Indonesian Political Ideology

Political Parties and Local Governance in Yogyakarta Municipality 1998–2015



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Abstract

This study examines the influence of political ideology on Indonesia's political parties in addressing local governance issues during the democratic era, primarily between 1998 and 2015. Three representative parties are investigated: The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the Justice and Prosperous Party (PKS). Selecting these parties is based on a threefold consideration: representing ideological cleavage, representing people's aspirations and the result of four election cycles.

Yogyakarta Municipality is selected as the locus of study due to its good governance and overwhelming achievements nationally in addressing primarily education and health issues. Therefore, this study has three main objectives. First is figuring out the influence of ideology on the party policy and agenda in coping with public service issues. Second is to explore the effectiveness of the party agenda in dealing with those issues. Third is to discern the pattern of relationships between political parties and governance actors.

Methodologically, this study adopts qualitative research methodology using a case study approach. Two techniques were used to gather data: *first*, in-depth elite and specialised interviews and, *second*, documentary analysis for collecting the necessary data. The data analysis was presented in four steps: reducing data, displaying data, drawing and verification and conclusion. The deductive and inductive analyses were employed together in displaying the data.

Four main findings are presented. Firstly, the policies made by PDIP, PAN and PKS in addressing public services have similar roles as defenders of the welfare state. They concur that education and health are basic needs for human life which should be subsidised entirely by the government. Their distinctive ideologies together comprise the ideology of welfarism, or so-called "symbiotic ideology". The role of the party chairperson and daily boards are more dominant than other positions in deciding policies. There are three determining factors which

influence those parties in producing policies: the party regulation, internal stimuli and external stimuli.

Secondly, the agendas which are performed by PDIP, PAN and PKS occur in two distinctive ways: structural and functional. The former demonstrates the involvement of those parties in five legislative bodies: the parliament board, the social welfare commission, the legislation body, the budgeting body and the special committee. The latter can be known through general statements of the party's fractions which are delivered in the parliament plenary sessions and through the individual view of the parties' elites. All parties tend to be defenders of people's interests indicating that the parties' agendas are working effectively and, in turn, Yogyakarta Municipality experienced positive growth.

Thirdly, the relationship between parties and the state actors reveals that political ideology is waning. The changeable politics in administration or parliament indicates that the ideology is blunt in the power arena. This can be seen in the political contest in the executive arena being marked by three different approaches in three government regimes: ideological, pragmatic and pragmatic-opportunist. In the same vein, in the legislative arena, parties liquefy if they cope with public service and parliamentary affairs; conversely, the circumstances become extreme clashes if they deal with issues linked to religion and ethnicity.

Fourthly, the relationship between parties and society reveals the resurgence of ideology when parties approach the grassroots. Each party will cultivate close ties with collateral-mass organisations or alliances. PDIP tends to strengthen the web of Marhaenism devotees, PAN relies on the Muhammadiyah network while PKS maximises the role of *liqo*' linkages. To build up their internal forces, each has its own strategy to recruit cadres. PDIP prefers to recruit cadres from Marhaenism-based organisations, PAN tends to recruit cadres from mainly Muhammadiyah and 'Aisyiyah and most of PKS' cadres originate particularly from the Campus *Da'wa* Institutes. With economic society, PDIP attempts to struggle for the *wong cilik* group although it also seems to stand up for the conglomerates' interests, PAN prefers to build up reciprocal cooperation with business clusters while PKS has little concern with this issue. Given these relationships, Yogyakarta

Municipality is the root of Marhaen. Nonetheless, pious Muslim activities can also be found in six *kampung santris*: Kauman, Karangkajen, Kotagede, Suronatan, Warungboto and Nitikan. They are abbreviated into one term: "Trikaswani".





Source: The map of Yogyakarta Municipality was re-sketched by the Author, finished in 10.05.2016 while the map of Indonesia is from d-maps.com at http://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=15299&lang=en

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Glossary and Abbreviations

ABA 'Aisyiyah Bustanul Athfal, kindergarten under 'Aisyiyah

management

abangan nominal Muslim

ABY Aliansi Buruh Yogyakarta (Yogyakarta Labour Alliance)

AD Anggaran Dasar (Statute)

aliran literally stream, denoting various streams in political affairs

such as Islamist, nationalist and secularist.

Alun-Alun Lor North Field, located in front of the Yogyakarta Kraton Palace

Al-Qur'an Muslim Holy book

angkringan It denotes a roadside food stall, usually bought by lower-

class people, such as pedicab drivers, students, toilers, street musicians and the like. Most *angkringans* consist of Javanese

local-traditional foods and drinks

APBD Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Daerah (Regional Income

and Expenditure Budget)

APBS Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Sekolah (School Income and

Expenditure Budget)

ART Anggaran Rumah Tangga (rule)

ASKES Asuransi Kesehatan (Health Insurance)

ASMI Akademi Sekretari dan Manajemen Marsudirini (Marsudiri-

ni Management and Secretary Academy)

As-Sunnah The Prophet Muhammad's way of life
Balegda Badan Legislasi Daerah (Legislation Body)
Bamus Badan Musyawarah (Consultative Body)
Banggar Badan Anggaran (Budgetary Body)

Batik Javanese textile dyeing

BHP Badan Hukum Pendidikan (Legal Body of Education)
BKPM Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal (Indonesia's Invest-

ment Coordinating Council)

BN Basic Needs

BOSDA Biaya Operasional Sekolah Daerah (Local School Opera-

tional Financial Support)

BPJS Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial (Social Insurance Ad-

ministrative Body)

BPK Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan (Financial Auditing Agency)

BPUPKI Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia

(Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Indepen-

dence)

BUMD Badan Usaha Milik Daerah (Local State-owned Enterprises)
BUMN Badan Usaha Milik Nasional (National State-owned Enter-

prises)

CSR Corporate Social Responsibility

da'wa Islamic proselytising

Dagadu a local creative garment industry in Yogyakarta
DAK Dana Alokasi Khusus (Special Allocation Fund)

Dapil daerah pemilihan (election district)

DAU Dana Alokasi Umum (General Allocation Fund)

DEPAG Departemen Agama (Indonesia's Religious Department)

desa village level in rural area

DIY Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (Special Territory of Yogyakar-

ta)

DMI Dewan Masjid Indonesia (Indonesian Mosque Council)

DPC Dewan Pimpinan Cabang, organisational structure of PAN

at the sub-district/sub-municipal levels; or *Dewan Pengurus Cabang*, organisational structure of PKS at the sub-district/

sub-municipal levels

DPC Party Dewan Pimpinan Cabang Partai, organisational structure of

PDIP at the district and municipal levels

DPD Dewan Pimpinan Daerah, organisational structure of PAN at

the district and municipal levels; or *Dewan Pengurus Daerah*, organisational structure of PKS in executive functions at the

district and municipal levels

DPD Party Dewan Pimpinan Daerah Partai, organisational structure of

PDIP at the provincial level

DPLN Party Dewan Perwakilan Luar Negeri Partai (Foreign Representa-

tive Board), organisational structure of PDIP in foreign

countries

DPP Dewan Pimpinan Pusat, organisational structure of PAN at

the national level

DPP Party Dewan Pimpinan Pusat Partai, organisational structure of

PDIP at the national level

DPRD Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (People's Regional Repre-

sentative Council)

DPRt Dewan Pimpinan Ranting, organisational structure of PAN

at the levels of village or nagari; or Dewan Pengurus Ranting,

organisational structure of PKS at the village level

DPT Dana Purna Tugas (Retirement Fund)

DPTD Dewan Pimpinan Tingkat Daerah, organisational structure

of PKS at the district and municipal levels

DPTP Dewan Pimpinan Tingkat Pusat, organisational structure of

PKS at the national level

DPTW Dewan Pimpinan Tingkat Wilayah, organisational structure

of PKS at the provincial levels

DPW Dewan Pimpinan Wilayah, organisational structure of PAN

at the provincial level

DSD Dewan Syariah Daerah (Municipal Sharia Board)

EIU Economist Intelligence Unit

EKPPD Evaluasi Kinerja Pemerintah Daerah (Evaluation of the Local

Government Performance)

FKDK Fraksi Kebangkitan Demokrasi dan Keadilan (Justice and

Democracy Awakening Fraction)

FKPMY Forum Komunikasi Pelajar Muslim Yogyakarta (Communi-

cating Forum for Yogyakarta's Muslim Pupils)

FORMI Federasi Olahraga Rekreasi Masyarakat Indonesia (Federa-

tion of Recreation Sport for Indonesian Society)

FPI Fraksi Persatuan Islam (Islamic Union Fraction)

fraksi A fraction (faction) in the legislature. It consists of members

of a party or some parties.

FSLDK Forum Silaturahmi Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (Forum for

Coordinating Campus Predication)

FSRMY Forum Silaturahim Remaja Masjid Yogyakarta (Coordinat-

ing Forum for Yogyakarta's Mosque Adolescent)

FUI Forum Ukhuwah Islamiyah (Islamic Brotherhood Forum)
GAMKI Gerakan Angkatan Muda Kristen Indonesia (Indonesia

Christian Youth Movement)

Gapeknas Gabungan Pekerja Konstruksi Nasional (National Construc-

tion Labour Relations Alliance)

GENPRO Global Entrepreneur Professional, an Indonesian Muslim

business community

Gerindra Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Greater Indonesian Movement)
GMNI Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Nation-

al Student Movement)

Golkar Golongan Karya (Functional Group)

GPM Gerakan Pemuda Marhaenis (Marhaenist Youth Movement)

GRANAT Gerakan Nasional Anti Narkotika (National Anti-drug

Movement)

GRM Gerakan Rakyat Marhaen (Marhaen People Movement)
GSNI Gerakan Siswa Nasionalis Indonesia (Indonesian Nationali

Gerakan Siswa Nasionalis Indonesia (Indonesian Nationalist

School Pupils' Movement)

halaqah religious circles

Hanura Hati Nurani Rakyat (People Pure Heart)

HDI Human Development Index

HMI Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (Islamic Student Association)
IAIN Institut Agama Islam Negeri (State Institutes of Islamic Reli-

gion)

IDR Indonesian Rupiah, Indonesian currency

IGI Indonesia Governance Index

ijma acclamation system

IKI Indeks Kota Islami (Islamic City Index)

Ikhwanul Mus- Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood founded by Hasan al-Banna in

limin 192

ILO International Labour Organization IMF International Monetary Fund

IMM Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah Stu-

dent Association)

INKAI Institut Karate-Do Indonesia, one of the martial arts in In-

donesia

IPKI Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia (League of the

Upholders of Indonesian Independence)

IPM Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah School's

Pupil Association)

IUD Intrauterine Device

JAMKESDA Jaminan Kesehatan Daerah (Regional Government-financed

Health Insurance)

JAMKESMAS Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat (Government-financed

Health Insurance)

JAMSOSTEK Jaminan Sosial Tenagakerja (Employees Social Security Sys-

tem)

Jemaah Tarbiyah Education movement

JKN Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (National Health Insurance)
JMF Jamaah Musholla Fisipol, LDK at the faculty of social and

political science UGM

Jogja The other well-known name for Yogyakarta Municipality
JPD Jaminan Pendidikan Anak (Children Education Insurance)
ISIT Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu (Indonesia's Network of In-

tegrated Islamic Schools)

jumatan Friday group-prayer, Friday service

kabupaten district

KAJASHA Yayasan Keluarga Alumni Jamaah Shalahuddin (Foundation

for Jamaah Shalahuddin Alumni)

KAMMI Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (Indonesian

Muslim Student Action Union)

kampung It does not denote an administrative territory, but it pictures

a societal community having a similar culture and practice and usually consisting of some surrounding groups

Karang Taruna village-based youth organisation, concentrates itself in social

and welfare purposes

KB Keluarga Berencana (Family Planning)

KBM Keluarga Besar Marhaenis (Great Family of Marhaenist) kecamatan sub-municipality in urban area or sub-district in rural area

kelurahan village level in urban area

Kesbang Kesatuan Bangsa (National Unity)

KIH Koalisi Indonesia Hebat (Outstanding Indonesia Coalition)

KJB Koalisi Jogja Bersatu (United Yogyakarta Coalition)

KJKS Koperasi Jasa Keuangan Syariah Umbul Sejahtera (Sharia Fi-

nance Service Cooperative of Umbul Sejahtera)

KKB Klinik Keluarga Berencana (Family Planning Clinics)
KLN Koordinator Luar Negeri (Foreign Coordinator), organisa-

tional structure of PAN in foreign countries

KMP Koalisi Merah Putih (White Red Coalition)

KMP Keluarga Muslim Psikologi (Muslim Family of Psychology),

LDK in the faculty of psychology UGM

KMS Keluarga Menuju Sejahtera (Family towards Prosperity),

provided for poor people

Konfercab Konferensi Cabang (Branch Conference)
Konferda Konferensi Daerah (Regional Conference)

KONI Komite Olahraga Nasional Indonesia (National Sports Com-

mittee of Indonesia)

kos-kosan rented rooms/houses or apartments

kota a city or municipality, headed by an elected mayor

KPK Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (Corruption Eradication

Commission)

KPM Koalisi Pelangi Mataram (Mataram Rainbow Coalition)
KPU Komisi Pemilihan Umum (Election Commission)

KPUD Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah (Regional Election Com-

mission)

KRJ Koalisi Rakyat Jogja (Yogyakarta People Coalition)

KSPSI Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia (All Indone-

sian Workers Union Confederation)

kyai Muslim elder, cleric

lapak seller a person who sells belongings in a tiny place, usually on the

floor/ground without any tents or stalls

LDK Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (Campus Predication Institute)
LIPIA Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab (Institute of

Arabic and Islamic Studies of Ibn Saud University)

liqo' meeting

LOD Lembaga Ombudsman Daerah (Regional Ombudsman Insti-

tution)

los seller a person who sells in small aisles

madrasah Islamic school masjid mosque

MENA Middle East and North Africa

Merdeka Indonesian term, freedom

MIPI Masyarakat Ilmu Pemerintahan Indonesia (Indonesian Gov-

ernment Scientists' Association)

Malioboro Street Name of a famous street and area located at the heart of Yo-

gyakarta Municipality, as a major shopping centre mainly

for tourists

MI Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (Islamic primary school)

MPD Majelis Pertimbangan Daerah (Municipal Consultative As-

sembly)

MPP Majelis Pertimbangan Partai (Advisory Board)

MPR Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative As-

sembly)

MTs Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic junior high school)

mubalighIslamic missionariesmuktamarnational congress

Munas Musyawarah Nasional (National Deliberation)

murabbi teacher/senior, mentor

Murba Musyawarah Rakyat Banyak (Deliberation of Common Peo-

ple)

Muscab Musyawarah Cabang (Sub-District/Sub-Municipal Delibera-

tion)

Musda Musyawarah Daerah (District/Municipal Deliberation)

musholla Well-known also as langgar (a place for prayer), smaller than

mosque and frequently privately owned

Musran Musyawarah Ranting (Village Deliberation)

MUSRENBANG Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan (Development

Planning Deliberation).

Muswil Musyawarah Wilayah (Provincial Deliberation)

musyawarah deliberation to build consensus

Nasdem Nasional Demokrat (National Democrat)

NCC Napza Crisis Centre

NGO Non-Government Organisation

NII Negara Islam Indonesia (Islamic State of Indonesia)
NKRI Negara Kesaturan Republik Indonesia (United State of Re-

public of Indonesia

NU Nahdhatul Ulama (Resurgence of Islamic Scholars)

PAC Party Pimpinan Anak Cabang Partai, organisational structure of

PDIP at sub-district and sub-municipal levels

Pak Literally means Mister. It is a term for respecting other per-

sons

PAN Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)

Panggar Panitia Anggaran (Budgetary Committee)
Panmus Panitia Musyawarah (Consultative Committee)

Pansus Panitia Khusus (Special Committee)

Parkindo Partai Kristen Indonesia (Indonesian Christian Party)
PAR Party Pengurus Anak Ranting Partai (Sub-Village Board), organi-

sational structure of PDIP under village level

PAUD Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini (Early Childhood Education)

patungan voluntary dues system

PBB Partai Bulan Bintang (Star Crescent Party)

PBR Partai Bintang Reformasi (Reformation Star Party)

PBSD Partai Buruh Sosial Demokrat (Socialist Democrat Labour

Party)

PBVSI Persatuan Bola Voli Seluruh Indonesia (Indonesian Volley-

ball Association)