

Electoral Volatility of Political Parties of Jambi Province: An Analysis of Political Party Relations with Constituents

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Abstract. According to Mainwaring, the system of political parties in the third wave of democracy is significantly less institutionalized than those in long-established democracies. A more institutionalized system is a system where political parties have strong roots in society. The purpose of this study is to determine the high volatility of Political Parties in Jambi Province. By using qualitative descriptive research methods the results of this study indicate that the existence of Political Parties in Jambi Province since the beginning of the reform era shows a high level of volatility. The general elections that have taken place, on the one hand, produce successive winning political parties and on the other hand, show the deterioration in the voice of existing political parties. The fundamental problem that arises is the high level of primordial phenomena within political parties, the weakness of the institutional system of political parties, not entrenching the relations of political parties with constituents and unconsolidated relations well.

Keywords: Political Party of Jambi Province, Electoral Volatility, Constituent Loyalty.

1 Introduction

The ups and downs of political parties in each agenda of the general elections held showed the level of sound instability of political parties was relatively high, both political parties that used ideology and religious (national) (nationalist (secular) platforms. In fact, if we look at the diversity of the Indonesian people scattered throughout the territory of Indonesia, it shows a very thick heterogeneous characteristic so that the mapping of loyal, stable and long-standing constituents' voices has been prepared in advance. But in the practice of electoral battles that have taken place, it seems that there is an electoral paradox between voter support and the ideology of political parties. At first glance it appears that voters tend to be no longer interested in supporting political parties with these ideological indicators [1]. This happens because the voters expect concrete short-term evidence on the basis of work programs that are able to be felt directly not only symbols of ideology, platforms and lines of party struggle. On the other hand, political parties are also trapped in political situations that tend to be transactional and pragmatic and make political parties in the "middle" position or seem to be moderate and fight over the same niche as other parties (catch all) [2].

This study wants to answer a number of key research questions relating to the ups and downs of political parties, especially political parties in Jambi Province where there is still no research related to this before and proven by support data that shows political parties in Jambi Province have a volatile electoral vote legislative elections are held, namely: First, What factors influence the electoral volatility

of these parties from elections to elections in the reform era continue to occur? Second, How the relationship between political parties in Jambi Province and their constituents?

2 Research Methods

This study uses a qualitative research method with purposive sampling technique that is by interviewing political party figures who know the electoral process passed by the political parties of Jambi Province in the reform era and the study of secondary data from various references, as well as searching sites that contain the research results that are the object of study.

3 Political Parties and Election Volatility

Political parties are organizations that have ideology, goals and can connect the forces and social ideologies with government institutions [3] by winning the election of public offices to gain control over it by participating in general election contestations [3]. Political parties are also considered as an organization that has a relationship with voters. In this context, the position of political parties is representative agents that interact directly with the community, demanding their support, which is directly affected by changes in voting in an electoral process [4].

In the sense of a more comprehensive function, political parties are the main tools of representation of citizens who compete in elections and are elected by voters based on the attitudes, actions and political decisions they offer [4]. Furthermore, political parties are perceived as rational actors who react and adapt to the pressures and opportunities that exist in the political market [5]. Organizations, ideologies, and membership and political party policies are influenced by several aspects that surround it, including the type of government, electoral system, democratic experience [6] and electoral rules [7] practiced by a country. As an organization, political parties are dynamic and not static, constantly changing at the structural and institutional levels as a result of changes in the political environment.

In the study of elections, electoral volatility is one of the tools that can be used to measure the ups and downs (instability) of the vote for political parties from the election period to other elections, taking 2 consecutive stages of the election. The use of a qualitative approach can describe the future of the party, judging from the stability of vote acquisition from elections to elections and the party's stability of the party system and the electoral system based on the factors that influence it. To measure the level of volatility the party can singly use the volatility model developed by Mainwaring, where party selection volatility is calculated by adding a percentage change (increase or decrease) from each election, then divided into two [8]. This concept can be used to explain the existence of the party in the party and election system based on the party's vote acquisition, whether it is classified as a top, middle or lower party.

According to Shergiu Ghergina, electoral elections are influenced by a number of factors that have different dominant levels. A number of these factors are related to the workings of the party's internal and external factors as shown in the table below. In the Indonesian context, modifications and additions need to be made, because the theory built by Ghergina is used more in seeing the electoral development of political parties in Western and Central Europe.

Table 1. Modifications of the factors that influence Electoral Election of Political Parties [4]

Factor	Variable	Indicator
Internal Party	Party Organization	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Loyalty 2. Social Roots 3. Split or Cohesion 4. Party Electoral Performance (Social Network, Interaction between parties and voters, proximity / distance of party)

		actors / cadres to voters.
Exsternal Party	Party System Volatility	1. Election System 2. Format of political parties 3. Ideological Polarization

In general, party electoral volatility is influenced by two factors, namely internal and external factors. The internal factors are actually related to political party organizations and external factors related to the volatility of party systems. Ghergina said that party organizations can reduce or increase party volatility in elections. The study conducted by Barelson et al 1954; Easton 1957 discusses the extent to which political parties can simplify their choices so as to produce a symbol of identity and loyalty.

Meanwhile, Neumann 1956; Key 1964; Borre and Katz 1973; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993; Dalton and Wattenberg 2000a) mention there is continuity of political parties in elections if parties can create a chain of communication with citizens. In that context, the stability of political party organizations will maintain election preferences. Parties that have organizational stability will be present continuously in the political arena and they can in the long run introduce their preferences perspective to voters through the introduction of label organizations and candidates prepared [4].

The symbol of identity and loyalty is related to what political parties will sell to voters. Many factors are related to this, among others, how the factors of social division in relation to voter preferences in the socio-political context of a country. Lipset's social division theory states that in party systems, voters identify their interests on the basis of sociological positions of society on the basis of class, religion, ethnicity, nationality, and city/village. The formation of political parties is also based on their preference for social positions (class, religion, ethnicity or nationality and the city / rural sector) [9].

The ideological difference between one party and another according to the results of the study by Kuskridho Ambardi was influenced by the party system. The party system in Indonesia in Ambardi's view is characterized by several things [10]. First, ideology is not an important factor that determines party behavior. Second, in the formation of coalitions, there are no signs that guide which are allowed, and which are not allowed; all are promicious. Third, the tendency to embrace all parties into the coalition (turah coalition) makes the existence of opposition difficult to identify. Fourth, party behavior is not determined by the results of win-lose in elections (inconsequential). Fifth, regardless of the difference in normative identity that is "sold" in election campaigns, parties tend to act as a group.

The vagueness of inter-party identity and ideological obscurity led to the absence of a sharp ideological polarization between one party and another. Differences between Islamic parties and nationalist (secular) parties, for example, contribute to determining the political preferences of voters to the parties concerned. This is also driven by the fact that in political developments in Indonesia, parties deliberately obscure their ideology, because they believe that the proportion of voters on ideological / cultural divisions is more central (not extreme left or right). At this point, financial mobilization to win electoral competition through advertising and money politics was taken more by the parties rather than prioritizing ideological offers and programs to approach voters (catch all party) [11]. Such a trend has been predicted by Pedersen (1979) that the volitility of elections after 1960 is more rooted in the party's social distance with its voters. That is, changes in electoral preferences have changed longitudinally and caused transformations in the values of social structures [10].

In this connection, the electoral performance of political parties is important. Electoral performance includes a number of steps or ways used by political parties to maximize their networks, make branding for their political parties, and how political parties interact with their voters. As mentioned by Gherghina above, the stability of the party-internal party cohesion in which the party does not experience cleavage which allows the party to have electoral performance that is more focused on elections and the agenda of winning elections.

In this regard, the study conducted by Tilly in reviewing the growth of political parties in Latin America states that the existence or absence of political parties is influenced by three main indicators [12]. The three indicators are the level of institutionalization, electoral volatility, and ideological voting. The study states that party systems in undeveloped countries show institutionalized polarization which is called unstable, does not have strong grassroots, and legitimacy is adjusted by party political actors [9]. In the context of ideological voting, various behavioral voting literature illustrate that competition between parties is dominated by two assumptions, namely programmatic or ideological voters. In

countries that have not developed democracy, generally the personalization factor is so big and prominent. Voter behavior is based more on personal influences or figures in determining choices [9].

While the party that is modern, the influence of figures or people is getting smaller and party institutions (institutional and institutional institutionalization) become stronger. In the context of party institutionalization, the influence of leadership on party organizations also determines. Does the party develop personal leadership with a characteristic of loyalty that relies on people or party leadership is based more on the principles of modern organization, where a leader is a manager who will bring the wheels of the organization in accordance with AD/ART. Resources to fill party leadership are also available from the center to the regions. In that case, a leader has an important role, but does not overshadow the party and loyalty is based on institutions and not personal.

In addition to a number of factors mentioned above, especially internal and external factors, other factors that also have an influence on the future of a political party are the electoral and democratization systems. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell mention that the electoral system makes a big difference over the form of party systems, forms of government (whether coalitions or single parties) [13]. In addition, various choices in dealing with voters in elections, the ability of voters to maintain accountability for their personal representation, the behavior of parliamentarians, how many parliaments contain capable people, how far democracy and cohesion within political parties, the quality of government and of course the quality of life of the people regulated by the government [13]. The influence of the electoral system on democratization and cohesion within political parties is one of which is determined whether party systems and elections can encourage democratic processes in regulating various interests in the process of nominating, placing and recruiting party cadres in elections. Andrew Reynold [14] said that the electoral system would encourage political parties to work better. A good electoral system will encourage political parties to improve their internal organization, pay more attention to community issues, and work for their voters.

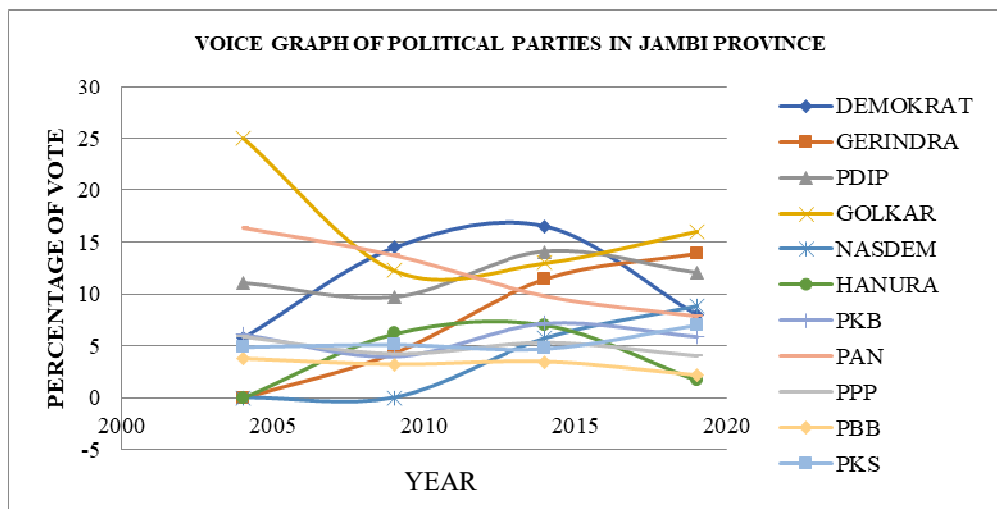
4 Dynamics of Electoral Political Parties in Jambi Province

Political parties in this research are Political Parties in Jambi Province, either Islamic ideology or political parties that do not include Islam as an ideology but cannot be separated from Islamic symbols: Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB), Persatuan Pembangunan Party (PPP), Amanat Nasional Party (PAN), Keadilan Sejahtera Party (PKS), Bulan Bintang Party (PBB) and political parties using nationalist (secular) ideologies: Democrat Party, Demokrasi Indonesia - Perjuangan Party (PDI-P), Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, Hanura Party, the NasDem Party that participated in the legislative elections in 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019. In the 4 (four) stages of the ongoing election, it was seen that existing political parties had fluctuating electoral numbers (see table 1). The dynamics of the electoral volatility seem to indicate that the closeness between political parties and constituents raises weak, unstable and not rooted levels.

Table 1. Amount of Acquisition of Political Parties in Jambi Province

Year	Demokrat	Gerindra	PDI-P	Golkar	NasDem	Hanura	PKB	PAN	PPP	PBB	PKS
2004	5,18	-	11,02	24,97	-	-	6,1	16,14	5,82	3,74	4,88
2009	14,46	4,34	9,65	12,24	-	6,19	3,95	13,72	4,2	3,19	5,11
2014	16,46	11,42	14,06	13	5,75	7,01	7,2	9,75	5,27	3,46	4,72
2019	8	13,86	11,98	16,03	8,84	1,7	5,89	7,79	4	2,14	7

Source: General Election Commission of Jambi Province



General elections with an open proportional system applied in Indonesia basically provide opportunities for candidates and political parties to maximize their ability to perform well in the contestation and maintain the people's political preference. But in the context of the local politics of Jambi Province, winning political parties tend to change and almost the majority of political parties in the Islamic bloc or nationalist (secular) after the opening of direct elections shows a diverse level of electoral volatility which is in a stagnant, stable and high fluctuation position.

Political parties with ideologies and principles are open but attached to the use of Islamic symbols, PAN and PKB parties have an electoral resemblance. Since the start of the post-reform elections, the two parties have experienced ups and downs in the vote. In Jambi Province, in 2004, PAN became the party winning the legislative election with a vote of 16.14%. However, in the next election PAN continued to experience a slump in votes. PAN rests on a strong and rooted symbol of character in the community with Trah the former Governor of Jambi Province, Zulkifli Nurdin. The ideological closeness between Muhammadiyah and PAN in electoral terms has no significant effect in gaining votes. The process of the institutionalization of modern political parties tends to be weak. This can be seen in PAN's voice which continues to decline every period of the election after Zulkifli Nurdin's breed has been left behind. Whereas the PKB in Jambi Province, electoral work raises a fluctuating amount of sound with the middle party down. PKB relies on a vote getter pattern, which utilizes networks that are not too large in the Jambi Province that resonate with traditional regency areas. Relationships are culturally woven as a process of gaining sound in the electoral process that takes place. As for the wider community, the relationship between PKB and constituents tends to be weak and not rooted well.

In political parties with the use of Islamic ideology, PPP, PBB in general does not have a clear root, segmentation, positioning. PBB in the 2019 election actually was unable to penetrate the threshold parliamentary and was automatically lost in the upcoming political dynamics. In this context the relationship between parties and constituents has a weak level of consolidation. This is in line with the party's position which is in the bottom position. PPP that impressed the old party could not get out of the shadow of PKB culturally and structurally in utilizing nahdliyin segmentation. Dualism conflicts that occur in PPP parties also cause an electoral decline. While PKS is actually able to make the party stable in the middle position. The absence of local figures who were able to "sell" in hoisting the electoral voice was replaced by the PKS position that resonated with urban Islamic nodes by utilizing the tarbiyah Islamic network that grew on campus and in schools. The acceleration of relations between PKS cadres and the urban Islamic community and the cot-tail effect as one of the bearer parties of Prabowo Subianto in the 2019 Presidential Election was well utilized to give an electoral voice which increased in the 2019 election.

In Political Parties that use nationalist (secular) ideology: Golkar, PDI-P, Gerindra, NasDem, Hanura, and Democrats basically do not make a significant difference. The political party is in the middle position (catch all) as a "world sweep party" with the same characteristics, namely ideology and political platforms at the organizational level that are not well rooted and some of them still use symbols of charismatic figures in gaining votes in each election. In an institutionalized system, relations between political parties and constituents tend to be weak. In this contestation, there is a decisive figure for creating electoral figures for political parties. The Hanura Party, which has been in the bottom position with no roots, segmentation, or clear positioning, in the 2019 election did not make it through the parliamentary threshold.

The Democrat Party as the winning party in the 2009 and 2014 elections has implications for the presence of the former governor of Jambi Province, Hasan Basri Agus (HBA) as a central figure who has an entrenched positioning and loyalty in society. In the 2019 election, the move of Hasan Basri Agus (HBA) in the Golkar party had a significant impact on the decline of the Democratic party's vote and made the Golkar party an electoral winning party after previously electoral figures which continued to decline after becoming the winning party in the 2004 election. personality has a big influence than the system of institutionalizing political parties in creating electoral numbers. Whereas in the PDI-P party tend to have a stable electoral number with the top position. This is based on the fact that PDI-P is not based on a figure figure in creating party positioning. However, party segmentation is still well maintained by relying on the voter base which is in the traditional-nationalist environment and the middle to lower economic community. While the success of NasDem and Gerindra in increasing the electoral voice has implications for the cot-tail effect of the presence of Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto who are used as figures to be promoted as presidential candidates.

5 Conclusion

Elections that have taken place 4 (four) times in the reform era in Jambi Province resulted in the majority of political parties being in the middle position and becoming a catch-all party by showing diverse electoral volatility which is in a stagnant, stable and experiencing high fluctuations. This fact raises the phenomenon that existing Islamic parties experience a decline in orientation and weak relations with constituents. This problem is due to the existence of Islamic parties or nationalist (sekuler) in the absence or lack of social capital built both in strengthening ideology and political platforms which have implications for the work program and party positioning. Political parties are still based on the symbol of electoral personality which has low bargaining power and does not take root in the relationship of institutionalization of political parties with constituents and weak consolidation stability in maintaining voter preferences. Thus, the political process that occurs is still very traditional that it is possible for the winning party to continue to take turns and the loss of certain political parties in contestation in line with the inability of political parties to create a deep and consolidated positioning both in society.

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