

Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia

Money Politics, Patronage and Clientelism at the Grassroots

Edited by

Edward Aspinall and Mada Sukmajati



© 2016 Edward Aspinall and Mada Sukmajati

Published by:

NUS Press National University of Singapore AS3-01-02, 3 Arts Link Singapore 117569

Fax: (65) 6774-0652

E-mail: nusbooks@nus.edu.sg Website: http://nuspress.nus.edu.sg

ISBN 978-981-4722-04-9 (Paper)

All rights reserved. This book, or parts thereof, may not be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or any information storage and retrieval system now known or to be invented, without written permission from the Publisher.

National Library Board, Singapore Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Names: Aspinall, Edward, editor. | Sukmajati, Mada, 1976- editor. | NUS Press, publisher.

Title: Electoral dynamics in Indonesia: money politics, patronage and clientelism at the grassroots / edited by Edward Aspinall and Mada Sukmajati.

Description: Singapore: NUS Press, National University of Singapore, [2016]

Identifiers: OCN 928277967 | ISBN 978-981-4722-04-9 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: Elections--Indonesia. | Political campaigns--Indonesia. | Indonesia--Politics and government.

Classification: LCC JQ778 | DDC 324.959804--dc23

Cover image: Voting day in Jakarta, 2014 (Photograph by Eduardo Ramirez).

Typeset by: International Typesetters Pte Ltd Printed by: Markono Print Media Pte Ltd

Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia

Acknowledgements

This book is the product of intensive research collaboration. For one month in the lead up to Indonesia's national legislative elections on 9 April 2014, and for a short time following them, 50 researchers located in 20 provinces around Indonesia interviewed candidates and campaigners, observed campaign events and, where possible, "shadowed" candidates and campaigners as they interacted with voters. In total, our team conducted over 1,500 interviews, and recorded observations of hundreds of separate campaign events. Brought together through a joint research project coordinated by the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs at the Australian National University (ANU) and the Politics and Government Research Center (PolGov) at the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM), these 50 researchers all participated in a training workshop on research goals and methods prior to the commencement of the campaign period. Most of those whose analyses are presented in this book also participated in a meeting two months after the election, where we identified common patterns and worked through first drafts of the chapters presented here. Our goals were simple: to identify the chief mechanisms that Indonesian legislative candidates used to appeal to voters in the 2014 elections, especially but not exclusively focusing on their use of patronage and clientelist networks, and to seek to identify both common patterns and regional, party or other specificities from the mass of observations we had compiled.

Of the chapters in this book, all but one (Chapter 23 by Cillian Nolan) were authored by participants in this collaborative research project. Our major thanks, therefore, go to the project researchers, not all of whose reports could be published here. They gave up their time, in many cases leaving behind teaching or other responsibilities, to participate in the research, but also contributed their analytical skills, as well as invaluable local knowledge and insights. All but Chapters 1, 18, 20 and 23 were translated from Indonesian by Edward Aspinall. We are particularly pleased to be bringing to an international readership the

works of a large number of Indonesian researchers whose insights on electoral politics might not otherwise be accessible to readers outside the country. An Indonesian language version of this book, with some difference in chapters, was published in 2014 (Edward Aspinall and Mada Sukmajati, eds., *Politik Uang di Indonesia: Patronase dan Klientelisme pada Pemilu Legislatif*, Yogyakarta: PolGov, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2014).

The initial inspiration and framework for the book is a four-country study of "money politics" across Southeast Asia, comparing Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. This larger study is funded by the Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI) at the Australian National University and the Australian Research Council (through grant DP140103114). We thank the Chief Investigators in this project, Meredith Weiss, Allen Hicken, Paul Hutchcroft and Marcus Mietzner (Edward Aspinall is a fifth chief investigator) for the intellectual inspiration and framework we used in designing this project and book. As well as the present volume, a companion volume on Malaysia has already been published (Meredith L. Weiss, ed., *Electoral Dynamics in Malaysia: Findings from the Grassroots*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013), and we plan to produce similar books on elections in Thailand and the Philippines.

Funding for the research encapsulated in this book was also provided by CDI and the ARC, with supplementary funding provided by PolGov. We are very grateful to these institutions, especially CDI which has been very supportive of this research from the start. The ARC has also supported parts of Edward Aspinall's research for this project through grants DP120103181 and FT120100742. Institutional support for the research project was primarily provided by a secretariat consisting of staff at PolGov, UGM, who organised the workshops, coordinated the finances and other logistics, and oversaw data collection and compilation. We are especially thankful to Rangga Herdi Seno Prakoso, Melathi Hingar and Desi Rahmawati who provided exceptional administrative support, as well as to members of academic staff, especially Miftah Adhi Ikhsanto and the head of PolGov, Professor Purwo Santoso. Additional administrative support was provided by staff at the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, notably Beverley Williams and Daniel Stiegel.

Among our academic colleagues, special thanks must be given to Mulyadi Sumarto at UGM, who played an important role in helping to design and manage this research during its early stages, and whose prior work on clientelism in Indonesian social welfare programmes was one source of intellectual inspiration. We also thank colleagues who participated in the workshops either as trainers or in helping to review and comment on research papers: Burhannudin Muhtadi, Kuskridho Ambardi, Ari Dwipayana, Amalinda Savarini, Muhammad Najib, Marcus Mietzner and Meredith Weiss.

We also thank the two anonymous reviewers of the volume for NUS Press, Paul Kratoska, Peter Schoppert and Qua Lena at NUS Press as well as Dayaneetha De Silva for her expert copyediting and Janelle Caiger for proofreading. Amit Prasad prepared the index.

Glossary and Abbreviations

abangan syncretic Muslims; nominal or less

observant Muslims (usually in contrast to

santri)

adat custom, tradition; customary or traditional

law

aliran stream, used to distinguish between

various currents of Indonesian Islam and/ or affiliated organisations and political

parties

arisan informal communal savings system

aspiration funds see dana aspirasi

basis electoral base
bingkisan a gift in the form of a parcel

blusukan impromptu meet-the-people style

campaigning; small-scale getting-to-know-

the-candidate session

bomb; distribution of cash to voters on

voting day (also dawn attack, eksekusi)

botoh gambling boss

BPS Badan Pusat Statistik (Central Bureau of

Statistics)

buah tangan mementoes or souvenirs; gifts given by

candidates on house-to-house visits

bupati district head; regent (head of rural district

or kabupaten)

camat subdistrict head

dana aspirasi aspiration funds; constituency

development funds made accessible to incumbent legislators for discretionary spending in their electoral districts. Also

called jasmas

dapil daerah pemilihan, electoral district

dawn attack serangan fajar

dayah Islamic boarding school (Aceh), pesantren
DKM Dewan Kemakmuran Masjid (mosque

welfare councils)

DKPP Dewan Kehormatan Penyelenggara Pemilu

(General Election Honour Council)

DPR Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (People's

Representative Council), the Indonesian

parliament

DPRA Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Aceh (Aceh

People's Representative Assembly), Aceh's

provincial parliament

DPRD Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah

(Regional People's Representative Council),

regional legislature at provincial or

district/municipality level

DPRD I Regional legislature at provincial level

DPRD II Regional legislature at district/municipality

level

DPRP Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Papua (Papuan

People's Representative Council), Papua's

provincial parliament

dukun shaman or spiritual healer

dusun hamlet

FSPMI

eksekusi execution; the distribution of envelopes

with cash to voters close to or on voting

day (also dawn attack, bom)

fam clan (predominantly Eastern Indonesia)

figure; the personal qualities of a

candidate, usually implying a combination

of a candidate's wealth, charisma,

of a candidates wearin, charisma,

reputation and politico-business network

Federasi Serikat Pekerja Metal Indonesia

(Indonesian Federation of Metalworkers'

Unions)

GAM Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh

Movement)

Gerindra Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Greater

Indonesia Movement Party)

GKS Gereja Kristen Sumba (Christian Church

of Sumba)

GMIM Gereja Masehi Injili di Minahasa

(Christian Evangelical Church in

Minahasa)

GMIT Gereja Masehi Injili di Timor (Christian

Evangelical Church in Timor)

Golkar Golongan Karya; successor to the regime

party in the New Order period

hadith sayings and deeds of the Prophet Hanura Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (People's

Conscience Party)

haram prohibited under Islamic law

HKTI Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia

(Indonesian Farmers Harmony

Association)

HSS Hulu Sungai Selatan (South Hulu Sungai)

HST Hulu Sungai Tengah (Central Hulu

Sungai)

INTI Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa

(Indonesian Association of Chinese)

jasmas jaring aspirasi masyarakat (lit. "net the

community's aspirations"); programme for disbursement of aspiration funds (dana

aspirasi)

kabupaten rural district

kader cadre; in a success team, a grassroots vote

broker

karang taruna neighbourhood youth group

kecamatan subdistrict

kelurahan precinct, urban equivalent of a rural

village or desa

kepala suku clan chief (Papua)

korcam koordinator kecamatan, district coordinator

of a success team

kordes koordinator desa, village coordinator of a

success team

korlap koordinator lapangan, field coordinator of

a success team; a grassroots vote broker

(also kader; sabet)

kota town, urban district, municipality

KPA Komite Peralihan Aceh (Aceh Transitional

Committee), organisation for former

GAM combatants

KPK Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi

(Corruption Eradication Commission)

KPPA Komite Pemenangan Partai Aceh (Aceh

Party Victory Committee)

KPPS Kelompok Penyelenggara Pemungutan

Suara (polling booth committee)

KPU Komisi Pemilihan Umum (General

Elections Commission)

KUBE kelompok usaha bersama (cooperative

business group), small-scale enterprise

kyai Islamic scholar

LSI Lembaga Survei Indonesia (Indonesian

Survey Institute)

madrasah Islamic school

main uang play the money; engage in money politics

majelis taklim Islamic study group; also kelompok

pengajian

massa mengambang floating masses; a term for uncommitted

voters

meunasah Islamic prayer hall (Aceh)

MUI Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian

Ulama Council)

musholla Islamic prayer hall

musyawarah deliberations or discussions

Nasdem Partai Nasional Demokrat (National

Democrat Party)

noken system voting system in Papua highlands,

supposed to involve voters openly

indicating their vote by way of a

traditional bag or *noken*; in practice often proxy or bloc voting by brokers without

the participation of voters

NTT Nusa Tenggara Timur (East Nusa

Tenggara)

NU Nahdlatul Ulama; traditionalist Islamic

organisation

paguyuban an informal association (often ethnic in

character)

PAN Partai Amanat Nasional (National

Mandate Party), party associated with

Muhammadiyah

Panwaslu Panitia Pengawas Pemilu (Elections

Supervisory Committee)

PBB Partai Bintang Bulan (Moon Star Party),

an Islamist Party

PDS Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Justice

Party), a Christian Party

PDI-P Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan

(Indonesian Democracy Party of Struggle)

pengajian Islamic study sessions

penggelembungan suara vote inflation, usually through bribery of

polling booth officials

peranakan native-born, assimilated (Indonesian

Chinese)

pesantren Islamic boarding school

PKB Partai Kebangkitan Nasional (National

Awakening Party), party informally

associated with Nahdlatul Ulama

PKK Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga

(Family Welfare Guidance), community-

level women's welfare groups

PKPI Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia

(Indonesian Justice and Unity Party)

PKS Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous

Justice Party), an Islamist party

PMII	Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia (Islamic Student Movement of Indonesia),
	NU-affiliated student organisation
PNA	Partai Nasional Aceh
politik uang	money politics
PPIP	Proyek Perbaikan Infrastruktur Pedesaan
	(Village Infrastructure Improvement
	Projects)
PPK	Panitia Pemilihan Kecamatan (Subdistrict
	Election Committee)
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United
	Development Party), an Islamist Party
PPS	Panitia Pemungutan Suara (Village-level
	Voting Committee)
PR	proportional representation
preman	gangster, street tough
program	(used by candidates) for small-scale
	economic development projects using
	public funds
PUK	Pimpinan Unit Kerja (Workplace
	Leadership Unit)
punya massa	"has a mass"; (a candidate or broker who)
	has a following
putra daerah	local son (indigenous inhabitant of an area)
reformasi	reformation, the post-Suharto era
rejeki	fortune or material benefit from God; used
	by some to describe cash payments to voters
relawan	volunteers, (vote) brokers
RT	rukun tetangga, subneighbourhoods, the
	lowest level of community administration
	in Indonesia, usually incorporating a few
	dozen households
rukun	informal organisations of a particular
	lineage, village or region (Minahasa)

RW

rukun warga, neighbourhoods, the second lowest level of community administration in Indonesia, comprising several RT

sabet

Jv., to whip; grassroots vote broker, also

korlap/kader

sangu

Jv., pocket money; term for payment used

in vote buying

santri

devout Muslims; religious student

serangan fajar

dawn attack; cash payments to voters on morning of the polls, or the preceding

evening or days

shariah

Islamic law

silaturahmi sosialisasi

ties of friendship, Islamic fellowship

success team

socialisation; promotion of the candidate a vote brokerage network, election

campaign organisation

tandem

tim sukses

collaboration between candidates running

at different levels (district, provincial and/or national) for campaigning and sometimes vote-buying purposes

success team; also tim relawan, tim

kemenangan. A vote brokerage network or

election campaign organisation

figure or leader; tokoh masyarakat,

community leader; ketokohan reputation

as a leader

uang es

tokoh

"ice money"; one of many terms for small cash payments distributed to voters

during campaigning (uang cendol, uang lelah, uang makan, uang pulsa, uang pinang, uang saksi, uang sayur, uang

transport); also sangu

male, female preachers

"How much are you brave enough to pay?". Standard response: piro-piro wani "as brave as you want", as much money

as you can

annual Muslim religious tax, tithe

ustad, ustadzah wani piro?

zakat

Currency Conversion Table

In 2014 at the time of the election, the US\$ to rupiah exchange rate was 11,000 rupiah to one US dollar.

Commonly used figures in this book:

Rp (Indonesian rupiah)	US\$
Rp 10,000	= \$0.90
Rp 20,000	= \$1.80
Rp 50,000	= \$4.40
Rp 100,000	= \$8.90
Rp 500,000	= \$44
Rp 1 million	= \$89
Rp 100 million	= \$8,900
Rp 500 million	= \$44,000
Rp 1 billion	= \$89,000
Rp 5 billion	= \$440,000

Contents

Ack	of Maps, Tables and Figures nowledgements	viii ix
	rency Conversion Table	xii xix
1.	Patronage and Clientelism in Indonesian Electoral Politics Edward Aspinall and Mada Sukmajati	1
2.	Bireuen, Aceh: The Aftermath of Post-conflict Politics and the Decline of Partai Aceh Rizkika Lhena Darwin	39
3.	Bener Meriah, Aceh: Money Politics and Ethnicity in a New Electoral District Teuku Muhammad Jafar Sulaiman	54
4.	Medan, North Sumatra: Between Ethnic Politics and Money Politics Ahmad Taufan Damanik	70
5.	Bangka Belitung: Patronage and Identity Politics in a Plural Society Ibrahim	87
6.	Musi Banyuasin, South Sumatra: Nine Steps to Victory Alamsyah	102
7.	Palembang, South Sumatra: Aspiration Funds and Pork Barrel Politics Muhammad Mahsun	120