

The Volunteers Phenomenon of Presidential Election in Indonesia

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Abstract: *This study identifies the political influence of Jokowi Mania volunteers on the policies of President Joko Widodo Period II. Joko Widodo's election victories in 2014 and 2019 did not occur without the role of volunteers. This political volunteer movement emerged based on shared unrest and the people's sense of distrust of the democratic space, which is dominated by political parties and politicians who are problematic. This research uses qualitative research. The data collection technique was obtained by using the Ncapture feature on the Nvivo 12 plus, where the Ncapture feature is a web browser extension developed to capture web content in the form of website content, online media, and other document content such as scientific articles and collections of observers' opinions regarding the policies of President Joko Widodo. Based on the study results, four important points have been analyzed by researchers using crosstab on the Nvivo 12 Plus. The first is advocacy, with a percentage of 35.71%, the second is monitoring, with 21.43%, the third is the program, and the last is reconciliation, with 19.05%. The political policies carried out by Jokowi Volunteers also affect most of those who used to be policy volunteers are now part of the government and occupy strategic positions.*

Keywords: *Volunteers, Jokowi, Election, Political Policy*

Introduction

The victory of an election cannot be separated from the help of the actors behind it, one of which is volunteers. Volunteering in the world of politics has existed for a long time, but their actions have been invisible and institutionalized (Mustakim, 2021). The popularity of political volunteers occurred in the 2014 presidential election, where the victory of the Jokowi-JK pair was also the success of the 'Jokowi volunteers'. This political volunteer movement emerged based on shared unrest and a sense of people's distrust of the democratic space, which is dominated by political parties and problematic politicians (Mangku Alam,

Erisandi Arditama, 2017). The accumulation of public disappointment with the performance of political parties eventually gave birth to a political volunteer movement (Arianto, 2016).

In the 2014 presidential election, Joko Widodo-Youssef Kala won with 53.15 percent of the vote, defeating his opponent, Prabowo Subianto-Hata Rajasa, who received 46.85 percent of the vote, according to a decision by the Indonesian KPU on July 22, 2014 (Lestari, 2017). Furthermore, in the 2019-2024 presidential election, Jokowi won again with his deputy, Ma'ruf Amin (Neno, Agustina & Tanggu H, Ferly & Wutun, 2020). In the recapitulation results from

the KPU, Jokowi won 55.50% of the votes, followed by Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno with 44.50% of the votes. Of the 34 provinces in Indonesia, Jokowi excels in 21 provinces. The percentage of Jokowi's votes in 2019 was more significant than in the 2014 presidential election (Pusparimba et al., 2021).

Joko Widodo's election victories in 2014 and 2019 did not occur without the role of volunteers (Arsyad Akbar, 2021). This volunteer work is not only directly in the field of supporting presidential and vice-presidential candidates but also carries out activities in cyberspace to promote potential supporters (Setiawan, 2017). In the 2019 election, 570 volunteer organs declared support for the presidential or vice-presidential candidate pair Joko Widodo or Ma'ruf Amin in the 2019 presidential election (Hamdani et al., 2019). The role of volunteers is so significant in building a support base for the promoted candidate.

This volunteer movement is often associated with the interests they bring to support Jokowi. In general, interest groups are almost identical to any political party and are the primary liaison catalysts for the government (Ashari S, 2018). Stakeholders are critical forces in policy-making that can ultimately revitalize the political system in the form of the birth of political groups that promote pluralism and competition in society (Maiwan, 2016). This group is often present in elections to influence the outcome of a political dispute to gain an advantage, especially for group members or the general public (Mukhlisin, 2021). Berry and Goldman (Abdul, 2019) classify the ways or strategies used by interest groups to influence the government as:

- a. Lobbying for direct communication with relevant government officials on the issues discussed. Wise Cummings defines lobbying as communication with legislators or other government officials to influence their decisions (Cummings 192:217). Stakeholders, potent groups, often have a dedicated lobbyist or hire a professional lobbyist with specific skills in the field.
- b. Through the media, interest groups often use the media to capture emotions and attract public attention to enable governments to address specific issues.
- c. Pressure from the community, where the lower class community supports this stakeholder group, to convey certain things.

Interest groups are a means to strengthen the delivery of people's demands and aspirations in a political system. In this case, interest groups become significant to society. Groups are frequently present at election times to influence the outcomes of political contestations in order to provide benefits, particularly to members of a group or the general public (Mukhlisin, 2021).

Interest groups have four roles in government life (Sagita, 2016), namely (1) encouraging regime change through support and efforts to create collective social awareness of the main issues of life; Stakeholders, political will, and social initiatives seek to influence policy through this role; (2) monitoring or supervising government administration.(3) facilitate citizens' reconciliation with the judiciary This interest group often advocates for the general public, who are often victims of government violence and legal inequality, and (4) implements several community empowerment

programs (Gaffar, 1999:204). Interest groups are a means of disseminating people's desires and aspirations in the political system, making stakeholders very important and meaningful to the community (Mukhlisin, 2021). As we all know, politics consists of people who act and behave politically (consisting of people who act politically) who are politically organized by interest groups who try to get the government to influence policies and actions that follow their interests (Daniarsyah, 2015).

Organizational interest groups were born as channels of expression of interests between the interests of the community and the government's. In the political system, their role is to formulate and respond to requests or wishes from the grassroots, which are then channeled to formal political institutions. Interest groups were born to achieve a similar agenda, and from these groups they fight for these interests. They then work to make the government policies they want (Paoki & Hanafie, 2021).

Many volunteers on Jokowi's side are now part of the government regarding this. This phenomenon is interesting because many of the volunteers who helped with Jokowi's victory in these two periods were in strategic positions in the government. However, Volunteers Joman (Jokowi Mania), led by Immanuel Ebenezer, on several occasions criticized the government's policies, one of which was related to the Polymerase Chain Reaction (PCR), where prices fluctuated, indicating there was cooperation between the rulers and businesspeople in the circle of President Joko Widodo's government (Prastya H, 2021). This is also interesting because this is Joko Widodo's last period.

After all, Jokowi has no ties or burdens to follow Joman anymore. Therefore, it is interesting for researchers to examine this to find out what Joman's role in Jokowi's political policies in the second period was.

Method

The type of research used by the researchers in this study is qualitative. The purpose of qualitative research is to provide an orderly, realistic, and accurate picture of the population of a particular area. Qualitative research is a research method based on a post-positivist philosophy. used to study natural objects (as opposed to experiments) where the researcher is the primary tool.

In this study, the authors used primary data. The primary data sources include online media and previous research related to joman volunteers in President Joko Widodo's political policies. The following are the sources of data in this study.

Table : 1. Data Sources

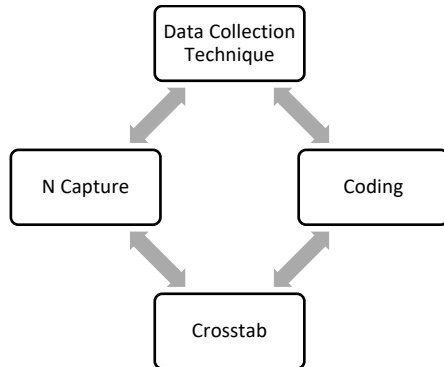
Social Media	Website
Republika	<i>Republika.co.id</i>
Kompas	<i>kompas.com</i>
Jawa Post	<i>jawapost.com</i>
Tempo	<i>tempo.co</i>
Jakarta Post	<i>thejakartapost.com</i>

Data Collection Techniques

Techniques were carried out by triangulation (a combination of observation, documentation, and data collected). Obtained by using the Capture feature on the Nvivo 12 plus, where the N capture feature is a web browser extension developed to capture web content in the form of the website content, online media, and other document content such as scientific articles and a collection

of observers' opinions regarding joman volunteers in President Joko's political policies. Widodo This data is collected from reliable sources.

Figure : 1. Data Collection Technique



Result and Discussion

It is common knowledge that the phenomenon of post-reform political volunteers has indeed been present since the 2012 DKI Jakarta regional head election contestation. However, the peak of political volunteering occurred during the 2014 presidential contest. One of the pillars of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla's (Jokowi-JK) victory. This organizational work can then divide the typology of volunteers into two parts, namely, community volunteers and non-community volunteers. Community volunteers are community members and have a leader or coordinator, such as an organization. Meanwhile, non-community volunteers usually move and work alone (personally) to spread Jokowi-JK campaign messages. Volunteers of this type often function according to their respective abilities and creativity, with the aim of allowing the public to get to know the Jokowi-JK pair better.

Ahead of the transition to Jokowi's second term as president in 2019, the role of Jokowi's volunteers is not as significant as when Jokowi advanced in the first

period. However, the problem here is no longer a question of the quality of the role of volunteers in winning Jokowi for the second term. Still, more of a matter of quantity, considering that the number of volunteers has already grown. Indeed, there are no exact figures because they are ideologically fluid and spread across several communities.

The Role of Volunteers

The volunteer program is a social movement that is intended to increase the participation and quality of voters in exercising their right to vote. KPU's Democracy Volunteers are KPU's partners in continuing the district/city-based socialization and election agenda. This role and community are expected to be able to encourage high awareness and full responsibility of the community to optimally utilize their rights in elections. The Volunteer Democracy Program (Relation) was first launched by the KPU in 2014 as a response to the increasing number of people participating in the general election as well as a new strategy to increase voter participation. Democratic Relations or Volunteers in 2014 can only be achieved by using five different strategies, namely, religious groups, women's groups, persons with disabilities, and marginalized groups (Farisi & Maulana, 2020). Furthermore, Article 448 of the Election Law states that "elections are held with public participation in the form of election socialization and political education for voters." This article is revealed in Article 15, paragraph 2 letter (f) PKPU No. 10/2018, which states: "Education of voters can be done through the formation of democratic agents or volunteers." In

addition, the terms and procedures for the recruitment of democracy volunteers are then regulated in a circular and implementation instructions that have been issued by the Indonesian KPU (Al-Khawarizmi, 2019).

Furthermore, Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections confirms that general elections are held with public participation; this provision shows that public participation is one of the critical indicators of the implementation of elections (Sucipto, 2019). The Indonesian state holds general elections in the context of realizing people's sovereignty and implementing democratic principles and values. This increases public political awareness to actively participate in general elections in order to realize the ideals of a democratic Indonesian society (Farisi & Maulana, 2020).

Then in the 2019 election, the Indonesian General Elections Commission (KPU) officially formed Democratic Volunteers for the 2019 Election throughout Indonesia. The formation of democratic volunteers is stated in the RI KPU regulation Number 32/PP.08-SD/06/KPU/I/2019 concerning the Formation of Democratic Volunteers for Simultaneous Elections 2019. Meanwhile, in the attachment to the RI KPU Letter Number: 32/PP.08-SD/06/KPU/I/2019, dated January 9, 2019, regarding the Formation of Democratic Volunteers in the 2019 Simultaneous Elections, explaining the duties of Democracy Volunteers as subjects who will carry out socialization and education to voters. The formation of Democratic Volunteers in each regency/city is limited to only 55 people, with the aim of increasing voter

participation and reducing the number of invalid votes (Nazir et al., 2020).

In response to the 2019 Indonesian election, changes to the electoral system were carried out with the passing of Law Number 7 concerning the 2017 Election, introducing the 2019 Simultaneous Election Mechanism. The parliamentary threshold of 4% and the presidential determination of 20% of the seats in the DPR or 25% of the vote. This automatically adds to the challenges and complexities that have never been faced by political parties before, not to mention the problem of increasingly fierce legislative competition. In contrast, as many as 7,978 candidates only fought for 575 seats in the DPR. At the same time, political parties must fight for their victory in the 2019 presidential election. This situation makes political parties work extra hard to win seats and pass their party in the DPR while winning the presidential election. Thus, the parties divide their attention between fighting for victory in the presidential election and getting votes in the legislative election (stacked). Parties that can place their cadres as presidential and vice-presidential candidates have the advantage of electoral incentives.

Therefore, the presence of volunteers is considered to be able to help the work of the coalition of political parties to win the presidential election so that political parties can concentrate more on fighting for votes that will pass to the DPR. The configuration of partisan volunteer groups in the 2019 election was dominated by the desire to win the presidential election. This can be seen from the characteristics of the volunteer formation and the distribution pattern of the volunteer team. In November 2018,

Jokowi-Ma'ruf registered more than 420 supporting volunteer groups with the General Elections Commission (KPU) (Wildansyah, 2018), including Jokowi Mania, Jokowi Maluku, P2NUSA, Jokowi Pusat, Sangkar Bejo, and Projo.

From some of the partisan volunteer groups shown, we can determine several patterns of volunteer involvement based on their background. A first pattern is a volunteer group whose activists are connected to a mass node or represent a certain mass base. This includes labor volunteers and religious leaders (ulama) from both sides. Second, volunteer groups represent certain social categories, especially among the younger generation and gender (women). Furthermore, we have volunteers who show loyalty to the candidates. Jokowi's supporters include Joman, Duta Jokowi, Secretary of the Archipelago, Bara JP, and Projo.

From this pattern, it is implied that partisan volunteers tend to patch up the performance of political parties by facilitating the work of the winning team in approaching the voting community, especially from non-constituent groups of the nominating party. The campaign team benefits from volunteers who work at the grassroots level, such as building a positive image and directing public opinion in building candidate branding when political parties commit violations that are difficult for voters to reach. Volunteers can penetrate the boundaries of voters who are hindered by ideology, groups, and political parties. Because they operate outside the domain of political parties, the salient characteristic of partisan volunteer groups must be to support issues that favor their candidates

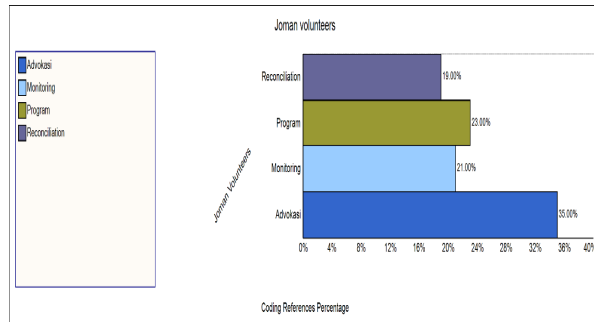
and their opinions that harm their opposing candidates. Political volunteers can confirm arguments that are beneficial to a political party or candidate. Their perceived lack of credibility causes a stigma that surrounds political parties. The views of the volunteers can be heard more by the community. Volunteers, who usually consist of activists and intellectuals, are considered to have valid knowledge so that their arguments can influence public attitudes or opinions. At the same time, the party can also concentrate on strengthening its mass base and relatively avoid criticism from critical voters. For example, Jokowi's volunteer organization, Projo, always builds positive opinions about Jokowi's government by revealing the government's success (WBP, 2018).

The Role of Jokowi Mania Volunteers

The survival of partisan volunteer groups in the previous election tried to maintain Jokowi's victory factor in the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election and 2014 Presidential Election, which was based on the representation of the expectations of the ordinary people to be effective in the 2019 Presidential Election (Arianto, 2017). Ahead of the transition to Jokowi's second term as president in 2019, the role of Jokowi's volunteers is not as significant as when Jokowi advanced in the first period (Herdiansah, 2019). However, the problem here is no longer a question of the quality of the role of volunteers in winning Jokowi for the second term. Still, more of a matter of quantity, considering that the number of volunteers has already grown. In this discussion, the author looks at the political influence of Joman volunteers on the political policies of

President Joko Widodo during the second period. The data was taken from 30 news related to Jokowi volunteers and processed using Nvivo 12 Plus with crosstab analysis and resulted in 4 main points, as follows.

Figure : 2. The influence of Joman volunteers in President Joko Widodo's Political Policy in the Second Period



Based on the data presented above, we can see that Joman volunteers in the political policies of President Joko Widodo for the second period can be seen. First, from the advocacy side, on the advocacy side, it has a percentage of 35.71%. making changes to the system through support and efforts to raise public awareness of important life issues. Through this role, stakeholders seek to develop the political will and social initiatives to influence policy together. Second, monitoring has a percentage of 21.43%. Monitoring or supervising government administration. Critiquing the protest if you find indications of abuse of power and violation of the law by state officials. The three programs have a percentage of 23.18%. Several programs in the context of community empowerment. The fourth reconciliation has a rate of 19.05%. Facilitate the reconciliation of citizens with the judiciary. This interest group often defends the general public, who are often victims of government violence and legal imbalances.

Figure : 3. Narratives of Joman Volunteers in President Joko Widodo's Political Policy in the Second Period The



The image above, which is analyzed with the nVivo 12 Plus software using Word Frequency from the news collected, shows that the keywords most discussed are volunteer, president, Joman, and policy. This also reinforces that volunteers, including Joman (Jokowi Mania), have an essential contribution to Jokowi's victory (Koriun, 2021).

Until now, Jokowi, who is still serving as President until 2023, seems to have still been related to his volunteers. Jokowi's volunteers are now mainly in government; this phenomenon has existed since he became President in 2014. Many Jokowi volunteers eventually became members of various BUMN commissioners, which continued until Pak Jokowi became President in 2019 (Umbari P, 2021). The political observer from Padjadjaran University, Kunto Adi Wibowu, in an interview with merdeka.com, thinks this action makes sense in some countries. Kento argues that in practice, officers must consider individual skills and competencies. "So, for example, Moss Abdi Slank, you have the skills and competencies to help Telekom, which will eventually become a big telecommunications company, so the big

question is whether your people are qualified." They don't have it. A clear idea. Go for it. This is dangerous.

Conclusion

Based on the results of the study, four critical results have been analyzed by researchers using crosstab on Nvivo 12 Plus; the influence of Jokowi volunteers on Jokowi's political policies for the second period is, firstly, advocacy, with a percentage of 35.71%, second, monitoring, with 21.43%, and third is the program. The last is reconciliation with 19.05%. The political policies carried out by Jokowi Volunteers are also affected because most of those who used to be policy volunteers are now part of the government and occupy strategic positions.

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