

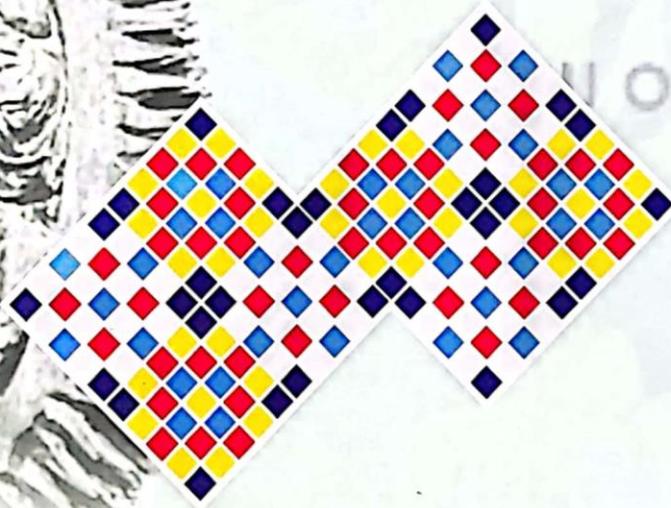
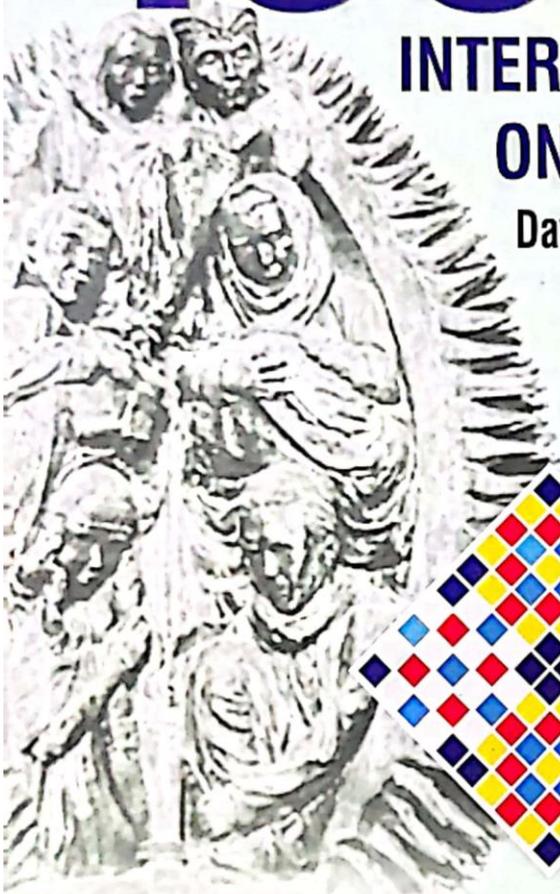
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## ASEAN INTEGRATION

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES



*Asia Pacific Society for Public Affairs*

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# **ASEAN INTEGRATION: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES**

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## **STREET LEVEL POLITICS OF ELECTION: Grass Root Political Behaviour in Semarang, Indonesia**

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### **Abstract**

Grass root voices are often ignored by many audiences. Voices of elites are more listened than the grass root. Domination of elite voices has dictated political trends in political discourse and policies. Of course, there is great gap in regarding to grass root versus elite voices. This research is aimed at filling the gap of the study especially in regard to less powerful voices of the grass root voters or people in Semarang City Mayor election. This research occupies explanatory type of qualitative research. Collection of data uses survey, interview and observation. Respondents in this research are grass root voters who are identified based on economic indicator, namely poor people or low economic income voters (especially informal workers, such as street traders, traditional market trades, *becak* (pedicab) drivers, street beggars and the like). This is because grass root voters based on economic indicator are more easily accessible than other classification. Informants are selected from leaders or figures of this grass root society. Research results show that there is great pessimism of grass root voters in local city mayor election of Semarang City. They do not believe that local mayor election will make them more welfare. They view political leaders or elites only take benefits from grass root support or voices when is needed. After election is completed, the political leaders will forget or ignore their political promises to the grass roots as promised during election campaign time. Majority of grass root voters does not understand the concept of democracy, but they believe on the importance of the government existence. Grass root voters then tend to be egoistic-transactional-economic and pessimism toward the city mayor election. Immediate policies need to be made to restore these negative grass root political views. Good political communications among grass root voters, elites and the government need to be established.

**Keywords:** *street level politics, grass root voters, political distrust, political pessimism.*

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## Introduction

The meaning of street level politics in this paper refers to the concept of grass root politics. Grass root politics is every kinds of political life attributed to non elites society. Street level politics is therefore many aspects, elements or events related to grass root society, namely ordinary people either in the meaning of politics, economy, social or cultures. Talking about street level politics is therefore paying many attentions to ordinary people political views, perceptions, values or behaviours.

As far as people concerned, political discourses are very often dominated by elites. There are limited spaces provided for grass root society to be included in the political life or processes. Political elites are almost dominant in many parts of politics both nationally and locally. This elite domination is actually not only in terms of politics, but also other aspects, namely economy, social and cultures. Less capacity of grass root society in terms of economy then determine the lower bargaining power of the society to deal with political social economic or cultural elite dominations.

Political views of elites are very often exposed in many mass media. Whereas, political views of grass root society is less paid interest and exposed. Grass root society has not opportunities, spaces and supports or media to express their own political perception and aspiration. Tragically, grass root political contribution is only needed when the elections are coming. Why is this happening? Because political elites (such as candidates or political party elites) need their votes in order to win an election.

Therefore, it is currently common knowledge that prior to election day, the position of grass root people is strongly needed since they need the supporting votes from the grass root society. The elites will try and do their best to attract the grass root vote supports. The political elites will

try to approach and listen to the grass root society for the shake of political vote supports.

This condition may be seen as a transactional political behaviour of elites, since the elites will tend to approach or listen to grass root society when they need political supports. They may never see and come back to the grass root society again when election time is completed. They will only come back again to the grass society if they are running for candidacy within next five years. This picture may be seen as economically rational but it is actually not providing good sincerely relation between elites (candidates) and the grass root society. Their relation is merely interest, namely political interests ( vote or political supports).

In terms of Indonesian political context, it is often concluded that grass root society is often classified as an object of politics, not a subject one. This means that ordinary people is politically placed in passive position. The ordinary people is only needed for their political vote supports. As a result, grass root views or contributions are usually not regarded as an important part political debates and discourses. It sometimes is twisted that many political elites uses the reason of grass root political aspirations as political reasons or judgements to justify political decisions or public policy plans. Grass root society is then used as “*tameng*” (shield) to deal with many political interests and maneuvers.

This backgrounds lead to a scientific thinking about importance to know grass political views or behaviours of the grass root society in relations to many political aspects, especially to democracy, election and governance. Without doubts, ordinary people is main capital of democracy, as famously stated “*vox populi vox dei*” (people voice is God voice). Based on this consideration, this research of grass root society in related to politics (especially democracy and local election) is pivotal.

This research is conducted in Semarang city, Indonesia. Why is Semarang city? Because the position of ordinary people in Semarang city is significant since the winning party (PDIP) is very much supported by this street level politics. Majority of people in Semarang is lived and classified as grass root society or ordinary people who massively supports to PDIP and the city mayor.

### **Research Objectives**

Referring to above backgrounds, this research is going to ask the following important questions, namely:

- a. What is a knowledge of grass root society of Semarang city in relations to politics, especially democracy, election (both direct or indirect elections)
- b. What is political preference of grass root society of Semarang city in relations to direct election or indirect elections. Why or why not?
- c. To what extent the grass root society of Semarang views direct elections. Are they pessimistic (negative) or optimistic (positive) to the direct election? Are they economically rational or transactional voters? Why? Why not?

This research is hoped to find important views, perception and opinion of the grass root society. This research findings will be contribute both empirical and theoretical knowledge to local politics especially in regarding to a concern of ordinary people or street level politics.

### **Significance of the Study**

There are four main reasons why street level politics in Semarang city is significant to be studied. *Firstly*, a main element of democracy is people. The existence of people in democracy determines the future of a city or a country. Within this context, learning about people

(especially ordinary people) is becoming relevant in order to master a democracy. Ordinary people opinions, perception and aspirations may influence prospects of democratic practices in a city or country. By studying people (ordinary people), there are many chances in providing a good model of democracy both in theories or practices.

*Secondly*, academic attentions from political scientists to the study of street level politics or grass root politics is not many. Majority of studies are connected to and dominated by the roles of importance of political elites in determining political discourses or even public policy plans. Political participation or contribution from society is often ignored or manipulated by elites. Shadow participation is then becoming the feature of political life in a city. Having this kind of argument, this research is then significant to look for sincerely opinions, views and perceptions of real grass root society in dealing with democracy and elections.

*Thirdly*, this research is significant to conduct in order to see what kinds of grass root political behaviour emerged in the context of a developing country. The main point is whether political behaviour of grass root society is dominated by neo liberalistic views in which economic capital is mainly a feature of new democratic picture. Is there any local culture influencing grass root political views, becomes interesting concern in this research.

*Finally*, this research may contribute to enrichment of political knowledge to the gap of study especially the important of grass root political opinions or behaviours. As commonly known that there is limited study of grass root political knowledge than the elite one. By conducting this research, the study of street level politics or grass root behaviour may develop better.

### **Research Setting**

Research about grass root political behaviour in election is conducted in Semarang city. Semarang city is one of big cities in Indonesia. Semarang is capital city of Central Java province, central part of Indonesia. The number of population of Semarang city is about 1.5 million people in which the number of voters is about 1.2 million. Semarang city has many modern facilities such as transportations, restaurants, malls, hotels and so forth.

In terms of governance and politics, there are several big political parties in Semarang such as PDIP party, GOLKAR party, PAN party, PKS party, PKB party, PPP party and Democrat Party. Among these parties, PDIP is the biggest one. PDIP party dominates members of parliament. Head of PDIP party is also Mayor of Semarang city. Current Mayor of the city will be completed his term in July 2015. The next mayor election will be carried in 9 December 2015 in which the current Mayor (incumbent) will run again for the mayor position in December local election.

People living under poverty line is about 25% which is regarded as grass root society in this research. They are generally working in low class jobs such as street traders, *becak* driver, *ojek* driver, taxi driver and so the like. This group of people is not so regarded as important political voice so that this research is wanted to focus on. This research may provide new insights in political behaviour especially for the grass root society.

## **Conceptual Framework**

### **Grass Root Politics**

The meaning of street level politics in this research refers to politics of ordinary people or grass root person. Or in political science, grass root people are voters themselves. Grass root people are defined as “*the ordinary people as distinct from the active leadership of a party or organization: used esp of the rank-and-file*

*members of political party, or the voter themselves* (Collins English Dictionary: 2012). Other source of dictionary explains grass root community or society as “*ordinary citizens, esp. As contrasted with the ; leadership or elite. The people inhabiting these areas, esp. As a political, social, or economic group*” (Random House Dictionary:2005).

In relations to grass root political views or behavior, it can be explained that political view is not different from political opinion, perception or political values. Political view is a way of people valuing, perceiving or viewing to any kinds of politics. It is a view to any political objects such as democracy, elections, political parties and many others (Bartels 1996:34-35; McAllister, I & Juliet Clark, J. 2007: 1).

Danziger (2005: 25) confirms political view or opinion or *individual political beliefs* as “*factual knowledge about the political world*”. These political beliefs are not only deal with knowledge of politics but also refer to *cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations*. Political view or opinion is person capacity to respond any political problems or concerns (Converse, 1987: 3-4). People political opinion or views can be determined by several things namely knowledge/cognition, feeling or preferences (affection) dan finally evaluations in which having tendency to become behavior (psikomotoric) (Danziger 2005:25-27). Person’s knowledge in viewing a political problem or concern is determined by his or her education, whether formal or informal education types. Person’s feeling or preferences are influenced by psychological condition such as good or bad political experiences, political trauma or other experiences related to affection. Political actions or behavior is next responses post to somebody’s knowledge and preferences. Although there is an opinion that positive knowledge and preferences are not always ending up in positive behavior, and vice

versa. (McAllister, I & Juliet Clark, J. 2007:1-2).

Political view or opinion is defined as “*Collective evaluations expressed by people on political issues, policies, institutions and individuals*”. Or can be said as “*a collective distribution of individual preferences or evaluation on a given issue, policy or persons*” (McAllister, I & Juliet Clark, J. 2007:1-2). Therefore, political view or opinion is a person capacity to respond to many political issues, policies, government leader and leadership or others. Political views are commonly related to affectional responses (know, like or dislike) to many political issues or concerns.

Meanwhile, street level politics in political science literature is a part of *grass root politics*. Grass root politics is not very new study in politics actually. However, current democratization pressure places this study becomes one important analysis in political sciences. Furthermore, grass root politics is also important since democracy puts people in the bottom line of a democratic country.

Domination of elite politics has also put the importance of ordinary people in reacting to democratic quality of a country. It is commonly found that grass root opinion or behavior is often manipulated by political elites. This manipulation is merely intended to serve political elites themselves.

Person’s political opinion or views are sociologically influenced by several important agents, namely family, school, peer group, political organization, state actor or organization and mass media (Schwarzer 2011:1-2). Family is primary and first agent that determine or influence person’s political views or opinions. In the family level, a person for the first time having knowledge of everything including political matters. If, for instance, a family has strong liberal tradition of politics, he or she is then having strong

tendency to be liberal persons (Owen 2008: 1-2).

School is the second important agent of political socialization. School also influences person knowledge and opinion regarding to many political matters. Interactions among students and teachers through formal communication in a class provide early political knowledge to a student. Students can also learn many things from school resources such as library, role playing, and many other means. Many subjects thought in a school such as political history, simple ideologies and other social political affairs lead student to understand politics.

Next relevant agent that are important in determining person’s political views or opinion is peer group. Peer group influence person’s political views by several ways, for instance, through group discussion or group identification. Intensive communication and discussion about politics among people in a group make somebody possible to understand political things better. Different socio-economic-political backgrounds of group member (person) may produce many inputs for person’s political views or opinion.

Organization is also other agent contributes to person’s political views or opinion. Organization both formally and informally determines person’s political opinion. In the Indonesian political context, for instance, person who active in *Nahdatul Ulama* tends to be political activists or supporters of PKB party. Whereas, person who active in *Muhammadiyah* Organization, for example, tends to be active in PAN party either as political activists or supporters.

State is also other relevant actor that influence person’s political views or opinions. State or government policies and actions influence how person or citizens perceive political affairs. Whether state or government is democratic or

authoritarian may influence person perception to political things. There is a tendency that more democratic country, more good political opinion of a country's people.

Finally, last but not least, mass media are very strong influence in determining person's views or opinions. Mass media play very important political views or opinions. Mass media sources such as television, radio, newspaper and currently social media (internet, facebook, twitter, instagram and so the like) provide important information access to people so they can come across to many political news and analysis. Mass media news and analysis have a strong influence in determining political views or opinions.

### **Democracy and Election**

Democracy is adopted by majority countries in the current global World. Miriam Budiardjo, political scientist asserts that "*probably for the first time in history, democracy is claimed as the proper ideal description of all systems of political and social organizations advocated by influential proponents.*" (Meriam Budiardjo, 2012: 105). Samuel Huntington also confirms that almost all countries in the World heading to be a democratic countries through waves of democratization. Huntington explain that "*at least 30 countries made transitions to democracy, just about doubling the number of democratic governments in the world*" (Huntington, 1991 & 1997). Post communist World in Eastern Europe improve Huntington explanation about democracy in practice.

Although there is still debate on democracy definition, Sodaro's summary about democracy concept is relevant. Sodaro (2004, 31) explain democracy as "*The essential idea of democracy is that the people have the right to determine who governs them. In most cases they elect the principal governing officials and hold them accountable for their actions. Democracies also impose legal limits on the government's*

*authority by guaranteeing certain rights and freedoms to their citizens.*"

MacGregor Burns (1989: 3) adds the concept of democracy by stating that democracy is "*A system of government in which those who have authority to make decisions (that have the force of law) acquire and retain this authority either directly or indirectly as the result of winning free elections in which the great majority of adult citizens are allowed to participate.*"

Democracy may be formed in a direct or indirect democracies. Bryan A. Garner (1999: 444) clarifies that democracy is "...government by the people, either directly or through representatives". Raaflaub, Ober & Wallace (2007: 5) then continue to say that "Direct democracy (or pure democracy) is a form of government in which people vote on policy initiatives directly, as opposed to a representative democracy in which people vote for representatives who then vote on policy initiatives."

Whereas, indirect democracy or *representative Democracy* is defined as "*a variety of democracy founded on the principle of elected officials representing a group of people, as opposed to direct democracy.*" (["Victorian Electronic Democracy : Glossary"](#)). Accessed 28 July 2005). John Stuart Mill further explain that (1988: 233) "*...but since all cannot, in a community exceeding a single small town, participate personally in any but some very minor portions of the public business it follows that the ideal type of a perfect government must be representative*".

One important indicator of democracy is election. Election will determine who must be in or out in government. *Social Contract* as written by John Locke (*Second Treatise of Civil Government*, 1690) that is "*If a government breaks the social contract, the people have the right to dissolve it.*" This *Social Contract Theory* as popularised by Jean Jacques Rousseau strongly confirms that people

position and power in election in very important. People have strong power and recommendation to a future of a country (Sudarsono 1991: 110).

Election must be perfectly handled both in terms of procedural democracy and substantial democracy. A free and fair election does not amount simply to the act of casting a ballot under adequate conditions. Voters must also have access to enough information about the political parties, their candidates and the electoral process to be able to make an informed and responsible choice.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), article 21, provides good guarantee that:

1. *Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.*
2. *Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.*
3. *The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; This will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be held by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.*

Election is important element of democracy and must be a guarantee that free and fair election is conducted. It is therefore pivotal to note that free and fair elections are the keystone of any democracy. They are essential for the peaceful transfer of power. When voters elect representatives, they elect the leaders who will shape the future of their society. This is why elections empower ordinary citizens: They allow them to influence the future policies of their government, and thus, their own future.

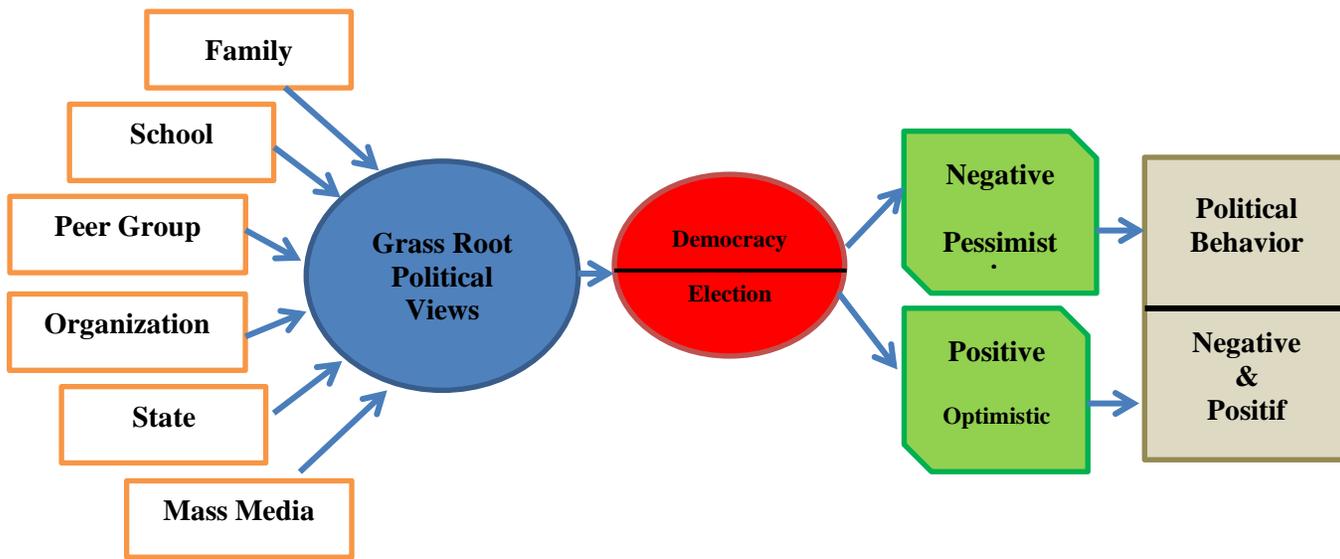
## **Grass Root Political Views and Election**

People is a king in a democratic system of state. People are not only addressed to elites group, but also ordinary people or grass root people. Grass root society is one significant element in politics of a country, both nationally or locally. As stated before, grass root political view or opinion is a way how ordinary people know, perceive and understand about political affairs. Grass root political opinions or views are influenced by family, school, peer group, organization, state and mass media.

In reacting to election or democracy, grass root society may see it as positive or negative. In terms of positive or optimism views, grass root society may see democracy or election has a hope for their future. By conducting good election (as one important element of democracy), people may hope for their quality of life in education, health or economic welfare many be better.

Whereas, negative or pessimistic view may see election as not a way to improve or build their future life. This view is not seeing election as important part of democracy to change their life better. They tend to see election as practice of democracy that is not having correlation with their life. They may be pessimistic or pragmatic since there is no guarantee that there is strong relation between election and their welfare. They react negatively to the existence of political leaders or representatives. Their reasons for this is simply because their experience that political leaders so far can not verify their political promises during election campaigns.

Based on this theoretical aspect, this research then provides conceptual research as follows:



**Figure 1.** Conceptual Framework of Grass Root Political Behaviour

### Methodology

Methodology of this research is mixed method, namely combining survey and qualitative types. Sugiyono (2009:4) and Denzin and Lincoln (2003:6-9) assert that combining two types of research may provide insight and deep understanding of the research focus. Quantitative research provides insight data in terms of numbers and may be able to generalize common pictures. Whereas, the qualitative type is used to deepen the research focused by conducting in depth interview and observations.

Survey is conducted by distributing a questioner to 100 respondents to all grass root people category. To avoid confusing, the grass root society in this research is measured by economic indicator namely people who are living in low incomes level. Since grass root people are homogenous, taking 100

sampling may be justified. Sampling technique is using simple random sampling based on five divided main areas, namely north, west, south, east and middle parts of Semarang city. Every part is taken 20 respondents.

Qualitative research type is used to deepen grass root political views, perception or opinions. Ten (10) key informants are chosen from grass root people figures or leaders. These informants are from both formal or informal associations they have, such as street trader association or traditional market trader organizations. Method of informant selection is based on purposive. Basic consideration in purposively selecting informants is based on a concern that an informant knows well the story, context, outcomes and process of grass root society life in Semarang city. Two methods of data are used to collect information in this research, namely interview and observation.

Method of data analyzing is based on statistic descriptive for the survey and interpretative

techniques for the qualitative type. The statistic-descriptive technique is occupied in order to find a general trend that may reflect the voice of population. Although, this research is actually not try to make generalization of the research finding. Interpretative technique is used to analyze deeply the interviews with key informants conducted.

### **Conclusion/Implication**

There are several important findings resulted from this research in regarding to several aspects namely grass root political views on democracy, state (government), election and other political behaviours. These research findings are found from survey and interviews.

#### **Grass root political views on Democracy**

Data gathering from the field show that majority (85%) of grass root researched does actually not understanding the meaning of democracy. Majority of respondents does not so worry whether they know democracy or not. Interviews with key informants show that although respondents do not understand the meaning of democracy, they are actually aware of the existence of state or country. They do not care whether democracy or not, the important thing according to them is that state or country is needed by them. In their opinion, the state is needed to protect their needs such as security, education, economy or other social needs.

This research result shows that in terms of conceptual matters, the respondents have not sufficient knowledge about democracy. However, they are aware about the importance of state or government. Government, according to them, is significant to the respondents' life and needs. Although they do not have sufficient knowledge of democracy, majority of respondents confirms that the government is the first and the prime actor in determining their quality of life such as in education, health, economic as well as infrastructure.

In their views, democracy or not is not their big issue. The presence of the state or government is significant in their opinion. They need government services in related to basic administration such as citizen identity card, health insurance card, birth certificate, educational card and so forth. These cards are needed to ask for basic services provided by the government.

#### **Grass root political views on Election**

Although the respondents do not understand the concept of democracy, they view that election is pivotal. Several public issues related to local election, in grass root political views, need to be tackled well by elected candidates. These issues refer to several subjects such as form of mayor election, immediate public problems must be coped the government, mass media used in relations to local election, people influence their political vote and leader characteristics wanted.

In related to the question about type of city mayor local election (whether they choose direct or indirect election, majority of respondents (95%) confirms that they choose direct election type. They assert that direct election is better than indirect election (elected by DPRD, city local parliament). Their reason is that right to manage their future of the city is rest on the people hand, not to the politicians. Therefore, people are the most legitimate institution to determine their city future through direct local election. Although they are not optimistic that direct local election will increase their social welfare, they still believe and choose direct election as a choice of the city mayor election. Interviews with several taxi drivers, street trader leader and *becak* (pedicab) driver (15 May 201) confirm that "grass root society is much prefer to direct local election since they can express their political decision and elect their favourite leader. Direct election can also provide huge opportunity to them to directly contact or communicate to a city

mayor candidate”. Whereas, small number of respondents (5%) who choose indirect election (through city local parliament) argue that people are actually not ready to make political decision yet because they do not actually understand what is going to their city political life. They say “it is up to the government or the leader, we are follower and will loyal to the leaders” (interview with EDS, informal trader leader, 21 May 2015).

When respondents are asked in regard to immediate public problems faced by the city, majority of them answers that economic matters (44.6%; such as city unemployment) and poverty (29.5%) as two serious problems in the city of Semarang. This data show that economic affairs are dominant problems in the views of grass root society. They assert that it is not easy to look for a job or difficult to sustain a job in the city. MS, *becak* driver’s informal leader explains that “for use, life in the city is very heavy. Just to make sure that we are able to eat three times a day is also not sure. The presence of machined public transports such as car, bus or even “*ojek*” (motorbike used as business transport) is disturbing our “*becak*” existence”. (interview, 17 May 2015).

Mass media used in relations to direct local election in Semarang city, according to grass root political views, are dominated by television (78.4%). They confirm that television is their main source of political news. Internet, radio or newspaper are not so often used by this community. Television is becoming the prime source since they do not have to pay for it regularly. Whereas internet or newspaper, they have to pay for it, so they do not use this paid media.

In regard to the question of who person or people influence their political vote, majority of respondents (grass root society) asserts that family (48.6%) and themselves (29.7%) are two main actor determining their political choices. This data actually show that there is a political

change orientation that both formal or informal leaders are now not the main actors in deciding political decision of grass root society. This society believes family and themselves as main actors in deciding political opinions or decisions. This provides a picture that grass root society is more personal and autonomous in terms of political choices.

Respondents say that characteristics of leaders or the city mayor they wanted are care to people (42.4%) and honest (27.9%). Caring and honest are parts of social psychological modal for a leader to lead. Although majority of grass root society is poor or living under poverty line they do not looking for people wealth as indicator to be a good leader.

### **Grass root political behaviour**

In regard to political behaviour, grass root political views can be seen from their responses to local election in relation to money politics.

Question regarding to views on money politics, grass root political society confirms that they are permissive to money politics. Majority of respondents (81.5%) stresses that they are ready to receive any money given by the candidate during election time or process. They view that receiving money during election time is reasonable since the candidates will be paid huge salary when they are elected.

Why grass root society is permissive to money intervention during election process? Why money is considered as significant factor in political behaviour of street level politics in Semarang city? There are three main explanations related to these questions. Firstly, majority of grass root political society believes that receiving money during election is acceptable although there is a view that money politics in election is bad. Since they are poor and need money to sustain their life, receiving money from everybody is no problem. Secondly, they believe that candidates will have

many facilities and huge money or salaries if they wins the election so that whoever is willing to be the leader should prepare their money for political selection. Thirdly, the leader will only come or visit to the grass root people during the election time, so that this is the only opportunity to get benefits from the candidates.

However, although grass root people are willing to receive political money, their political choice is not guided by the given money but will depend on their own consideration. It means that grass root voters are very egoistic and rational economy. Egoistic, in the sense, that they are willing to receive the “political” money but they are autonomous in making political choice and do not want to be guided by the candidates (or their team) political motives.

KMS key informant from *ojek* driver group confirms that “our live are difficult so that any opportunities in making money is done, including receive money from political actors. The political money is accepted since they need it. The number of how much is received is not important. The important point is we have the money” (interview with KMS, 23 May 2015). This interview can be seen as representation of grass root political society in regard to role or influence of money to their political views or elections. This grass root political view and action can be concluded as egoistic-pragmatic-transactional.

Why egoistic-pragmatic-transactional behaviour? Because they are happy to receive the money for political reasons, but they do not want to be tied by a commitment to elect to the candidate who give them money. Transactional means that they just perform like business, selling their votes and hoping money or benefits from the candidates (see figure 2 for the research finding).

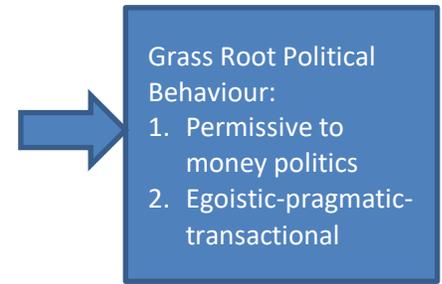
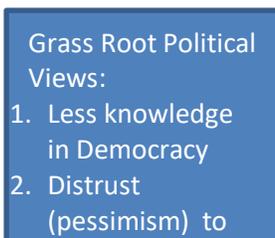


Figure 2: Research Finding on Grass Root Political Behaviour

### Recommendation

Following recommendations both theoretically and practically are explained as follows:

- a. Political education to grass root society is needed to be conducted especially in relation to less knowledge of democracy. They believe to the government but they do not know conceptually about democracy.
- b. Need a government policy and responses in dealing with pessimism of grass root society to mayor local election. Since grass root society does not trust that local election will be able to make their life better, it is important to provide many programs of government to enhance the grass root society’s optimism to election.
- c. Attentions to study of street level politics or grass root politics need to be more paid by academic society. This is intended to provide more studies and research about the grass root topics.
- d. Developing social capital among grass root society may be important to deal with egoistic-pragmatic-transactional political behaviour. This may be not easy since poverty and economic severe condition are still seriously happening in the city.



- e. Government policies in order to improve low level economy of grass root society will decrease the negative effects of direct local election such as money politics or vote buying. The government no needs to be tired in respond this problem. Many efforts should be conducted although this may need long time to complete.

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