

**POLITICAL PARTIES AND SWING VOTERS IN THE 2014
AND 2019 ELECTIONS IN INDONESIA**

Oleh :

Mauli Kurnia Cahyani*, Arizka Warganegara, Tabah Maryanah

E-mail Korespondensi : maulikurniacahyani@gmail.com

Social & Political Science Faculty, University of Lampung, Bandar Lampung

Abstract

The failure of political parties and the mistakes of their elites have made swing voters maintained in every election. Swing voters are not the same as abstain who do not exercise their constitutional rights. Swing voters are voters who change their choice or change their support for the implementation of the previous election. This research uses descriptive qualitative research method. The results show that the swing voters are caused by the failure of political parties in carrying out the function of cadre and political education, that political parties are not a tool for the struggle of society, clarity of party programs and platforms, that pragmatic reasons are not rational, that the party's image is declining in the eyes of voters due to the behavior of political elites, the form of voter protest, mass mobilization, situational influences, candidate figures, and alternative candidates which are considered credible.

Keywords: *Swing Voter, Political Party, the Election.*

A. INTRODUCTION

The behavior of voters both as constituents and the general public is understood as part of the concept of people's political participation in a democratic political system. According to Firmanzah (Efriza, 2012: 480), to see how voters behave, there are three major theories which explain why someone chooses a political party. The first is a sociological approach. Someone who participates or does not participate in the election is motivated by sociological issues, such as similarity in religion, education, occupation, race, and so on. This approach pattern is better known as the Columbia Model.

The second is a psychological approach or Michigan Model developed by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center. They look at voter behavior by examining each individual. According to the Michigan Model, the perceptions and personal judgments of candidates as well as the themes which are carried affect a person's choice in the election. The psychological approach seeks to explain what factors influence short-term election decisions taken in a short time. This has been explained through the triad of determinants, party identification, candidate orientation and issue/main orientation. The core of this rationale is expressed in the form of a variable, party identification.

Here the voters make their choice because of the influence of psychological forces which develop within them as a product of the socialization process. This means that a person's attitude is a reflection of his personality and is a decisive variable in influencing his political behavior. This group is known as the Michigan Model.

The third is the rational choice approach. This third model criticizes the two previous approaches. According to the rational choice approach, sociological characteristics,

family background, cultural division, party identification through the socialization process, and life experiences are variables which individually influence a person's political behavior.

This means that other variables determine or contribute to influencing voter behavior. There are situational factors which influence a person's political choices. The voters are not only passive but also active. They are not only shackled by sociological characteristics, but are free to act.

This situational factor can be in the form of political issues in the nominated candidate. Voter behavior does not have to be fixed or the same, because sociological characteristics and party identification can change according to time and certain political events. The rational choice approach is considered a reality from the notion of swing voters as described by Anthony Downs in the Economic Theory of Democracy (1957). This means that certain political events can change a person's choice preferences. Another definition of swing voter was conveyed by Samuel A. Pangerapan (2019). As quoted from Communication and Information Technology Republic of Indonesia, swing voter is a term for rational voters who can change according to certain ideas. Swing voter is a term used to describe a vote which can go to any of a number of candidates in the electorate.

Swing voters are referred to as floating masses as expressed by Nurcholish Madjid in his book *Islam Democracy*; Nurcholish Madjid's thoughts. Madjid popularized the term floating masses and had a seminar on the Army in 1966. The book contains the results of an interview with Anas Urbaningrum. Anas wrote that the floating mass popularized by CakNur was actually a democratic idea based on the logic of modern party life in the West. The basic idea of people's

choices must be done consciously and rationally, not following along and emotionally. Therefore, everyone can divert political choices from certain parties to other parties which are seen as more capable of fighting for their interests. Thus, the concept of the floating period can keep people away from choices which tend to be emotional, romantic and blind fanatic.

The term swing voter is so riveting until Hollywood Cinema in the United States which adheres to the one man one vote system raised swing voter as a theme for the film with the same title. This film tells the story of a resident of Texic in New Mexico, Bud Johnson. Bud is said to be someone who doesn't care about the presidential election, until his 12-year-old daughter, Molly persuades him to vote in the presidential election to change their lives. The film, directed by Joshua Michael Stern, was released in 2008, to coincide with preparations for the United States presidential election with two candidates Barack Obama from The Democratic Party and McCain from The Republican Party. The cost of making this film is US \$ 20 million. Although not very profitable in the market, but at least the film was able to move swing voters in America to come to the polls.

Swing voter is part of voter

behavior. According to Surbakti (Efriza 2012:480), voter behavior is "voting activity by individuals that is closely related to decision-making activities to vote or not to vote in an election so that voters will choose or support certain candidates".

The approach which provides an overview which explains the behavior of voters, whose preferences change, such as swing voters, is certainly different from the understanding of the abstain. As defined by August Campbell, in which he uses the term Passive Citizen "*The Truly Passive Citizens are nonvoters because of lack of motivation*". Swing voter starts from the bad image of the party in the eyes of voters, but they still have hope so that they are more positioned to change their choice or support for a particular party.

In the implementation of elections in Indonesia, there are indications of swing voters. This indication of a swing voter occurred in 5 (five) general elections in the reform era. The winner of the election is always changing.

Table 1. Political Parties Winning Elections in Indonesia in the Reformation Era

No	The Election	The Winner Party	Voting	The Number of Seats	Voting Percentage
1.	1999	The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle	35.689.073	153	33,74 %
2.	2004	The Golkar Party	24.480.757	128	21,58 %
3.	2009	The Democratic party	21.703.137	150	20,85 %
4.	2014	The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle	23.681.471	109	18,95 %

5.	2019	The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle	27.053.961	128	19,33 %
----	------	---	------------	-----	---------

Source: KPU data

According to Harun Husein (2014), swing voters can be a determinant in three elections in the reform era. In the 1999 election, voters flocked to The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. The bull party with its slogan "Partai Wong Cilik (the ordinary people's party)" was able to win the sympathy of voters and give hope for improvement to its voters. However, the various cases which occurred in The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle made the voters stay away. The cases involving The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle include members of the legislature involved in corruption, internal party conflicts, party elites committing immoral acts, disputes, and other inappropriate acts.

In the 2004 elections, voters again voted for their choice of The Golkar Party. As an old party, The Golkar Party has qualified, loyal, and educated cadres, has members from conglomerates, good cadres and several other advantages. How can Golkar survive in the center of power and in the midst of a wave of political change? In the book "The Golkar Way": Survival of The Golkar Party in the Middle of Political Turbulence in the Transitional Era, Akbar Tandjung writes that "... being able to take advantage of deeply rooted institutions and simultaneously make adjustments to a changing environment ..." is an important factor for The Golkar Party's survival ability in the reform era. However, voters were disappointed because The Golkar Party was deemed unable to fulfill the people's will. Many internal divisions occurred within the party, resulting in disillusioned The Golkar Party cadres, so they formed a

new party.

In the 2009 election, The Democratic Party won the election, one of whose founders was President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Voters saw that The Democratic Party was born as an alternative. However, the failure of political parties to maintain the expectations of their voters made The Democratic Party also abandoned a significant number of voters in the next election in 2014. Researcher at SMRC, Deni Irvani, said that the tendency of swing voters is to choose a party at the last moment before voting. Therefore, the swing voter becomes one of the determinants of the victory of political parties in the election (*downloaded from <http://www.gresnews.com/berita/politik/75109-swing-voter-penentu-kemenangan-pemilu-2014/>*).

According to Kurniawan Zein, Head of LP3ES, the results of the analysis of the electoral winning parties in Indonesia in the three elections won by different political parties indicate that the number of swing voters has a tendency to move for two reasons. First, they voted for a different party in the previous election. This is what is called an unfaithful voter who then swings to another party (swing voter). Zein said that voters move not in a rational sense, but pragmatically, "... so actually they are confused voters, they move not for ideological reasons but transactional". Second, swing voters choose not to vote (abstain). Another example of the role of the swing voter occurred in the general election of Governor in Minnesota in 1998. Ventura as the third candidate received more potential vote support than the first and second candidates. However, swing voters

tended to prefer the third candidate as an alternative choice which ultimately won the election.

The analysis of the swing voter phenomenon was also carried out by Susi Dian Rahayu in Rembang Regency. He explains that in voting during the general election, people's political orientation tends to be pragmatic and fluctuates. There are 3 factors which influence the swing voter: first, a personal figure or candidate; second, mass mobilization; and third, money politics in elections.

Another example is the swing voter in the DKI Jakarta post-conflict local election which was finally won by Anis Bawesdan - Sandiaga Uno. As with the rational choice approach, there are other variables which determine/participate in influencing voter behavior, situational factors which play a role in influencing a person's political choices such as developing political issues, as well as the nominated candidates. The voters of Basuki Cahaya Purnama (Ahok) changed their choice due to the issue of blasphemy. Anthony Downs (1957) saw that the orientation of voters in making choices is influenced by the orientation of issues and candidates. Issue orientation is centered on what must be done to solve the problems faced by the community while candidate orientation refers to a person's attitude towards the candidate's personality regardless of party labels. Swing voter appears as the behavior of voters who make choices based on orientation to these two things: political issues which develop and the personal candidates who are nominated

The role of the swing voter in the election is very significant to place a political party as the winner of the election. The tempo newspaper, two days before the 2014 general election wrote an article entitled "*The party prepares a strategy to invite swing voters*". The article reviews interviews

with several elite political parties participating in the 2014 general election. All parties are competing to make strategies so that the swing voter votes are given to their party. The Executive Director of Indicators for Indonesia, Burhanuddin Muhtadi, said that there were 85 percent of voters who did not have a personal relationship with a political party (source:

[https://koran.tempo.co/read/nasional/339164/party-prepare-strategi-gaet-pelek-mengambang ?](https://koran.tempo.co/read/nasional/339164/party-prepare-strategi-gaet-pelek-mengambang?)).

Based on the description above, the author argues that the theme related to political parties and swing voters, which shows the phenomenon of the failure of political parties and the mistakes of their elites in getting the attention of voters, is an interesting theme to study. Therefore, the author makes a research with the theme of Political Parties and Swing Voters. This research is expected to encourage political parties to transform into modern parties as well as improve their performance.

B. RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative research method. The qualitative method was chosen by the author because the author wanted to examine the causes of swing voters which were motivated by the failure of political parties and the attitude of political party elites which were not optimal in fighting for the aspirations of their voters. Therefore, this study does not focus on the number of swing voters as quantitative research in general, but rather on the reasons for the existence of swing voters. Qualitative research methods provide space for the author to find new reasons which can arise during excavation and analysis of the collected library data.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**1. Political Party**

From an etymological perspective, Maurice Duverger (Laila Hasyim: 1984) stated that the word "party" comes from the Latin "pars", which means "part". Thus, the consequence of the definition of a part is that there are other parts. Therefore, ideally in a country there should be more than one party.

Furthermore, Jimly Asshiddiqie said that the meaning of the party comes from the English "part", which means part or group. The phrase party refers to a grouping of people based on certain similarities such as goals, ideology, religion, and even interests belonging to the group. These groupings can take the form of general organizations which can be distinguished according to their area of activity, such as community organizations, religious organizations, youth organizations, and political organizations. In its development, the word party is more associated with political organizations, community organizations engaged in politics.

The concept of the party according to Jimly Asshiddiqie can be understood that the word party has a broad meaning and a narrow meaning. In a broad sense, a party is a grouping of people in an organization in general which is not limited to political organizations. In a narrow sense, a party is a political party, a community organization engaged in politics.

Furthermore, the definition of political parties is described as follows:

- Carl J. Friedrich (in Miriam Budiardjo, 2008) explained that a political party is a group of people who are stably organized with the aim of seizing or maintaining control of the government for their party leaders and based on this control, providing party members with ideal and material benefits.
- Sigmund Neumann (in Miriam Budiardjo, 2008) argued that

political parties are organizations of political activities which seek to control government power and win popular support through competition with a group or other groups that have different views.

- Ramlan Surbakti (1992:116) stated that "a political party is a group of well-organized people united by a common ideology which aims to seek and maintain power in general elections in order to implement alternative policies that they have compiled.
- In Law 2 of 2011 concerning amendments to Law No. 2 of 2008 concerning political parties, a political party is an organization which is national in nature and is formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily on the basis of common will and ideals to fight for and defend political interests of members, society, nation and state, and maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

From the description above, it can be concluded that a political party is an organization formed by a group of people who have a common goal to gain power in government and become a tool or means of connecting civil society and the government.

2. Swing Voters and Voter Behavior

In an election, there are "certain" or "locked" voters who are loyal, solid voters behind or participants for a particular candidate and will not consider changing their minds in any way. Swing voters do not yet own or decide how they will vote. Swing Voter is a term which describes a group of voters who voted in the previous election to support the party or candidate pair A, but in the next election it can change to support the party and

candidate pair B. Swing Voter can also be interpreted as a person who has never used their voting rights before, such as a novice voter who has just reached voting age.

Swing voter is part of voter behavior. According to Surbakti (Efriza, 2012:480), voter behavior is voting activities by individuals which are closely related to decision-making activities to vote or not to vote. In an election, swing voters will choose or support certain candidates.

Voters according to Firmansyah (Efriza, 2012: 481) can be defined as all parties who are the main goals of the contestants to influence and convince them to support and then cast their votes for the contestants concerned. Voters according to Law number 7 of 2017 are Indonesian citizens who have reached the age of 17 (seventeen years) or more and are married or have been married.

The trend of voter behavior according to Ali Maskur Musa (Efriza, 2012: 490) is seen from the tendency to vote:

1. Permanent voters or so-called loyal voters are those who become members of political parties and choose political parties not only to join in, but in ideological opposition as permanent constituents of political parties. Because it has cultural, historical and ideological linkages, this group tends to be loyal and unshakable.
2. Beginner voters who are 17 to 20 years old on average do not have adequate political literacy, so they tend to follow trends in the environment they live in. At least they choose political parties which are considered to have a slang image and pop culture.
3. Swing voters are those who do not have any connection with any political party. However, it

is possible that there will be a shift of voters from the permanent voter group because they are motivated by the accumulation of disappointment with the old political parties and switch to the new political parties.

4. Floating mass, where this group is not associated with a particular political party, therefore they have not yet made a choice.

From the fact that the behavior of swing voters and floating mass voters can be included in the habitat of the voting community, most of the swing voters are born from groups which do not have any ideological and cultural tendencies with a political party (floating mass).

There are 3 factors which become the basis of voters in determining their choice, according to Firmansyah (Efriza, 2012: 482)

1. The initial conditions of voters are characteristics inherent in voters such as value systems and beliefs. They also have different abilities depending on the level of experience, education, economic social status and others
2. Mass media that influence public opinion
3. The mass media have data, information and news which play an important role and become a material for voters' consideration.
4. Political parties and contestants. Voters will assess the background, reputation, image, ideology and quality of political party figures.

In the distribution of voters, there are 4 segmentation of voters as stated by Newman (Efriza, 2012:481) as part of political marketing which aims to win Bill Clinton as president for the second time in 1996:

1. Rational voter segment, a voter group that focuses attention on the issue factors and contestants' policies in determining their political choices.
2. Emotional voter segment, a group of voters that are influenced by certain feelings such as sadness, worry, and joy towards certain expectations in determining their political choices.
3. Social voter segment, a group that associates election contestants with certain social groups in determining their political choices.
4. Situational voter segment, a group of voters that are influenced by certain situational factors in determining their choice. This segment is driven by change and shifts its political choices if certain conditions occur.

Voter behavior according to Firmansyah (2007) in his work on political marketing describes four voter behaviors:

1. Rational Voter

These Voters have a high orientation to "policy-problem-solving" and prioritize the ability of political parties and their work programs. Rational voters do not attach importance to ideology to a political party or contestant. These Voters are more concerned with logical solutions to the problems faced, such as economic, social, cultural problems, income distribution, and others. These voters do not hesitate to move to another when political parties and contestants are considered unable to solve national problems.

2. Critical voter.

The process to become this voter is through two mechanisms. First, voters use ideological values as a basis in determining which political

parties they side with and will criticize policies which will or have been made. Second, voters are interested in the work programs offered by parties and contestants. They understand the values which underlie policy making. These voters will always criticize and analyze between the party's value system (ideology) and the policies made. There are three possibilities which will arise when there are differences: (1) giving internal criticism; (2) frustration; and (3) create a new party.

3. Traditional Voter

Traditional voters have a very high ideological orientation and do not see the policies of political parties or contestants as important in traditional voter decision making, prioritizing socio-cultural closeness, values, origins, understanding and religion as a measure for choosing a political party. This type of voter prioritizes the leader's figure and personality and historical values of a political party or a contestant.

4. Skeptic Voter

These voters do not have a high enough ideological orientation with a political party or contestant, nor do they make policy important. The desire to be involved in political parties is very lacking because their ideological ties are very low. Even if they do participate they usually do it randomly. They believe that whoever and whatever party wins the election will not be able to bring about change.

According to Eep Syaifullah Fatah (Erfiza, 2012) in the political explorer book quoted from the Handbook of Political Marketing by

Bruce I Newman, in general voters can be categorized into 4 main groups:

- **Rational Voter**
Voters who make political choices based on rational calculations and logic, and care and are critical of the integrity of the candidate. These voters come from well-educated and relatively enlightened groups of people with sufficient information (well-informed) before making their choice.
- **Primordial Voter**
These Voters make choices for reasons of primordialism such as reasons of religion, ethnicity and descent. These voters usually glorify symbols which are considered noble, such as religion, ethnicity and regionalism. In Java, this type of voter is more widely known among the Nahdliyin, who are very respectful of religious symbols, even to the point of culting the Kyai.
- **Pragmatic Voter**
Voters in this type are usually influenced by considerations of profit and loss. Their votes will go to candidates who can bring them a momentary personal advantage. Usually they are not so concerned and critical of the integrity and vision and mission of the candidate.
- **Emotional Voter**
These Voters make their choice because of feelings of compassion, or romantic admiration because of the good look and beauty of the candidate. Usually this comes from among female voters and novice voters.

From the description above, it can be concluded that swing voter is part of voter behavior which is created for certain reasons. The reasons that people choose or do not choose a political party are motivated by three main things. Those are sociological factors, psychological factors, and rational reasons. Swing voters will determine their choice in time, before the election. The Indonesian Indicators Institute survey in 2014 stated that the figure of 85% of voters did not have personal affinity with political parties. Therefore, swing voters are the key to the victory of political parties in elections. The reasons for swing voters to finally drop their choice of a political party become a reference for political party elites in designing a campaign model to attract swing voters.

3. Swing Voters in Election Implementation

The Exit Poll from the Institute of Research, Education and Economic & Social Information which conducted research on two elections, the 2004 election and the 2009 election, was able to track the transfer of party votes. In the 2004 and 2009 elections, it was found that voter loyalty was less than 60%.

Harun Husein (2014) presented data on the percentage of loyal voters to political parties in Indonesia. The percentage of loyal voters owned by political parties participating in the general election in Indonesia places The Prosperous Justice Party in the top ranking as described in tables 2 and 3 below.

Table 2. Percentage of Loyal Voters for Political Parties in the 2004 General Election

No.	The Political Parties	The Percentage of Loyal Voters
1.	The Prosperous Justice Party	56 %
2.	The National Awakening Party	54 %
3.	The Golkar Party/ Party of Functional Groups	46 %
4.	The National Mandate Party	44 %
5.	The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle	36 %
6.	The United Development Party	34 %

Source: Buku Pemilu Indonesia, Fakta, Angka, Analisis dan Studi Banding, Perludem, Jakarta

Table 3. Percentage of Loyal Voters for Political Parties in the 2009 General Election

	The Political Parties	The Percentage of Loyal Voters
1.	The Prosperous Justice Party	53 %
2.	The Democratic Party	42 %
3.	The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle	36,6 %
4.	The Golkar Party/ Party of Functional Groups	35,8 %
5.	The National Awakening Party	34,3 %
6.	The United Development Party	31,5 %
7.	The National Mandate Party	20,3 %

Source: Buku Pemilu Indonesia, Fakta, Angka, Analisis dan Studi Banding, Perludem, Jakarta

Research results from Indonesian Survey Institute in 2011 found that the number of loyal voters to parties was generally small. Only 20% can really be categorized as loyal voters that are identified with a particular party while 80% are floating voters.

Harun Husein (2014) revealed that The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle is the party which has the most loyal voters with a total of 5.1%, then followed by The Golkar Party with a total of 3.7%, The Democratic Party with a total of 3.5%, The Prosperous Justice Party with a total of 1.7%, The United Development Party with a total of 1.3%, The National Awakening Party with a total of 1.1%, The Gerindra Party with a total of 0.9%, National Mandate Party with a total of 0.6% and others with a total of 1,7%.

The data shows that loyal voters have decreased from the 1999 elections which amounted to 86%, the 2004 elections which decreased to 54% and the 2009 elections where there were only 20% loyal voters. The figure of 20% was based on a special floating voter survey conducted in May 2011 by the Indonesian Survey Institute

The percentage of voter support in the 2014 and 2019 elections has fluctuated differently. There are several parties which experienced an increase in the number of votes compared to the 2014 election.

The first is The Nasdem Party. The party created by Surya Paloh was in the top 5 from the previous 7th position. The Nasdem Party received 9.05%

support in the 2019 Election compared to the 2014 Election of 6.72%.

The second is The National Awakening Party. The National Awakening Party received an increase in votes of 9.69% in the 2019 Election compared to the 2014 Election of 9.4%. The third is The Prosperous Justice Party. The Prosperous Justice Party got a percentage of 8.21% in the 2019 Election, which is an increase when compared to the 2014 Election of 6.79%.

Some parties experienced a decrease in the percentage of the number of votes obtained. The Democratic Party in the 2019 Election received 7.7% of the votes from the previous 10.9% in the 2014 Election. The Golkar Party received 12.31% of the votes or a decrease compared to the 2014 Election which received 14.75% of the votes. The United Development Party also experienced a decrease in its vote share from 6.53% in the 2014 election which decreased to 4.52% in the 2019 election. The Hanura Party became a political party which was eliminated from the list of political parties which passed to Senayan because it was unable to meet the 4% threshold (electoral threshold)

For National Mandate Party, it tends to be stable even though the percentage is decreasing, but in terms of numbers it has increased by 6.84% in the 2019 election with 9,572,623 votes and in the 2014 election it got 7.59% with 9,481,621 votes.

The election winning party, The

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, received an increase from the 2019 election, which was 19.33% compared to the 2014 election, which was only 18.95%. The Gerindra Party followed in the next rank in the 2019 Election at 12.57% while in the 2014 Election it was 11.81%. Based on the description of the data, it can be concluded that the fluctuations in the increase and decrease in party votes can be used as an evaluation material for whether the chosen party's votes are rational, critical, traditional or skeptical voters or are swing voters in determining their choice.

In this regard, the Swing Voter Association was born with the aim of being able to objectively guide the choice of swing voters. In the 2019 election, this group stated that the number of swing voters (voters who still have not made a choice) reached 30-35 percent or around 50-65 million people. The initiator of the Swing Voter Association, Adhie M. Massardi, quoted from the online news source *Republica.co*, stated that the presence of the Swing Voter Association in electoral politics is expected to improve the quality of democracy in Indonesia. In addition, the presence of the Swing Voter Association can reduce the unhealthy polarization in society which has arisen since the 2014 presidential election. As stated by Adhie, "...the Swing Voter Association is present in the realm of our democracy to improve the quality of the electoral regime, by guiding the swing voters to intelligently and objectively determine their political choices so that in the future, our democracy will truly become an (electoral) machine which is successful in producing public officials that have real alignments with the people."

According to Adhie, there are several reasons for the formation of the Swing Voter Association. First, in Indonesia's political history, post-independence, almost no political party

has a clear line of political (ideology) alignments. As a result, political parties do not have loyal supporters, so that from election to election, the number of swing voters continues to increase.

Second, when entering the electoral regime, the campaign stage was filled with successful teams (survey institutions and political consultants) from all contestants so that the political situation is polluted by promises which are not clear when they will be fulfilled. History has never recorded that in such a situation there were parties who stood with strong integrity and objectivity guiding this swing voter community group to make smart choices.

Third, as a result of all that, more swing voter groups chose abstain (not using their constitutional right to vote). This is why the number of abstain from election to election continues to increase. Adhie explained to concentrate on mobilizing Swing Voter Association volunteers in cities in seven provinces with a lot of swing voters. They are Banten, West Java, Central Java, East Java, Lampung, North Sumatra and South Sulawesi.

Data held by the Swing Voter Association shows that the number of swing voters has increased from year to year, from 7.3% in the 1999 election to 15.9% in the 2004 election, from 21.8% in the first round of the presidential election and 23.4% in the second round of the presidential election. In the 2009 legislative elections, there were 29.3% abstain and 28.3% in the 2009 presidential elections, 24.8% in the 2004 legislative elections and 29.1% in the 2014 presidential elections. The increase in the swing voter indicates that the level of voter loyalty to the party and candidates can change every election, in terms of political disloyalty and inconsistency.

4. Causes of Swing Voter

From the description above, the next question is how can voter swing

occur? From the several segmentation of voter behavior expressed by Newman, the situational voter segment can be grouped into swing voters, groups of voters who are influenced by certain situational factors in determining their choices.

This segment is driven by change and will shift its choices if certain conditions occur. In practice, these situational factors dominate changes in the choice of swing voters, such as the presence of several issues packaged by various electronic media as a form of campaign, the results of the debates of candidates for presidential candidates, governors becoming political preferences, rumors, gossip and hoaxes or fake news.

In Law No. 2 of 2011, a political party gets legal entity status if it has 100 percent management at the provincial level, 75 percent at the Regency/City level and 50 percent at the Sub-district level. The requirement to establish a political party is that it obliges the founding elite of a political party to have large human resources and financial capital. As a result, new political parties which lack human resources and financial capital will fail when participating in the administrative and factual verification conducted by the General Elections Commission.

However, this is not the case for political parties with large capital, such as The Perindo Party, The Nasdem Party, The Democratic Party, and The Indonesian Solidarity Party. The leaders of these political parties come from people who have large capital funds and have memberships that are also capitalized.

This situation is very different from the situation of political parties during the Old Order. At that time the tradition of partying actually emerged from the grass root level of society. This is in stark contrast to the current situation where the establishment of political parties comes from the party

elite and the owners of capital.

The impact is that voters only become a tool for party elites to get votes. Furthermore, after the election is over, there is no longer a harmonious relationship between the parties and the voters. The resulting policies are often not pro to the people. Voters are no longer considered an important part of the election and do not have any contribution to the policy-making process. As a result, voters become inconsistent with political parties and switch between choices.

According to Ari Dwipayana (in Harun Husein; 2014), this inconsistency in voter choices can occur because political parties are not functional. The function of political parties to carry out regeneration and political education is not going well. According to Ari Dwipayana, "the parties are not functional because they have been hijacked by the elite".

In the Old Order era, Indonesia had a tradition of partying but was crushed by the New Order regime. According to Ari, since then people no longer use the party as a means of struggle, because the party has become a tool for power.

After the reform era, the party is still not a tool for society. Voters are only a tool of the party elite to gain support in every election. Ari sees this condition as similar to floating mass where the party no longer has a clear constituency root, so it is called the floating mass.

When compared with the three factors put forward by Firmanzah (Efriza, 2012: 481), the voter factor, the mass media and political parties, the third factor is political parties and their candidates, which are mainly the attention of swing voters, especially those from beginner voters who have not made a choice and do not have good political preferences because they are contesting elections for the first time. Swing voters from among the beginner

voters are most easily influenced and mobilized by people around their environment and families who have previous experience and political preferences.

According to Buhananuddin Muhtadi (Harun Husein; 2014), the decline and shift in the number of voters was caused by the declining level of trust in political parties. Political parties are considered not to have a clear program and platform. Even the differences between one party and another are increasingly unclear. The behavior of political party elites tends to be the same, hunting and only visiting voters during elections and local elections.

Meanwhile, according to a senior LSI researcher, Burhanudin Muhtadi (Harun Husein, 2014:30), loyal voters were eroded due to the reason that "... political parties do not have clear political programs and platforms. They will only greet voters before the election. This causes voters to rebel, disloyal and results in fluctuations in voter support for parties..."

According to Burhanudin, these floating voters continue to vote and exercise their voting rights, generally because they are forced to. He also reminded that the number of floating voters and abstain tends to increase because they have not found a credible alternative political party.

According to Zein (Harun Husein, 2014: 302), "only The Prosperous Justice Party does education, which has its own character so that it is captive". This was revealed by Zein when explaining the results of the LP3ES exit poll.

Due to the small number of loyal voters, Dwipayana considered that most party votes were like bubbles. The bubbles could burst at any time when the floating voter moved to another party.

Dian Rahayu (2013) in his research in Rembang Regency explained

that the political orientation of the community tends to be pragmatic and fluctuates in voting during elections. There are 3 (three) factors which influence swing voters. The first is a personal figure or candidate; the second is mass mobilization, and; the third is money politics in election events. According to him, the figure or candidate has a great influence, either for voters who behave rationally, primordial, pragmatic or emotional.

Dian also revealed that there are several reasons why figures are very important and influence voters. First, political consultants understand very well that all voter behavior will be attracted first through the introduction of candidates or figures before making choices. This figure then carries out political marketing to influence voters by campaigning, socializing with an understanding of the 5 W + 1 H concept (What, Where, When, Who, Why and How). Second, swing voters are approached by means of mass mobilization by certain political parties or certain figures to attract voters who tend to have primordial relationships with the contestants, either because of one ethnicity, religion, lineage or others. Third, swing voters occur because of money politics for pragmatic voters. Voting will be given in exchange for personal gain for the support provided.

Emotional voters have an emotional political orientation because of their popularity, good looks, admiration for candidates which usually tend to be owned by female voters. For example, during the socialization in prison carried out by the General Election Commission in Bandar Lampung City in 2019, female inmates openly admitted that they would choose Sandiaga Uno to become President on the grounds of having an athletic, smart and handsome physique.

According to Harun Husein, the existence of swing voters can also be a social sanction for political parties.

Swing voting is a way for voters to punish political parties which fail to fight for their hopes. In the 1999 election, when The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle won the election. The party bearing the symbol of the bull became a source of expectation, so that voters gave enormous support. The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle was able to win 33.74% of the vote or an increase of 30.38% compared to the 1997 general election.

According to Dwipayana, the trend of increasing swing voters has created a political bubble or bubble voter for several political parties in Indonesia during the Reformation era. When high expectations do not match reality and expectations, voters will punish The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle by choosing another party during the 2004 General Election. The bubble burst and this is a characteristic of floating voters who are easily divided. Seeing the large percentage of vote transfer to other parties, it could be that those who leave are not only floating voters but also loyal voters (party id).

One of the triggers for the declining level of voter loyalty to the The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle was due to internal divisions within the party and the existence of The PNI Marhaenis political party which was founded by Sukmawati Soekarno Putri and the founding of The Pioneer Party led by Rachmawati Soekarnoputri and a new party founded by another high-ranking The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, Eros Jarot who founded PNBK. Meanwhile, on the other hand, Soerjadi's The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle still exists. This analysis is reinforced by the results of the exit poll which detected the movement of The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle votes to several parties: 8% to The Democratic Party, 7% to The Golkar Party, 4% to

The Prosperous Justice Party, 3% to The National Mandate Party and 1% to The United Development Party and The National Awakening Party. The results of the exit poll found that 36% of voters remained loyal.

In the 2004 election, The Golkar Party declared the winner of the election. This happened because of the declining votes of The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. In the 1999 election, The Golkar Party received 23.7 million votes, while in the 2004 election it won 24.5 million votes. There was an increase in terms of the number of votes, but as a percentage there was a decrease, from 22.44% in the 1999 Election to 21.58% in the 2004 Election. When viewed from the number of votes obtained by political parties in the 2004 election, The Golkar Party actually did not get any additional votes. The number of votes has even decreased from the percentage of votes, such as The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, The United Development Party, The National Mandate Party, The National Awakening Party. The parties which benefit from the positive swing voter are the middle parties. They are The Prosperous Justice Party, The National Awakening Party and The Democratic Party.

In the 2009 election, swing voters exercised their right to vote by choosing The Democratic Party as an alternative party. As a result, The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle and The Golkar Party declined. The LP3ES Exit Poll stated that The Democratic Party was able to attract 13.4% of The Golkar Party voters, 11.9% of The United Development Party voters, 9.1% of The Prosperous Justice Party voters, 8.7% of The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle voters, 7.5% of The National Awakening Party voters and 7.3% of The National Mandate Party voters.

In a survey entitled "Floating Voters and Prospects of Changes in the Power of Political Parties", LSI found

that only 20% of voters identified themselves with a party (Party Id), while the remaining 80% were floating voters. These voters swing and choose another party or instead choose not to vote or abstain.

In the 2014 election, The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle received 23,681,471 (18.95%) votes, this shows that the existence of loyal voters to The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle and swing voters who changed choices became one of the potentials that made this condition with the emergence of The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle cadres who has a commitment to fight for the aspirations of the people through the victory of Regional Heads in the Regional Head Elections in various regions supported by The Indonesian Democratic Party, elected candidates who have a fairly good track record. For example, the emergence of regional head candidates such as Basuki Tjahya Purnama, Joko Widodo, Ganjar Pranowo, Tri Risma Harini, Ridwan Kamil, and other figures who are considered to have sufficient capacity and capability to become visionary leaders.

The decline in vote support occurred in The Democratic Party in the 2014 election with a vote of 12,728,913, (10.9%) a drastic decrease from the previous one where The Democratic Party was declared the winner of the 2009 election. This condition was due to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as a leader of The Democratic Party during his presidency has not been able to provide new, more visionary breakthroughs which are the answers to problems which occur in society and have not fulfilled the expectations of the voters. For example, regarding the increase in fuel prices, the economic and political conditions are not conducive.

In the 2019 election, The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle still received 19.33% support from

voters with 27,053,961 votes from voters because voters were satisfied with the leadership of Joko Widodo and Yusuf Kalla as presidents carried by The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle with new breakthroughs which were considered capable of improving welfare of the people and gain broad public sympathy through social programs such as the Healthy Indonesia Card Program, Smart Indonesia Card, and Prosperous Family Card as well as many toll road constructions in the Sumatra and Java regions and Eastern Indonesia, all of which provide a high level of satisfaction so that The community again dropped their vote for The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle in the 2019 general election.

This is supported by a survey conducted by three institutions with various survey techniques. The Kompas R&D survey from February 22 to March 5 2019 shows that Jokowi-Ma'ruf's electability is at 49.2 percent while Prabowo-Sandiaga is in the position of 37.4 percent, as many as 13.4 percent of respondents stated secrets.

The Survey Institute of Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) also released it on March 17, 2019. According to the results of the SMRC survey, the electability of Jokowi-Ma'ruf is at 57.6 percent, while Prabowo-Sandiaga is at 31.8 percent. LSI, Denny JA released the results of the electability survey. This survey was conducted using a ballot paper simulation. The LSI Denny JA survey also recorded the electability dynamics of the two in August 2018 to January 2019. The electability dynamics of Jokowi-Ma'ruf were 52.2 percent, 53.2 percent, 57.7 percent, 53.2 percent, 54.2 percent, and 54.8 percent. Meanwhile for Prabowo-Sandiaga, the dynamics are at 29.5 percent, 29.2 percent, 28.6 percent, 31.2 percent, 30.6 percent, and 31.0 percent.

The dynamics in the 2019 election also inevitably occurred in the shift in

the ranking of political parties between The Golkar Party and The Gerindra Party. In the 2014 election, The Gerindra Party occupied the 3rd position with a vote of 14,760,371 (11.81%). In the 2019 election, The Gerindra Party took 2nd place with 17,594,839 (12.57%) votes, shifting the position of The Golkar Party which shifted to 3rd rank position. The Golkar Party, which is a party which has been in politics for a long time, is no longer able to retain voters for the 2019 election because The Golkar Party is no longer able to produce the best cadres who fight for the aspirations of the people.

This shift also occurred because of The Golkar Party cadres who moved to other parties, for example, Prio Budi Santoso's move to The Berkarya party and Sahrul Yasin Limpo's move to The Nasdem Party so that the party's solidity was disrupted. In addition, several figures from The Golkar Party who founded political parties such as Wiranto with The Hanura Party, Prabowo Subianto with The Gerindra Party, Surya Paloh with The Nasdem Party, Tomi Suharto with The Berkarya Party. These are some of the things which make voters shift their choices to political parties which are able to maintain their existence in society.

D. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the discussion related to the theme of political parties and swings voter, it can be concluded that voters who change their choice in each election are influenced by how the political party elites fulfill the expectations of their voters. The failure of party elites to maintain party solidity, poor recruitment and regeneration processes, internal party conflicts and suboptimal performance of the elected candidates have made political parties abandoned by their voters. There are several other reasons which can be explained for the occurrence of swing voters in Indonesia

which political parties are no longer a tool of struggle for the people but are tools for the elite in obtaining political support. The declining image of political parties is due to the bad behavior of political elites, pragmatic and irrational reasons, mass mobilization, forms of voter protest and the emergence of alternative candidates who are considered capable of bringing about change in realizing the ideals of a more substantial election, the achievement of public welfare. Political parties which are unable to commit and transform to create people's welfare will become political parties in suspended animation.

REFERENCES

- Efriza. 2012. *Polical Explore Sebuah Kajian Ilmu Politik*. Alfabeta: Bandung
- Firmanzah. 2007. *Marketing Politik Antara Pemahaman dan Realitas*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia. Jakarta.
- Husein, Harun. 2014. *Pemilu Indonesia, Fakta, Angka, Analisis dan Studi Banding*. Perluden. Jakarta.
- Najib, Muhammad. 2019. *Jalan Demokrasi*. Republika. Jakarta.
- Perdana, Aditya DKK. 2019. *Tata Kelola Pemilu di Indonesia*. Komisi Pemilihan Umum. Jakarta.
- Sigoyono. 2013. *Metode Penelitian Kombinasi*. Alfabeta: Bandung
- Amir Samsuadi dkk, 2019. Menjadi Bijak Bagi Pemilih Pemula Berdasarkan Informasi dari Media Sosial di Kabupaten Kepulauan Meranti. *Jurnal pengabdian masyarakat Multi Disiplin*. Accessed at 09.00 WIB.
- Debora Sanur, 2019. Hasil Survei Elektabilitas dan Swings Voter dalam Pilpres 2019. *Ejournal*. Accessed on 4 February 2020, at 12.00 WIB
- Fajar, Muhammad (2019). Swing Voters dan Cognitive Dissonance Theory: Prabowo Menang? *Jurnalislam.com*. 08 April 2019. Jakarta. Accessed on 10/03/2020, at 11.30 WIB
- Susi Dian Rahayu. 2013. Analisis Fenomena Swing Voters pada Pemilu Reformasi di Kabupaten Rembang. *e-journal*. Volume

- 2 nomor 1. Accessed on 10/03/2020, 10.20 WIB
- Hafi, Muhammad. 2018. *Swing Voter Diharapkan Tidak Golput Pada Pemilu 2019*. *Republika.co.id*. Jakarta. 15 Oktober 2018. Accessed on 10/03/2020, at 09.05 WIB
- Husein, Harun. 2014. *Menjaring Swing Voter Lewat Debat Capres*. *Republika.co.id*. Jakarta. 30 Juni 2014. Accessed on 10/03/2020, 11.10 WIB
- KPU.go.id. *Pemilu 2009*. Accessed January 19, 2019 at 09.15 WIB
- KPU.go.id. *Pemilu 2004*.
- Karina, Jessie, 2019. *Sebulan jelang pemilu ini elektabilitas Jokowi-Yusuf Kalla dan Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno menurut 3 lembaga survey*. Kompas Com. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/03/20/11480371/sebulan-jelang-pemilu-ini-elektabilitas-jokowi-maruf-dan-prabowo-sandi?page=all>. Accessed on 5 February 2021, 10.00 WIB
- Prabowo, Dani 2014. *Disahkan KPU ini hasil perolehan suara pemilu tahun 2014. Dapat diakses pada* <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/05/09/2357075/Disahkan.KPU.Ini.Perolehan.Suara.Pemilu.Legislatif>. 2014. Accessed on 4 February 2014 at 13.00 WIB
- Riskinaswara, Leski. 2019. *Swing Voters dalam Dinamika Demokrasi Indonesia di Era Digital* <https://aptika.kominfo.go.id/2019/03/swing-voters-dalam-dinamika-demokrasi-indonesia-di-era-digital/>. 24 Maret 2019. Accessed April 15, 2020, 20:20 WIB
- Republika.co.id. <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/18/10/15/pgnfk9430-swing-voters-diharapkan-tidak-golput-pada-pemilu-2019>
- Samsul., Ashar, 2019. *Inilah partai politik peraih lonjakan suara di pemilu 2019*. <https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/inilah-partai-politik-peraih-lonjakan-suara-di-pemilu-2019>. Accessed on September 18, 2019
- Undang-Undang 2 Tahun 2011 tentang perubahan atas Undang-Undang No 2 Tahun 2008 tentang partai politik