



POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN A MULTI-ETHNIC
SOCIETY: LOCAL GOVERNORATE ELECTIONS IN
JAKARTA, 2007

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses the political participation of residents in Jakarta, with particular reference to the 2007 local direct governorate elections. It examines the respondents' orientation to politics and their levels of political participation. The political reform that took place in 1998 and brought about the downfall of Suharto's regime changed the nature of electoral rules and trends in the Indonesian electoral politics. One striking feature of these trends is the adoption of a direct election system for the government heads at all levels of governance, from the President to mayors and regents. On 23 July 2007, the Constitutional Court passed a judicial review of the Law Number 32 of 2004 on Regional Autonomy in which independent candidates were allowed to exercise their political rights to be elected as heads of regional governments. The 2007 election for the local government in Jakarta voted a new government to administer the city until 2012. For the first time, a large number of the population of Jakarta took part in the election process. The elections for the local government are the starting point for the type of political participation emerging in Jakarta. The study is based upon a questionnaire survey. The return rate of 77.3 per cent (309 out of 400 of the questionnaires), considering the political sensitivity in Jakarta, is encouraging. The study finds that the respondents are in the medium level of politics, as 73.8 per cent of them cast their votes in the first ever Jakarta local governorate elections. They participate in politics, by voting, campaigning, and discussing but not on a very active basis. Age, marital status, ethnicity, income and occupation also play important roles in determining participation in politics. However, the study concludes that gender and education have negative relationship to political participation in Jakarta.

ملخص البحث

تقوم هذه الدراسة بتحليل المشاركة السياسيّة لسكان جاكرتا بإشارة خاصة للإنتخابات المحليّة للولاية عام 2007م. وتختبر الدراسة سلوك عينة بحثية، نحو السياسة وقياس مستوى مشاركتهم السياسيّة. إن الإصلاح السياسي والذي تمّ عام 1998م وأدى لانهييار نظام سوهارتو أدى إلى تغيير في طبيعة النظم الانتخابية وتحولات في السياسات الانتخابية. وقد نتج عن هذه التحولات اعتماد الانتخابات المباشرة لكل مستويات الحكم: ابتداءً من الرئيس مروراً بعمد المدن ومادون ذلك من مستويات الحكم. ففي يوم 23 يوليو عام 2007م، اعتمدت المحكمة الدستورية القانون رقم 32 لعام 2004م الخاص بالحكم الذاتي للمناطق الاقليمية في أعقاب انتخابات عام 2007م، ثم انتخاب حكومة اقليمية لجاكرتا لإدارة المدينة حتى عام 2012م. ولأول مرة شاركت أعداد ضخمة من مواطني جاكرتا في العملية الانتخابية. وتعتبر تلك الانتخابات المحلية هي نقطة البداية لمشاركة سياسيّة فاعلة في جاكرتا. اعتمدت هذه الدراسة ورقة استبيان وزعت لعينة من المبحوثين. وبلغت نسبة من قامو بملا الاستمارة وارجاعها للباحثة 77.3% (309 من مجموع 400)، وبالأخذ بعين الاعتبار الحساسية السياسيّة لأوضاع مدينة جاكرتا تُعتبر هذه النسبة مشجعة للغاية. وتوصلت الدراسة إلى أن المبحوثين يقعون في درجة متوسطة من حيث المشاركة السياسيّة، إذ أن 73.8% منهم يدلون بأصواتهم للمرة الأولى في الانتخابات المحليّة لمدينة جاكرتا. وقد شارك هذا النفر في العملية السياسيّة من خلال التصويت، وفي الحملة الانتخابية وبالنقاش الحرّ والجاد. توصلت الدراسة إلى أن العمر، والوضع الاجتماعي، والأثنية، ومستوى الدخل، والمهنة من العوامل الفاعلة والتي تحدد مستوى المشاركة السياسيّة. من جهة ثانية توصلت الدراسة إلى أن عاملي نوع الجنس والمستوى التعليمي يرتبطان سلبياً بمستوى المشاركة السياسيّة في مدينة جاكرتا.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Human Sciences (Political Science).

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the results of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that is has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degree at IIUM or other institutions.

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Date.....

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**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN A MULTI-ETHNIC SOCIETY: LOCAL
GOVERNORATE ELECTIONS IN JAKARTA, 2007**

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I dedicate this thesis to my beloved family:

*Suwarto (father), Neneng Hasanah (mother), Gunawan Apriyanto (brother),
Yulia Kurniani & Utami Megawati (sisters), and brothers/sister in law*

For the deepest and earnest prayer, love, care, inspiration, and endless support

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABRI	<i>Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia</i> , Armed Forces of the Indonesian Republic
DIY	<i>Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta</i> , the Special District of Yogyakarta
DKI	<i>Daerah Khusus Ibukota</i> , Special District of the Capital City
DPRD	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah</i> , Regional People's Representative Council (Regional Parliament)
DPD	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Daerah</i> , Regional representation
Golkar	<i>Golongan Karya</i> , Functional Groups Party
ID	<i>Identitas Diri</i> , Identity Card
JPPR	<i>Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih untuk Rakyat</i> , People Voters Education Network
Masyumi	<i>Majlis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia</i> , Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims
KKN	<i>Korupsi, Kolusi, and Nepotisme</i> , Corrupt, Collusive and Nepotic
KPU	<i>Komisi Pemilihan Umum</i> , General Election Commission;
KPUD	<i>Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah</i> , the Local Election Commission (Regional Parliament)
KPUD Kabupaten/Kota	<i>Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah Kabupaten/Kota</i> , District Local Election Commission
MPR	<i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i> , People's Consultative Assembly
NU	<i>Nahdlatul Ulama</i> , Muslim Scholars Association
PKB	<i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i> , National Awakening Party
PAN	<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> , National Mandate Party
Panwas	<i>Panitia Pengawas</i> , the Election Supervisory Committee
PD	<i>Partai Demokrat</i> , Democrat Party
PDIP	<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan</i> , Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle,
Pilkada	<i>Pemilihan Kepala Daerah</i> , Local Governorate Elections
PKS	<i>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</i> , Prosperous Justice Party
PPP	<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> , United Development Party
RT	<i>Rukun Tetangga</i> , Neighbourhood Association
RW	<i>Rukun Warga</i> , Community Association
Sembako	<i>sembilan bahan pokok</i> , nine material foods
VOC	<i>Vereenigde Oost-indische Compagnie</i> , United East Indian Company

CHAPTER ONE

FRAMEWORK OF STUDY

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The metropolitan city of Jakarta, Indonesia, composed of five districts of residents and administrative reGENCY, is a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic city. The population of Jakarta is approximately 8 million.¹ There are three major ethnic groups residing in Jakarta, namely Betawi, Javanese, and Sundanese. Ethnically, the Javanese overshadow the rest.² The homeland of the Javanese is the Island of Java, where two-thirds of all Indonesians live, and where the Javanese elaborated over centuries a rich culture that has become the single greatest source of Indonesian identity. Even though cabinets have been recruited to include minority groups, however most of the powerful men in government are Javanese. Each region has its own historical background that consists of ethnicity, religious orientations, level of education, and social maintenance.³

Jakarta with heterogeneous character of its people actually can be a barometer for the rising level of democratization in the country. According to government's 2004 local autonomy laws no.32, Jakarta has been ruled by the local governor. Despite multi-ethnic character of the metropolitan city of Jakarta, its governor for the first time has been directly elected at the metropolitan level with a high degree of public

¹ Dinas Kependudukan dan Catatan Sipil [Department of Demography and Civil Record] <www.kependudukan.sipil.go.id> (Retrieved 8 October, 2009).

² The census of population in 2000 shows that Jakarta population is dominated by Javanese (35.16 percent), *Betawi* (27.65 percent), *Sundanese* (15.27 percent), *Tionghoa* (15 percent), *Minangkabau* (5 percent), and others (1.89 percent).

³ Ahmad Nidzammuddin Sulaiman, *Budaya politik dalam masyarakat majemuk Malaysia* [Political culture in Malaysia's plural society] in *Etika dan budaya berpolitik dari perspektif Islam* [Ethnics and political culture from Islamic perspective], edited by Abdul Monir Yaacob and Suzalie Mohamad (Kuala Lumpur: Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia, 2002), 34.

participation of the residents of Jakarta in August 8, 2007 elections.⁴ All the three ethnic groups residing in Jakarta actively participated in electing the governor. It is interesting to find out what could explain the popular participation of the many ethnic groups of the metropolitan city of Jakarta.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study examines political participation among the residents of Jakarta, Indonesia, with particular reference to the local governorate election held in 2007. The study aims to investigate the factors of political participation among the residents of Jakarta.

This study answers the following questions:

- 1) What is the socio-economic and political profile of Jakarta?
- 2) What is the level of political participation in Jakarta?
- 3) What is the relationship between socio-economic status and political participation?

1.3 PROBLEM JUSTIFICATIONS

Studies on political participation are many. However, studies as such are mainly theoretical in nature. This study attempts to fill in this existing gap in the literature on Indonesian politics and society and could positively contribute to enrich the literature on political participation among residents of Jakarta.

⁴ It bases on article 65 no.32 laws year 2004 of Local Government and article 2 and article 3 no.06 government laws year 2005 of the election, appointment and discharge validation of the head and vice local governor, which the activities of direct local governor election happened through preparing and implementing step.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of this study are to:

- 1) Examine the nature of the domestic environment of Jakarta.
- 2) Explain the approaches adopted by residents of Jakarta in participating in the political process in Jakarta.
- 3) Analyse the socio-economic factors of political participation among residents of Jakarta.
- 4) Find out levels of political participation.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

Jakarta plays important social and economic role in the Indonesian politics. The 2007 election for local government in Jakarta voted a new government to administer the city until 2012. This was the first ever direct elections in which people directly elected their representatives. The residents of Jakarta were enthusiastic about the elections and are convinced that new government will be able to bring many changes to the city. The elections for local government are the starting point for the type of political participation emerging in Jakarta. Therefore, the literature below deals with Indonesia and Jakarta, and political participation in the politics of Indonesia and Jakarta.

1.5.1 Indonesia and Jakarta

Irman G. Lanti studied political culture and *aliran* (political groupings) politics in Indonesia. He argues that Indonesia is a multi-ethnic and multi-culture society. It is hard to identify the type of political culture its citizens have developed. The state with homogenous ethnic group normally is more developed compared to states with

heterogeneous ethnic groups. However, homogenous and heterogeneous states have similar cultural features in terms of arts and customs, political behavior, and class stratification.⁵

William H. Frederick and Robert L. Worden argue that Indonesian political culture is typically of three types: (1) traditional, (2) Islamic, and (3) modern.⁶ In the late twentieth century, the Javanese kingship model of Suharto's increasingly paternalistic rule in the name of the New Order reflects the Javanese cultural underpinning. Although Indonesia was a cultural mosaic, the Javanese with more than 45 percent of the population in the 1990s, were by far the largest single ethnic group. Therefore, the Javanese filled the most important positions and played a very significant role in government and Armed Forces of the Indonesian Republic or *Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* (ABRI). The officer corps in particular was Javanese, partly as a result of Java's central role in the development of modern Indonesia. For example Indonesia's five leading institutions of higher education were located in Java.

Moreover, the Javanese dominated ABRI was very influential in policy making processes in Indonesia. Historically, in Java power has been deployed through a patrimonial bureaucratic state in which proximity to the ruler was the key to command and rewards. This power can be described in terms of a patron-client relation in whom the patron is the *bapak* (father or elder). The terms of deference and obedience to the ruler are conceived in the Javanese *gustikawula* (lord-subject) formulation, which describes man's relationship to God as well as the subject's relationship to his ruler.

⁵ Irman G. Lanti, "The elusive quest for statehood: Fundamental issues of the state, political cultures and *aliran* politics in Indonesia," (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of British Columbia, 2004), 50-51.

⁶ William H. Frederick and Robert L. Worden, "Indonesia: A country study in political culture," (Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1993), <<http://countrystudies.us/indonesia/85.htm>> (Retrieved 03 February, 2009).

The reciprocal trait for obedience is benevolence. In other words, benefits flow from the center to the obedient. By extension government's developmental activities are a boon to the faithful. Bureaucratically, Javanese culture is suffused with an attitude of obedience such as respect for seniors, conformity to hierarchical authority, and avoidance of confrontation, characteristics of the pre-independence *priyayi* class whose roots go back to the traditional Javanese courts. The traditional political culture thus has been practiced since Indonesia led by the first President Sukarno, particularly in the Java island. Similarly, Harry Benda argues that Indonesian political culture has extended political tradition, in which personal *sultanism* (rulership or kingship) has been universal.⁷ This tradition thus was continuing in post-colonial Indonesia. However, Anderson stresses an important of Javanese political culture as a factor behind authoritarianism during Indonesia's authoritarian New Order.⁸

In Islamic political culture, Indonesia has the largest number of Muslims in the world. Donald K. Emmerson stresses the concepts of piety (*santri*), syncretism (*abangan*) and Muslims as the main variants of Indonesian political culture.⁹ These concepts usually are used to analyze identification of political party and political ideology.¹⁰ In addition, the concept of reverse (*seberang*) Muslim has been added to the terminology describing the roots of modern Muslims in Indonesia. Muslim community is originated from the maritime Sumatera and Sulawesi regions of Indonesia. The characteristics of this society are more competitive and less obsessed

⁷ Saiful Mujani, "Religious democrats: Democratic culture and Muslim political participation in post-Suharto Indonesia," (Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 2003), 33.

⁸ William H. Frederick and Robert L. Worden.

⁹ *Abangan's* lifestyle is not much touched by Islam. They observe none of the Islamic duties for instance do not pray, do not attend the mosque, and do not fast during Ramadan. They certainly would not consider ordering their lives around the commands of Islam. On the other hand, *santri* attempt to live strictly according to the prescriptions of Islamic law such as perform the five daily prayers, visit the mosque on Fridays, fast during Ramadan and learn to sing Qur'an verses.

¹⁰ Aris Ananta, Evi Nurvidya Arifin & Leo Suryadinata, *Indonesian electoral behaviour: A statistical perspective*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004), 8.

with the ideas of unity and harmony. Unlike the traditional and the Islamic, Frederick and Worden argue that the modern political culture in Indonesia emerged in the early 1990s. It reflects non-traditional, non-ethnic, and secular values. Urban centered, truly national in its scope, and more materialistically focused, Indonesia's politics in the 1990s were influenced by both domestic and international developments. Moreover, Indonesia's modern political culture is not monolithic. Given the diversities in political background, the Indonesia's government amalgamates those three concepts into one generic concept, *Pancasila*.¹¹

J.S. Furnivall argues that Indonesia is the best instance of 'plural society' or 'melting-pot' society, whereby it always has an interesting political phenomenon, particularly when the ethnic groups compete for scarce resources. The ethnicity tends to divide people and to influences division of interest. According to him, plural societies are defined as "one in which ... different sections of the community live side by side, but separately, within the same political unit".¹² Here, the society refers to multi-ethnic groups in a geographical condition under common political administration and the identity based on similar cultural characters. The ethnic groups also interact with each other and develop their own institutions, regulate its own affairs, maintain their own culture, and perform education and political socialization

¹¹ "The *Pancasila* (or five principles of state) was first formulated by former President Sukarno in 1945, as the ideological foundation of an independent Indonesia. It consists of (1) Belief in one almighty god; (2) Just and civilized humanity; (3) Unity of Indonesia; (4) People hood guided by the spirit of wisdom in deliberation and representation; and (5) Social justice. The *Pancasila* as an ideology puts all religions on par and indirectly thwarts the establishment of an Islamic state. Therefore in the 1950s Islamic parties such as *Masyumi* and *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) rejected it, resulting in a constitutional crisis; NU later changed its stance." This definition was taken from Aris Ananta, Evi Nurvidya Arifin & Leo Suryadinata, 9.

¹² J.S. Furnivall, *Colonial policy and practice: A comparative study of Burma and Netherlands India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 304.

in separate institutions. As a result, when they are living with occasional interaction, the relationship among these groups has tendency towards conflict.¹³

Yasmine Zaki Shahab, an anthropologist from University of Indonesia, says that the ethnic groups in Jakarta possess a common culture, custom, behaviour, and a shared happiness.¹⁴ Hence, the pluralistic and multi-cultural composition of the residents of Jakarta has positively contributed to political development in Jakarta. Even though not a major original inhabitants of Jakarta, the *Betawi* ethnic group still has an important role in determining the success of Jakarta's local government election.¹⁵ The Secretary General of Organization of Betawi's Conference (*Badan Musyawarah Masyarakat Betawi*), Sibro Malisi, says that the residents of *Betawi* were usually living and sharing their land and property with other ethnics since hundred years ago.

Jacqueline Knoerr argues that *Orang Betawi*, *Orang Jakarta*, and *Orang Indonesia* are different from each other. The *Orang Betawi* and *Orang Jakarta* are two categories of people to whom *Jakartan* culture and identity belong. In other words, *Jakartan* culture and identity are different. The *Orang Betawi* refers to the original inhabitants of Jakarta, in which most of these people were originally brought to Jakarta as slaves by colonizers, where they created a new culture and identity. On the contrary, *Orang Jakarta* means the people are not the original inhabitants of Jakarta.

¹³ Irman G. Lanti, 8.

¹⁴ Mulyawan Karim and Neli Triana, "Warga Tionghoa tak ingin didiskriminasi [Tionghoa does not want to discriminated]", in *Jakarta memilih: Pilkada dan pembelajaran demokrasi [Jakarta's electing: Local governor election and learning democracy]*, edited by Budiman Tanuredjo, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2007), 40.

¹⁵ *Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi DKI Jakarta* [The official centre statistics of DKI Jakarta Province] shows the population of *Betawi* is approximately 2.2 million or 27.65 percent from 8 million populations in Jakarta 2000, <www.bps.go.id>. (Retrieved August 7, 2009).

They came to become the elites in Jakarta after independence, and mostly they are of Javanese origin.¹⁶

1.5.2 Political Participation in Indonesia and Jakarta

Conflicts and problems are always happening in multi-culture and multi-ethnic city of Jakarta. However, its residents have great passion and enthusiasm for politics.¹⁷ They take part elections and vote. They believe that participation in the elections is one way to exercise freedom of expression in determining ones political destiny. They expect that their elected representatives are expected to actualize the voters' aspiration and solve their problems. Anouk Ride says, anyone who is disappointed, bored or bias about democracy, Jakarta is the place to rediscover what politics does.¹⁸

The survey from *Kompas* national daily newspaper suggests that Jakarta has a reputation for being more democratic and is distinct from its other cities in many ways. The voters of Jakarta are more rational: as they are believed to be educated and have more access to information.¹⁹ Effendi Ghazali and Ahmad Fachruddin opine that the residents of Jakarta are more knowledgeable than residents of other cities in Indonesia.²⁰ However, The Education Network of Voter to the People or *Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih untuk Rakyat* (JPPR) believes that political culture of the residents

¹⁶ Jacqueline Knoerr, "*Orang Betawi, orang Jakarta, orang Indonesia: Construction and transformation of ethnic, urban and national identity in Jakarta,*" Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Department I-Integration and Conflict, <<http://www.eth.mpg.de/people/knoerr/construction-transformation-identity.html>>, (Retrieved 28 January, 2009).

¹⁷ The report of local Jakarta Election Commission showed that political participation of the residents of Jakarta was fairly high, in which about 3.7 million (65 percent) of 5.7 million voters were given their votes.

¹⁸ Anouk Ride, "Indonesia: Power of protest: On the streets of Jakarta, people are tearing down the guarded gate to freedom," *New Internationalist*, Nov 1, 1999 via The Free Library. <<http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Indonesia>>, (Retrieved 28 January, 2009).

¹⁹ Mulyawan Karim and Neli Triana, 241.

²⁰ Ahmad Fachruddin, *Tukang insinyur jadi gubernur: Pilkada DKI 2007 demokratisasi civil society* [Bachelor of engineer become a governor: Local governor election of DKI 2007, democratization of civil society], (Jakarta: PT. Nusa Utama, 2008), 85.

of Jakarta towards government recently has become lower than before; it can be seen in little enthusiasm they show towards political participation.²¹ However, the literature above suggests that no serious study has been conducted to examine the nature political participation of the residents of Jakarta. Therefore, this study attempts to fill in the vacuum in the literature.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study examines the relationship between socio-economic factors and political participation among residents of Jakarta. Therefore, the theoretical framework used in this study is composed of the following two concepts and their indicators: Political participation and socio-economic factors. These concepts are discussed below:

1.6.1 Political Participation

Political participation could be defined as an individual's activity in the society who plans to influence the operation of political system.²² An individual in choosing the government's leader, whether directly or indirectly influences public policy. Here, political participation refers to citizen's act directly influencing some political outcomes such as vote, political discussion, campaign involvement, grasp public office, participation in candidate's forum, as well as demonstration. In simple word, political participation is people behaviour which directly expresses their political opinions.

²¹ *Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih untuk Rakyat* [The Education Network of Voter to the People], *Informasi Tentang Pilkada* [Information about governor's election], www.jppr.or.id, (Retrieved January 3, 2010).

²² Peter G. Renstorm and Chester B. Rogers, *The electoral politics dictionary*, (California: Santa Barbara, 1989), 37.

According to Samuel P. Huntington and Joan M. Nelson, political participation is designed by private citizen's activity to influence government's policy-making. The activity is either an "individual or collective, organized or spontaneous, sustained or sporadic, peaceful or violent, legal or illegal, effective or ineffective."²³ Thus, they were concerned by activity that is designed to affect governmental decision making. For them, political participation is activities, not attitudes. They are concerned with the political activity of private citizens, or precisely, of individuals in their roles as private citizens. Thus, they draw a distinction between the political participants and political professionals.²⁴ Their concept of political participation includes the activities of government officials, party officials, political candidates and professional lobbyists. These two scholars are also concerned with an activity that is designed to affect and influence the decisions and the actions of the government irrespective of its impact.²⁵

Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie's define political participation as "those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take."²⁶ According Brady, all definitions of political participation include four basic concepts: activities or actions, ordinary citizens, politics, and influence. "Action" or "activity" in political participation is something that a person does. It is not just thoughts, attitudes, or tendencies. Feeling close to a political party or dislike for a government policy is not an activity, and thus should not be included in political participation. In addition, political participation is not only action, but action by ordinary citizens, and not

²³ Samuel P. Huntington and Joan M. Nelson, *No easy choice*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 3.

²⁴ Political professional refers to government's activity; it is narrower to the government official. However, political activity of participant is not the high-level citizen's activity; it is part time, not professional, or not permanent activity for instance voting for election and speaking for meeting. As a result, professional activity affects the scope and nature of political participation.

²⁵ Samuel P. Huntington and Joan M. Nelson, 6.

²⁶ Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, *Participation in America: Political democracy and social equality*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), 2.

governmental elites. Action by the government elite is political, but not political participation. Thus, it is a voluntary act, meaning that the participants are not forced to do it and are not paid for it.²⁷

Similarly with Brady, Benjamin Constant describes “political participation is a right that entails a nonbinding obligation. With universal suffrage, a system of representation, and open access to public office, each citizen’s right to participate is said to be secured.”²⁸ Meanwhile, political participation gives citizens freedom as their rights to participate in the public participation without violence. Moreover, Kaase and Marsh divide two types of political participation: conventional and unconventional.²⁹ The conventional is any activity by ordinary citizens to influence political outcomes based on procedures or laws, such as voting, joining an interest group, running for a particular public office or campaigning. On the other hand, the unconventional is vice versa, in which the activity is not based on procedures or laws such as demonstrations, strikes, or damaging public facilities.

There are many forms of political participation. For instance citizens can participate by voting, writing letters to their representatives, joining groups and sometimes even protesting.³⁰ Brady adds voting for a party, signing a petition showing disagreement with a government policy, or protesting against a government decision about an income tax increase are examples of political activity or political participation. On the other hand, Verba and Nie put electives and demonstrations cannot be placed on a scale to indicate a field of political participation. Demonstration is one form of political participation, and voting is another one.

²⁷ Saiful Munjani, 272.

²⁸ Michael Brint, *A genealogy of political culture*, (The United States: Westview Press, 1991), 124-125.

²⁹ Saiful Munjani, 273-274.

³⁰ Nathan Teske, *Political activists in America*, (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 150.