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RESURGANCE IN POLITICAL MINORITY: A CASE OF DAYAK ETHNICS IN CENTRAL KALIMANTAN-INDONESIA

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Abstract

This research aims to find how the number of political representation of Dayak ethnic in central Kalimantan increased in the 2009 election where in 1999 election, they only had low political representation. Data in this research were collected using qualitative method. Data were obtained through in-depth interview, literature study, and documentation study. A number of political elite from Dayak ethnic in Central Kalimantan was used as a key informant and indigenous community leader was used as a supportive informant. This research found that in 1999-2004 election, political education was still targeted for creating political awareness in the segmentation of political elite. Political elite had just worked optimally in 2009 election by raising social and economic issues in the internal of Dayak ethnic as a tool to achieve collective identity in the election.

Keywords: Political Minority, Political Representation, Identity Politics, Political Elite, Central

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Introduction

Studies on minority and majority of ethnic segmentation in political area have attracted the attention of political scientists. The minority dimension

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consists of several aspects, such as political right, political participation and representation. Studies on minority political representation can be found in Birnir (2007); Batta (2013); Vogt (2013); Adolino (1993), while in Indonesia area, it can be found in Eifert (2012) and Giblin (2003). Besides, in Europe, it can be found in Crowley (2001: 99-121); Jacobs, Phalet and Swyngedouw (2004: 543-559) they have explored political participation of minority ethnic. Last, Juenke & Shah (2016) in United States and many more. Studies leading to the research on political representation of minority ethnic can be found in dissertation written by Lončar (2017) and article by Sinaga et al. (2018); Sinaga, Warella, Yuwanto, & Setiyono (2019); Humaizi, Yusuf, & Sinaga (2019). These empirical studies have developed greater understanding on the importance of political rights, encouraged political participation and accommodated political representation of citizens in ethnic segmentation including minority ethnic.

In the other side, studies on majority in political area also attracts the attention of political scientists, such as studies related to political behavior (see Duckitt & Sibley, 2016), mobilization (Barreto, Segura, & Woods, 2004), participation of majority voter (Henderson, Sekhon, & Titiunik, 2016), the used of majority network (Ocampo, 2018), preference of majority votes (see Baharad, Ben-Yashar, & Patal, 2020; Cardak, Glomm, & Ravikumar, 2020). Study limitations carried out on majority ethnic motivates this study to complement previous studies. The research problem of this study is why did majority of ethnic group become minorities in the structure of legislative political officials in their place.

In Indonesia, even though democracy political system provides wide space for each citizen to obtain political rights and pursue political representation, majority of ethnic group, such as Dayak in Central Kalimantan finds a problem, in which percentage of their electability to be elected in political officials (executive and legislative) is still low. This study is in different position from previous studies where there was no study exploring why majority of ethnic group become minority in the structure of Indonesia political institution in their place of origin. This phenomenon happened in the Province of Central Kalimantan – Indonesia. Based on the data of population census published by Statistical Central Body in 2010, Central Kalimantan had heterogenic demography area. There were approximately 30 ethnics living in central Kalimantan with a total population of 2,212,089 people.

The number of Dayak ethnic in Central Kalimantan is 450,682 people. It is in the third rank of the largest population after Banjar and Javanese

ethnics. In the two election in 1999 and 2004, based on the data published by General Election Commission, it was found that the percentage of Dayak ethnic being elected as legislative member (House of Representative) in the electoral area in the province of central Kalimantan was low. It was proven that from 6 available legislative (DPR) seats, there was only 1 person elected in the 1999 election and 2 people elected in 2004 election. Surprisingly, there was a significant increase in the 2009 election result, in which there were 4 people elected as the House of Representative members.

The question arose, why Dayak ethnic that was in the third largest number of population in Central Kalimantan had low electability in the election (1999-2004), and why the number of electability increased in the 2009 election. To find the answer of the questions, this study used theory written by Birnir (2007) on Ethnic Attractors and it was used as the basis to analyze why the political representation of Dayak ethnic in central Kalimantan was low in the two election (1999-2004) and why it increased in the 2009 election.

Research Method

This was a qualitative study with a case study. The qualitative study was used to analyze natural object condition, where the researcher was functioned as the key instrument. The data were obtained through in-depth interview, literature study and documentation study. The data obtained through interview were collected using triangulation technique. The data analysis was performed inductively and it emphasized the meaning of generalization (see Creswell, 2014). The key informant in this study were politicians from Dayak ethnic in Central Kalimantan. The supportive informant was one of people from Dayak ethnic in Central Kalimantan.

Discussion

1. Dayak Ethnic: Majority in Local Level and Minority in National Level

Based on the oldest literature, studies on the majority in democracy country was caused by concerns about the emergence of majority tyranny (see Hermens, 1958: 37-52). In the other hand, study on minorities was more caused by the concerns on the un-fulfillment of political right for minorities (see Steffek, 2015: 279: 288). To minimize the worries and potential for conflict between the majority and the minority, so since the post-reformation, Indonesia has applied the concept of regional autonomy (Kartasasmita, 2013: 370).

Indonesia is an archipelago, plural and multi ethnic country. It has a unique geographical location that is different from one another including plains, mountains and islands. Based on the results of the 2010 population census published by the Central Statistical Body (Indonesia, 2011: 31) in terms of demographics, the total population of Indonesia was 236,728,379 nationally. The largest majority ethnic population was occupied by Javanese ethnic 95,217,022 (40.22 percent) and the second largest population was occupied by Sunda ethnicity 36,701,670 people (15.50 percent) while Dayak ethnic population was 3,009,494 (1.27 percent) that was similar to other population numbers. Population of Dayak ethnic originated from Borneo island, also known as Borneo (see Heidhues, 1996: 181)(Hanan, 2012: 208). Borneo Island is divided into four provinces namely West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, and East Kalimantan. The largest population of the Dayak ethnic on Kalimantan was in West Kalimantan with a total of 2,194,009 people, followed by the Central Kalimantan.

Diversity is a condition in people's lives. Differences over cultural, ethnicity, belief, and religion diversity as well as other diversities allows Indonesia to have many classification for identities, either in term of ethnic or religion that eventually create characteristic of diverse political behavior. The characteristic of diverse political behavior is also formed by values attached on local culture or inter-cultural encounters that then create a new culture and a new political behavior. In the context of Central Kalimantan, ethnic diversity was clearly seen by diverse ethnic population in this province. Total population of central Kalimantan was approximately 2,212,089 people. Total population of Dayak ethnic was 450,682, Banjar ethnic was 464,260, Sunda ethnic was 28,565, Javanese ethnic was 478,434, Balinese ethnic was 7,362 and other ethnics that the population was relatively lower in number (Indonesia, 2011: 35-41). Therefore, based on the population distribution in term of ethnic, Dayak ethnic was the third largest population after Banjar and Javanese ethnics with the difference of total population that is not too far.

In the post-reformation era of Indonesia, modernization was growing in Kalimantan Island. The traditional life was shifting into modern life. For Dayak ethnic, life in the countryside was considered as the most comfortable life style. This was reflected in the data of population census in 2010 recorded that from 3,009,494 people of Dayak ethnic, there were 80.85% people chose to stay in the rural area while 19.15 people chose to live in urban area. (Indonesia, 2011: 35). In the era modern process during 1999-2001, there was a conflicts among ethnics in Borneo, such as in Central Kalimantan (see Mietzner, 2006: 36), in West Kalimantan

(see Giblin, 2003: 9) and next in East Kalimantan where there was a tension happened between local and central government concerning transparency in oil and gas management (see Diah, 2017: 180-187).

Even though Dayak ethnic was in the third largest population in Central Kalimantan, percentage of their political representation in Indonesia legislative body (House of Representative) was still low. It was proven from the result of the 1999 election. 1999 election was the first election held democratically. In this election, there was only one person from Dayak ethnic elected as a member of legislative from 6 available seats in the electoral area in central Kalimantan. In this election, according to ethnic, distribution of the 6 seats was taken place by 1 person of Dayak ethnic, 3 people of Javanese ethnic, and 2 people of Malay ethnic.

In 2004 election, there were 2 people from Dayak ethnic elected as legislative member in the electoral area in central Kalimantan, in this election there were 6 available seats for legislative candidates. According to ethnic, distribution of the 6 seats in the 2004 election was taken place by 2 people of Dayak Ethnic, 2 people of Javanese ethnic, and 2 people of Malay ethnic. In the next election, which was 2009 election, it was found that there was an increase in number of Dayak ethnic being elected as legislative member. In 2009 election, the seats were taken place 4 people of Dayak ethnic, 1 person of Javanese ethnic, and 1 person of Malay ethnic.

The results of the legislative elections held in the two elections (1999-2004) showed the weakness of Dayak ethnicity being elected. In these two election periods the predicate of the majority of Dayak ethnicity in population segmentation was not directly proportional to the number of Dayak ethnic populations elected in the legislature. This situation also proved that in these two election periods, Dayak ethnic was considered as a political minority while Javanese as immigrants had been able to achieve the title of political majority in the legislature. According to Baharudin Lisa (Dayak ethnic politician served as chairman of the Democrat Party of Central Kalimantan) the low political representation of Dayak ethnic in the legislature in the 1999-2004 election era related to the process of political education that just happened after the reformation, so that political participation and preference had not been consolidated in the identity political arena (Baharudin, Interview, 2019).

The 2009 election marked the increase in the number of Dayak ethnic being elected as legislative member. In this arena of contestation, it seemed that Dayak ethnic groups had been able to represent their appropriate political representation between the population and the

number of Dayak ethnic being elected as legislative members. This condition was related to social dynamics that occurred in the context of Central Kalimantan and the surrounding area such as West Kalimantan and East Kalimantan around 1999-2001 (see Giblin, 2003: 9; Diah, 2017: 180-187; Mietzner, 2006: 36). Dynamics socially producing conflict led to the emergence of the ethnic spirit in forming a collective identity. Although the collective identity has existed for a long time, the use of the collective identity in the new political area had just occurred in the 2009 election period.

The process of accumulating the spirit of collective identity in the political arena tended to be slow. The social dynamics that occurred in 1999-2001 tended to be responded slowly by Dayak Ethnic in the political arena. This situation was seen based on the results of the 2004 elections which were only able to put 2 people of Dayak ethnic on legislators from 6 seats available in Central Kalimantan. This situation only increased 100 percent from the 1999 election which resulted in 1 person of Ethnic Dayak becoming a legislative while having predicate of as the majority population in Central Kalimantan with total of 450,682 people and population growth of 2.68 percent in the period 2005-2010.

2. Identity Politics and Elite Contribution attracted Ethnic Society to Political Arena

Young (1990) provided the concept of identity politics as an embodiment of social groups within the community with all external inherent attributes that was bound by a sense of identity. Even though a person did not have a unique character on the objective condition (such as skin color, gender, age, race, ethnicity, etc.), the condition was still the same with the majority of individuals in the social groups, by the existence of the sense of the shared identity, so the group will automatically recognize the existence of the individual. The inter-relation of the historical and cultural background among social groups and then the individual created a shared identity where both of them were able to pass through matters related to attributes so that it becomes a characteristic of identity. In short, the concept of identity politic described by Young (1990) emphasized the condition of the "narrow" and "broad" quality of identity to advocate collective goals in the political arena.

Focus of discussion on identity of Dayak ethnic in central Kalimantan was not limited to the identity in social and cultural arena, but it was more than that, which was "minority" identity in political arena. Minority identity in political arena in the structure of legislative officials in the central level (House of Representative) was seen in the result of two elections (1999-2004). Minority predicate widened social and economic

inequality in the lives of Dayak ethnic. Therefore, due to this condition, in the two election era (1999-2004), Dayak ethnic was considered as marginal community that lack of ability to have development access in various life fields, such as education, economy, and political participation.

In the two election eras (1999-2004) there had been a common perception of collective identity in the internal of Dayak ethnic, but it was still functioned in the social arena. The ongoing democratic process after the New Order, which was replaced by the reformation era in 1999, did not move strongly in Central Kalimantan. According to the political elite in Central Kalimantan, this condition was normal to respond a change of condition from (non-democracy) into new conditions (democracy). The low political participation of Dayak ethnic was reflected from the results of the election of legislative candidates (House of Representative) in which there were only a few people of Dayak ethnic elected in 1999-2004 elections. These two elections were the first phase of the process of forming political identity for Dayak ethnic. The formation process was initiated by holding political education that took place in the segmentation of highly educated circles or community leaders.

Related to the low number of Dayak people being elected in the 1999-2004 election, a number of party elites, such as those from the Democrat Party and Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle recognized political parties were still focused on introducing party platforms and had not yet maximally performed their functions in the field of political education (Lisa, Interview, 2019; Narang, Interview, 2019). Agustin Teras Narang (Narang) political elite from Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle explained that education and economic factors had role to affect their understanding in political field. Nevertheless, elite party was eager to teach political education with good values through cultural approach (Narang, Interview, 2019). Different argument was expressed by Sabran Ahmad (Ahmad), an elite community figure, who served as chairman of Dayak ethnic. Ahmad stated that concentration of political party in performing their functions in the political education to Dayak ethnic seemed only occurred prior to general election to win votes (Ahmad, interview, 2019).

Willy Midel Yoseph (Yoseph) who was party elite from Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle in Central Kalimantan explained that it was necessary to provide political education to Dayak ethnic using cultural approach and different method. One of methods that can be used was proposed by Yoseph through political school method (Yoseph, interview, 2019). Based on the demographic, cultural, economic and geographical

aspects attached in Dayak ethnic identity, it was very relevant to apply locality-based political education methods that can be formed by political parties. However, political education can only be effective if the process was performed by two-way communication and through interactions. In other words, party elites must be created comfortable atmosphere Dayak ethnic so that Dayak ethnic was able to make respond to political education provided by the party.

In addition to political identity, the role of political elite also formed the establishment level of political education of Dayak ethnic in the two elections (1999-2004). There were no other methods to develop political education except performing political socialization through two-way communication. Political elite is the only one having capacity to perform political socialization as stated by Birnir (2007) through Ethnic Attractors theory that there was an actor attracting ethnicity to join in political arena by providing political socialization. Ethnic Attractors contributed to build technical awareness involved in general election arena (see Birnir, 2007: 20). From the study of identity politics claiming that collective awareness of identity was based on the spirit of identity equality itself, the tendency of the actor of Ethnic Attractors came from the internal ethnic community. Based on the results of the two elections showing the low number of Dayak ethnic being elected from the Kalimantan, so according to Birnir theory, it was indicated that Ethnic Attractors did not work in the Central Kalimantan region.

The arguments that could be offered to support the conclusion that Ethnic Attractors did not work in Central Kalimantan were based on several factors, such as: 1) democratization after New Order ran so slow in Central led to the limited political knowledge in community segmentation, including towards Dayak ethnicity, and 2) Public figures did not optimally respond to the development of national political change in the local community. These factors ultimately shaped the political behavior of Dayak ethnic, so they tended to be less interested in engaging in politics in the two elections.

In the 2009 election, the political elite in Central Kalimantan were able to manage identity politics by mobilizing the support of Dayak ethnic votes in elections. From this election contestation, four people of ethnic Dayak were elected as legislative members from Central Kalimantan. The percentage of other ethnic being elected as legislative member decreased with the distribution of seats taken place by 1 Javanese ethnic, 1 Malay ethnic from 6 available seats. From the perspective of theory proposed by (Birnir, 2007), it seemed that Ethnic Attractors had worked in the election era. Based on data collected from interview, it was found

that political elite originating from Dayak ethnic had performed political socialization. Based on data collected through interviews, it was found that political elites originating from Dayak ethnic had performed political socialization more optimally than the previous election (in 2004).

The intensity of political socialization through cultural approaches with various forms of activity was an important key for Dayak political elites to attract Dayak ethnic communities to be actively involved in elections. As a result, a collective perception of Dayak ethnic identity was formed to achieve political representation in the national political structure by increasing the quantity of legislative member from Dayak ethnicity. Birnir (2007: 32-41) stated that when political behavior of community was passive, Ethnic Attractors was functioned as alternative media channels to supply information. The purpose of this action led to the formation of active political participation behavior in ethnic groups that were previously passive.

Political elite of Dayak ethnic had role as Ethnic Attractors in the 2009 elections. They had capacity to attract community of Dayak ethnic to be involved in the electoral arena. Johnson, (1986: 172-182) stated that the elite was an individual having the highest position in the social structure of society. By using this position, the elite were able to strongly influence people's perceptions. But in reality, it was inevitable that there would be a competition to win the influence in the electoral arena. "Rough" competition had a negative effect on the continuity of the process of political education and ultimately reduced the level of public political participation. Eisenberg & Kymlicka 2011: 3) stated that the internal and external dynamics in the group also contributed to competition between the elites.

Conclusion

The low political representation of Dayak ethnic in the two elections (1999-2004) was caused by the passive behavior of political elite from Dayak ethnic served as Ethnic Attractors in Central Kalimantan. The passive behavior of Dayak ethnic elite was affected by several factors, such as: 1) democracy as new values after the New Order required time to be socialized in the Dayak ethnic community, 2) social and cultural aspects in the Dayak community; they were more comfortable lived traditionally, so they did not respond to modernity including modernity in the electoral system requiring political participation of citizens and 3) the 1999-2004 elections were still a means of learning political education for political elite of Dayak ethnic.

Political elites of Dayak ethnic served as new Ethnic Attractors in the 2009 elections. In order to attract Dayak ethnic communities to be involved in the electoral arena, so intensity of political socialization, political education and the mobilization of identity politics must be improved. Therefore, Dayak ethnic would be actively involved in elections. In this election, it was inevitable that there would be a competition among political elites of Dayak ethnic to fight for the influence within their ethnic community. This situation was a consequence of the increased in political awareness in the middle of direct election mechanisms with an open proportional system based on majority votes.

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