast to the elections in the New Order, in which there was still freedom of choice. After the 1999 election, Liddle concludes that the behavior of voters is not much different from the behavior of the voters in 1955 when the first election was held. Seventy years ago as was said by Clifford Geertz, the base of the fight between the parties followed the primordial lines. People chose not based on the approval of the party program in a rational way but rather based on loyalty and religious identity, region and tribe. Now, the role of tribes and regions may somewhat change but the role of the religion remains

In the past and present time, religion and religious identity remain a base of political mobilization and the legitimacy of power. As the fourth president was elected, he was elected directly by hundred members of the Assembly. Now, suppose all members of this Assembly is the entire population of Indonesia, we can see that Indonesia has many parties and members at this highest institution. But, in the presidential election process, there are several major groups created; some which are ultimately competing have a different line. In fact, there are only two dominant groups and candidates and the dividing line is exactly as the one predicted by Liddle Law.

In the 2004 election, political mobilization that occurred in Indonesia experienced some changes. This is due to Direct Presidential Election. In the legislative elections, PDIP still dominated the map of political

mobilization. In the 1999 election, mobilization focused more on a figure, so in the 2004 election, mobilization based on the identification of the party appeared. Voters joined the PDIP. It is said to be a form of mobilization because voters who made party identification had not reflect political participation. Voters were simply emotionally attached to the party. The implementation of direct presidential election put the media as an important element of mobilization. The emergence of a figure as the winner of the presidential election in 2004 illustrates the strong involvement of the media in the conduct of political marketing which aims to mobilize voters to elect a presidential candidate. Some bias of several mass media to one of the candidates would cause this to happen. What media shows always directed public to a particular choice subjectively. So, it did not lead to the political participation of voters.

In Indonesia, the implementation of political marketing by political parties is a recent phenomenon and is still partially implemented and without people realizing, political parties have often carried out political marketing practices in communicating with constituent community and the public. Although until now the investigation and publication that discuss political marketing is still relatively limited it does not mean that the activities of the past political parties did not involve political marketing activities. Realizing it or not a number of political parties in Indonesia have done a series of these activities. Mass gathering (meeting with cadres, Tabligh Akbar and declarations), march on the streets, print media coverage (TV, newspapers, magazines, radio) on the activities of a political party to the visits of the political party representatives to a constituent community or a certain community are commonly held. However, observed from its intensity, the implementation of political marketing in Indonesia is more sporadic during the course of the election campaign. Yet according to Butler & Collins, political marketing is not only seen during the election campaign period.

In the 2009 and 2014 legislative elections, mobilization also occurred. Changes in the electoral system from proportional to open system, with the election decision based on the votes of the candidates made political mobilization to be very likely stronger than the previous election. Jeffrey states that in the electoral system which is based on a candidate, there is a greater impetus to do some mobilization. Candidates of the party would perform political movements that are independent.

The great power of political mobilization causes candidates make their own mobilizations apart from

mobilization held by their own party. Factors of one's figure, politics of identity to money politics will also be seen as the possible factors of mobilization.

CONCLUSION

Favorable conditions are experienced by parties which have already implemented strategies of the majority of the votes in their internal party. Open proportional electoral system and the condition of a party itself force legislative Candidate legislative to personally direct voters to him/her.

From a variety of emotional connection, kinship or brotherhood become the most powerful factor in the mobilization of voters. While any kind of support or assistance becomes an important factor of mobilization after an emotional connection. At this level, candidates become a single actor and a dominant actor in the mobilization of voters. Although, it is known that the participants of the election is the political parties not the candidates.

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