



الجامعة الإسلامية العالمية ماليزيا
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA
بِوَسِيْلَةِ سُنَّتِيْ اِسْلَامِيَّةٍ اِنْجَارِيْجِيَّةٍ مَلِيْسِيَا

CELEBRITIES IN INDONESIAN POLITICS:
A VOTERS' PERSPECTIVE

BY

MAULANA RIFAI

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Human Sciences (Political Science)

Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and
Human Sciences
International Islamic University
Malaysia

MARCH 2010

ABSTRACT

Since the political reform took place in 1998 which was marked by the downfall of Suharto's regime, it has constantly changed the nature of electoral rules which brought new trends in Indonesian electoral politics. One striking feature of these trends is an increasing number of celebrities from the entertainment industry who run for public offices. This study attempts to analyze the voters' perceptions of the celebrity candidates in the 1999, 2004 and 2009 Indonesia's legislative elections. It examines the voters' attitude to party affiliation of the celebrity, personality of the celebrity, and leadership style. Starting in 1999 there were 2 celebrities, then it increased to 24 in 2004 and more than doubled in 2009 with 61 celebrity candidates competed in the electoral contests. In those elections, three different electoral systems were used that influenced the behaviour of party elites, candidates, and the voters as well. This study employs the qualitative approach which relies on descriptive, analytical and interpretive using descriptive statistics analysis. The data were collected through questionnaires from 300 randomly selected respondents from the capital city, Jakarta. The result of the study is that the celebrity candidates failed to attract more votes as the outcome of the 2009 elections showed that more than two-third of the celebrity candidates were defeated by conventional politicians. This indicates that their fame did not ensure electability, as political success requires qualities like political experience and competency. More importantly, Indonesian voters have behaved rationally. They preferred professionalism over cheap populism in making their choices.

ملخص البحث

أدى حدوث الإصلاح السياسي في إندونيسيا عام 1998م إلى سقوط نظام سوهارتو (Suharto)، وتغيير النظام الانتخابي حيث ظهرت سياسات انتخابية جديدة في البلاد. ومن السمات البارزة لهذا التغيير زيادة عدد الفنانين المشاركين في المكاتب العامة. يهدف هذا البحث إلى تحليل وجهة نظر الناخبين حول مشاركة الفنانين في الانتخابات التشريعية في عام 2009م، 2004م، 1999م. كما يناقش البحث موقف الناخبين في اندماج الفنانين في الحزب، وآراءهم وشخصياتهم وطريقة قيادتهم. في عام 1999م اشترك فنانان في الانتخابات التشريعية، وفي عام 2004م زاد العدد إلى أربعة وعشرين فناناً. ثم تراكم العدد في عام 2009م إلى واحد وستين فناناً. ومن ثمّ، استخدمت ثلاثة أنظمة في هذه الانتخابات لغرض تغيير تفكير اللجنة الانتخابية، وأيديولوجية قادات الحزب والمرشحين، فضلاً عن الناخبين. يستخدم هذا البحث المنهج التحليلي الوصفي الذي يعتمد على أسلوب تحليلي، وجمع البيانات وتفسيرها. كما يستخدم الإحصاءات الوصفية. تستقي هذه الدراسة معلوماتها من الاستبانات الموزعة على ثلاث مائة مجيب في عاصمة إندونيسيا (جاكرتا). ونتيجة هذه الدراسة، فتبين فشل المرشحين الفنانين في هذه الانتخابات، خاصة في عام 2009م حيث فاز السياسيون التقليديون بأغلبية الأصوات وفشل المشاركون الفنانون بأكثر من الثلث. هذا دليل على أن شهرتهم في الدولة لا تضمن لهم النجاح في الانتخابات. ومن المعروف أن نجاح أي سياسي يحتاج إلى صفات عدة، مثل التجربة السياسية والكفاءة العالية. والأهم من ذلك، لقد تصرف الناخبون الإندونسيون بشكل عقلاني وفضلوا (السياسيين التقليديين) على شعبية (الفنانين) في ترشيحهم.

APPROVAL PAGE

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

.....
Md. Moniruzzaman
Supervisor

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

.....
Danial Mohd. Yusof
Examiner

This dissertation was submitted to the Department of Political Science and is accepted as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Human Sciences (Political Science).

.....
Wahabuddin Ra'ees
Head, Department of Political
Science

This dissertation was submitted to the Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences and is accepted as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Human Sciences (Political Science).

.....
Badri Najib Zubir
Dean, Kulliyah of Islamic
Revealed Knowledge and
Human Sciences

DECLARATION

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

Maulana Rifai

Signature.....

Date.....

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

**DECLARATION OF COPYRIGHT AND AFFIRMATION
OF FAIR USE OF UNPUBLISHED RESEARCH**

Copyright © 2010 by Maulana Rifai. All rights reserved.

CELEBRITIES IN INDONESIAN POLITICS: A VOTERS' PERSPECTIVE

No part of this unpublished research may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior written permission of the copyright holder except as provided below.

1. Any material contained in or derived from this unpublished research may only be used by others in their writing with due acknowledgement.
2. IIUM or its library will have the right to make and transmit copies (print or electronic) for institutional and academic purposes.
3. The IIUM library will have the right to make, store in a retrieval system and supply copies of this unpublished research if requested by other universities and research libraries.

Affirmed by Maulana Rifai

.....
Signature

.....
Date

I dedicate this thesis to my dearest family:

*Almarhum Ayahanda H. Karsita, Ibunda Hj. Diah Sa'diah,
Aa H. Thoyyib Sulaeman and Teteh Hj. Siska Sa'diah*

For the utmost love, care, trust, support and understanding

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Alhamdulillah, praise be to Allah (S.W.T.) for the strength, patience and endurance bestowed upon me to complete the thesis. Peace and blessings be upon our beloved Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.S), his family and his companions. I am very grateful to many individuals for the valuable help I have received, without which the completion of this thesis would not have been accomplished. First and foremost, I would like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Md. Moniruzzaman, his critical comments had shaped the analysis of the whole thesis. I am also indebted much gratitude to Prof. Dr. Abdul Rashid Moten, for his precious comments on this thesis proposal. I would like to extend my appreciation to the Head Department of Political Science, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Wahabuddin Ra'ees, for his excellent guidance and assistance, and also lecturers in the Department of Political Science, Prof. Dr. Elfatih A. Abdel Salam, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain, Assoc. Prof Dr. Garoot S. Eissa, Dr. Tunku Mohar, and Dr. Danial Mohd. Yusof. Their courses had broadened my horizons to face with this challenging world. I am also deeply indebted to my statistics experts, *Bang Inal*, *Kang Abduh*, and *Bang Kamil*, for helping me out in dealing with SPSS. *Sheikh Abdul Wasiu'*, the translator of my Arabic abstract. Many thanks to my dear friends, Rofi, Wawan, *Kang Usep*, Syahrir, Ardi, Alex, Dewi, Ina, Liza, Fitri, Bhea, Idris, Walid, Faris, Atqa, Aji, Mr. Ali Muhammad, *Mas Wahib*, Mr. Arif, Mr. Nurkholish, and *Cak Misbah*, for the good, the hard and bad times we shared during the writing period and the following stages ahead which were pretty exhausting. Lastly, I owe my sincere gratitude to all those who assisted me, either directly or indirectly, whom I could not mention all of them, during the courses of my study at IIUM. *Jazakumullah Khairan Katsiran*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Arabic Abstract	iii
Approval Page	iv
Declaration Page	v
Copyright Page	vi
Dedication	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Table of Contents	ix
List of Tables	xi
CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH PROBLEM, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Background and History	2
Justification of the Problem	5
Literature Review	6
Theoretical and Analytical Framework	15
Research of Methodology	19
Outline of Chapters	20
CHAPTER TWO: THE DYNAMICS OF INDONESIAN VOTERS	21
Introduction	21
The Nature of Indonesian Voters	21
Conclusion	29
CHAPTER THREE: CELEBRITIES' INVOLVEMENT IN INDONESIAN ELECTIONS: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW	31
Introduction	31
The 1999 Elections	32
Campaign Issues and Result	34
Celebrity and the Party	38
The 2004 Elections	38
Campaign Issues and Result	41
Celebrity and the Party	45
The 2009 Elections	47
Campaign Issues and Result	48
Celebrity and the Party	51
Conclusion	54
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	56
Introduction	56
Factors of Voter Attitude towards Celebrities	60
Voters' Perceptions of Celebrities' Involvement: An Analysis	65
The 1999, 2004, and 2009 Elections: A Comparison	70

Conclusion	74
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION	76
Introduction	76
Recommendations	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY	81
APPENDIX	86

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure No.</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
1.1	Framework of analysis	18
3.1	The 1999 elections result for the House of Representatives	37
3.2	The comparison between open-list and closed-list PR	40
3.3	The 2004 elections result for the House of Representatives	44
3.4	The 2009 elections result for the House of Representatives	49
4.1	The gender of respondents	57
4.2	A group of age of respondents	58
4.3	The level of respondents' education	58
4.4	The religion of respondents	59
4.5	Occupation of respondents	60
4.6	Voters' attitude to party affiliation of celebrity	62
4.7	Voters' attitude to personality of celebrity	63
4.8	Voters' attitude to leadership style	64
4.9a	List of competing celebrities in 2009 legislative elections	69
4.9b	Parties and celebrities in the 1999, 2004, and 2009 elections	71

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BLT	<i>Bantuan Langsung Tunai</i> , the populist programme offered by the government party in response to the rising oil price and basic goods
Dapil	<i>Daerah Pemilihan</i> , Electoral District to determine the competing candidates
DPR	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat</i> , People's Representative Council (Indonesian Parliament)
DPRD	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah</i> , Regional People's Representative Council (Regional Parliament)
Golkar	<i>Golongan Karya</i> , Functional Groups, the ruling political organization in Suharto's Indonesia, later shifted to <i>partai</i> Golkar following the overthrown of Suharto regime
KPU	<i>Komisi Pemilihan Umum</i> , General Election Commission, the body that organized elections in Indonesia
LSI	<i>Lembaga Survey Indonesia</i> , the leading Indonesian political consultant chaired by Saiful Mujani, the US-trained political scientist
Masyumi	<i>Majlis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia</i> , Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims; the major Islamic-based party in the 1950s
MPR	<i>Majlis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i> , People's Consultative Assembly
NU	<i>Nahdlatul Ulama</i> , Muslim Scholars Association; Indonesia's largest traditionalist Islamic organization
PAN	<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> , the National Mandate Party established by Amien Rais in 1998
PD	<i>Partai Demokrat</i> , the Democratic Party led by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono
PDI-P	<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan</i> , the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, chaired by Megawati after the fall of Suharto
PKB	<i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i> , the National Awakening Party; established by Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur)
PNPM	<i>Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat</i> , the National Programme to Empower Society that distributed substantial amount of money to less developed villages
PPP	<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> , the United Development Party, one of the three parties in the New Order elections
Gerindra	<i>Gerakan Indonesia Raya</i> , the Great Indonesian Movement; the new party competed in the 2009 elections led by Prabowo Subianto the former chief of Special Army Forces during Suharto regime
Hanura	<i>Hati Nurani Rakyat</i> , the People's Conscience Party; the new established party led by Wiranto

CHAPTER ONE
RESEARCH PROBLEM, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK,
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In democratic politics the trend of celebrities becoming involved in the electoral race is becoming increasingly common in many countries around the world. Post-Suharto political liberalization in Indonesia has generated a democratic trend in which people of diverse professions are increasingly taking part in election contests. One striking feature of this trend is that an increasing numbers of celebrities of the entertainment industry are entering the political competition. While many are against the trend, considering the fact that the celebrities lack political experience, others are willing to give these actors or actresses a chance to prove themselves. Therefore, the study of this phenomenon is important in order to analyze and to examine voters' behaviour towards celebrities.

This research aims to investigate the voters' attitude towards celebrities' involvement in Indonesia's legislative elections of 1999, 2004 and 2009. Celebrities in this study refer to individuals who are involved in the entertainment industry and who have achieved popularity in their profession. In so doing, the study is expected to answer the following questions:

1. How do voters behave towards celebrity candidates?
2. What are the factors that influence the voting behaviour of the electorate towards celebrities?

3. What is the perception of the voters about the celebrities' involvement in Indonesian politics?

The objectives of this study are:

1. To examine the voters' perceptions of the large celebrity presence in Indonesian legislative elections.
2. To analyze the level of interest of the voters in celebrities' candidacies in Indonesian legislative elections.
3. To contribute a better understanding of the legislative election with regards to celebrities' involvement.

This research argues that the involvement of celebrities in Indonesia's legislative elections is due to parties' failure to carry out the regeneration of cadres from within the party or as a form of pragmatic approach to raising parties' image and acceptability among the people.

BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

Indonesian democracy was fully restored in 1999 after four decades of authoritarian rule under Presidents Sukarno (1959-1965) and Suharto (1966-1998). Earlier elections during the Constitutional Democracy (1949-1958), the Guided Democracy (1959-1965), and the *Pancasila* Democracy or New Order (1966-1998) attracted only professional politicians in the election contests. The Indonesian National Party (PNI), Masyumi (the Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims), NU or Nahdlatul Ulama (the Association of Islamic Scholars), and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) emerged as the major parties in 1955 elections as well as Golkar during the Suharto era.

As in 1955, the 1999 elections were also based on the parliamentary system, in which the Indonesian voters chose their representatives to the parliament who then, in turn, elected the president and vice president. There were 48 political parties in the elections contesting 462 seats out of the total number of legislative seats totalling 500, with 38 seats assigned to the military and police. All three previous New Order parties (PDI, Golkar, and PPP) joined the race.

However in 2004, the semi-open proportional representation system was used. Candidates who received more than the quota for a seat in an electoral district were eligible for the seat despite their position on the list. This system could not challenge the power of the parties to send their favourite politicians to the legislative elections. Those who won seats were candidates who were on the top of the party lists in the ballot, thereby indicating that the role of the party was paramount. Similarly, Indonesia introduced the presidential system which allowed the direct election of the president and vice president.

It is worth noting, that since 2005, a year after its adoption at the national level, the Indonesian provinces and regencies have been conducting their first direct elections to pick governors, mayors, and regents.¹ Prior to the 2009 legislative elections several celebrities emerged as candidates to compete in the electoral contest such as; Dede Yusuf (vice governor of West Java), Rano Karno (vice regent of Tangerang, Banten), Saiful Jamil (vice regent of Serang, Banten), Primus Yustisio (regent of Subang, West Java), who later failed due to lack of support at the candidacy stage, Marissa Haque (vice governor of Banten), Gusti Randa (mayor of Padang, West Sumatra), Dicky Candra (vice regent of Garut, West Java) and Ayu Soraya (mayor of Tegal, Central Java). These elections are considered to have triggered other celebrities

¹ Anies R. Baswedan, "Indonesian Politics in 2007: The Presidency, Local Elections and the Future of Democracy", *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2007): 333.

to follow their counterparts to compete in the legislative elections for parliamentary seats.

Meanwhile, in the 2009 elections, the rule had shifted to the pure open-list system after being challenged by politicians in the Constitutional Court in December 2008. The system had been changed twice before the elections took place on April 9 2009. This means that whoever receives the most votes in the party list, regardless of his or her position on the list, will be entitled to a seat if his or her party wins a seat. This has certainly changed the nature of electoral competition, as the parties will not only compete against each other but candidates from the same party also compete harshly against each other in order to get the most votes. This inter- and intra-party competition has certainly heated in the pre-election period. The shift of electoral rules was believed to be the catalyst that has attracted more and more celebrities to the legislative election contest.

During the New Order era, only a few celebrities filed for candidacy, such as; Edy Sud of the Golkar Party (Functional Groups Party) and Rhoma Irama of the United Development Party (PPP). Likewise, in the 1999 elections only two celebrities turned politicians, Sophan Sophian and Dedi Sutomo, both of whom came from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P). In contrast, in the 2004 elections, as many as 24 celebrities ran for the legislative seats representing 14 political parties.

However, only 6 of them managed to win the election. These were; Marissa Haque of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), Guruh Sukarnoputra of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), Chandra Pratomo Samiadji Massaid and Angelina Sondakh of the Democratic Party (PD), Dede Yusuf of the National Mandate Party (PAN), and Nurul Qomar of the Democratic Party (PD). The presence of celebrities in the 2009 Indonesian legislative elections has obviously

increased compared to the previous elections of 1999 and 2004. Nearly 61 celebrity candidates participated in competing for public offices.

This phenomenon deserves serious attention to explain its impacts on the voting behaviour of the people. Though the trend has created a sensation, most Indonesians are quite cautious, if not smart, in giving their votes during the elections. Many perceive that the existence of celebrities in politics is useful to the party as a “vote-getter”, despite the fact that the quality they can offer is less than their popularity. On the contrary, however, there are some celebrities who play an active role in social politics thereby proving their individual capabilities.

Since the format of legislative elections has changed from the closed-list proportional system to the majority voting system, some people think that it will help celebrity candidates to earn the votes easily. In other words, celebrities who run for office have an advantage over other non-celebrity newcomers in electoral politics. Due to their already established popularity, the celebrities tend not to need publicity in the media. Nevertheless, popularity does not necessarily translate into local electability, since political success requires qualities beyond a famous name and celebrity background. The most important point is, once elected, celebrity politicians formally become representatives of the people and not only represent the interests of their own constituents, but all of the people in general. And this requires professional political qualities.²

JUSTIFICATION OF THE PROBLEM

While much research has been conducted on post-Suharto Indonesian elections, little attention has been paid to the impact of celebrity involvement in elections on voter

² Professional political qualities are the combinations of vision and mission, competency, integrity, and empathy which generally bond together of candidates who run for public offices.

perceptions and behaviour. Therefore, this research is important for several reasons. Firstly, people are dynamic in terms of their choices. Therefore, the vast presence of celebrities in Indonesian politics is an interesting subject to study.

Secondly, although their involvement may be seen as a failure of leadership within the political parties, their presence in the political field indicates a clear change after more than 30 years of the authoritarian rule experienced by Indonesians. Therefore, it is important to see the impact of this new growing trend on Indonesian voters.

Finally, this study can contribute to a better understanding with regards to celebrities' involvement in Indonesian politics. The celebrities who enjoy fame within their professions through media exposure often use their popularity as a commodity to attract the voters in electoral contests in Indonesia. Such a study will enrich the literature on voters' behaviour in the country.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Elections are an important aspect of political science, and are considered to be a barometer of democracy. There is a small body of literatures and articles dealing with Indonesian elections which is relevant to this study. Most of the existing literature studied the elections in general, but electoral studies focusing on political celebrity is almost non-existent. The existing studies can be classified into two categories based on the scope and analysis of the subject: general studies on elections, and celebrity politics.

General Studies on Elections

Benedict Anderson has conducted a comparative study of elections in Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines in which he simply dismissed the Indonesia elections under Suharto, and emphasized that there is no need to spend any time on the series of elections since 1971 under Suharto's military regime. According to the study, these elections were carefully managed to produce two-thirds majorities for Golkar, the government's political machine, and a *silent* parliament without any genuine representative character.³

Similarly, Syamsuddin Haris' article on *General Elections under the New Order* portrays the corrupt members of parliament. He discusses an understanding of the structure and the process of New Order elections through descriptive analysis. He frankly states that the parliaments elected under the New Order did not function as legislative bodies, rather the function of members was to come, sit down, keep quiet, and get paid.⁴

Jennifer Lindsay has done an interesting study on the performance factor in Indonesian elections. She examines the role of performance in Indonesia, and then provides various data from the first Indonesian elections in 1955 until the presidential elections of 2004. The study is based on cultural approaches in which she argues that performance permeates elections in Indonesia as well as everyday life.⁵

Herbert Feith's pioneering work on Indonesian elections uses rich empirical data based on descriptive analysis. He mentions that the meetings where popular

³ Benedict R. O'G Anderson, "Elections and participation in three Southeast Asian countries" in *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*, edited by R.H. Taylor (New York: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 1996), 12-33.

⁴ Syamsuddin Haris, "General Elections Under the New Order" in *Elections in New Order: New Order and Beyond*, edited by Hans Antlov and Sven Cedrroth (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 18-37; See Edward Aspinall, "The Broadening Base of Political Opposition in Indonesia" in *Political Opposition in Industrializing Asia*, edited by Gary Rodan (London: Routledge, 1996), 234-250.

⁵ Jennifer Lindsay, "The Performance factor in Indonesian Elections" in *Elections as Popular Culture in Asia*, edited by Chua Beng Huat (New York: Routledge), 68.

theatre was the attraction through campaign rallies marked the first Indonesian elections in 1955. Together with his subsequent book, the author uses the Indonesian elections of 1955 and their results as a lens, through which he analyzes the decline of constitutional democracy in Indonesia.⁶ Nevertheless it does not provide the voters' perceptions about celebrities' involvement in Indonesian elections.

Leo Suryadinata emphasized that ethnicity, regionalism and religion played a significant role in the 1999 Indonesian elections.⁷ He claimed that these characteristics have existed for a long time, even before Indonesia's independence. Of the three, the Islamic factor played an important role in creating secular Muslims (*abangan*) and pious Muslims (*santri*).

However, Liddle and Mujani, in their recent article entitled *Leadership, Party and Religion*, concluded that in the 1999, 2004 and the two rounds of the presidential elections, religion, ethnicity and social class were not as important as party leaders and party identification.⁸ Liddle and Mujani's study is based on a relatively smaller sample (2,500 individuals) that may generate problems of representativeness and the regression analysis is based on a smaller number of 1,100 individuals. Nevertheless, this study is an important contribution to the literature on Indonesian electoral behaviour.

Another comparative study was conducted by Hans Antlov and Sven Caderrov. They specifically focused on local factors and national politics in two Indonesian elections of 1997 and 1999. The study focused on the politics of Islam and national elections in villages. The book provides information on elections in the villages of

⁶ Herbert Feith, *The Indonesian Election of 1955*, (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1957), 21-22.

⁷ Leo Suryadinata, *Election and Politics in Indonesia*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), 14.

⁸ R. William Liddle and Saiful Mujani, "Leadership, Party, and Religion: Explaining Voting Behaviour in Indonesia", *Journal of Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 40 (2007): 851.

East Java and West Java. Though this book lacks data in identifying the voters, it deepens our understanding about elections from a different point of view.

Of all the existing studies, King has offered the most systematic discussion, using bivariate and multiple regression analytical techniques to compare the 1955 and 1999 election outcomes.⁹ His data consist of official election counts and demographic variables, namely, indicators of urbanization, government activity, Islamicness, illiteracy, relative inequality, and development factors, disaggregated to the district and municipality levels. He concludes that there has been continuity along two dimensions: the cleavage between *abangan* (secular nationalists) and *santri* (Islamic nationalists), and the cleavage of *santri* between Muslim traditionalists and modernists.

King used district-level information from all areas of Indonesia rather than district samples. With this kind of census data, King has overcome the issue of representativeness. However, King's study does not have information on the perceptions of voter behaviour, especially on party affiliation and leadership style.

Celebrity Politics

Paul T. Hart and Karen Tindall have identified and compared different types of celebrities such as, celebrity activists, celebrity endorsers, celebrity politicians and politicians turned celebrities.¹⁰ They argue that celebrities have a different capacity and role in politics in that they use their popularity as a political means.

⁹ Dwight King, *Half Hearted Reform: Electoral Election and the Struggle for Democracy in Indonesia*, (Connecticut: Praeger, 2003).

¹⁰ Paul T. Hart and Karen Tindall, "Leadership by the Famous: Celebrity as Political Capital" in *Dispersed Leadership in Democracies*, edited by J. Kane, H. Patapan, P. T. Hart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 8.

Celebrities in politics are undoubtedly not a new phenomenon. In the Philippines, actor Joseph Estrada had been the mayor of San Juan and later became the president. Comedian Joey Marquez was the mayor of Paranaque City. The post of chief minister in the Indian provinces of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu was filled by actors N.T. Rama Rao and M.G. Ramachandran, respectively. In India alone, the total number of celebrities and socialites that have become political office-holders runs into the hundreds.¹¹

In addition, Jaideep Mukherjee has examined the steps of celebrities' involvement in Indian politics from the progressive and consistent pre-independence activist to the self-engineered political media images of stars of showbiz, society and sports. It leads to the key stream of thinking on the nature of India's media, politics, and celebrity. He emphasizes the media's commercialization role in India which he called the celebritization of politics.¹²

Furthermore, West and Orman coined the term 'celebrity regime' for such a state of affairs where the celebrity holds public office. They argued that the United States is a prime case of this. The cases of actors Ronald Reagan (president), Clint Eastwood (mayor), Jesse Ventura (governor), Fred Thompson (senator), John Glenn (senator) and Arnold Schwarzenegger (governor) have been widely publicized, applauded, condemned and analyzed.¹³ There are a number of factors which have made it possible for celebrities to run for elective office. One key aspect of celebrity politics in the post-World War II period has been the emergence of television and its massive effects on the political process.

¹¹ J. Mukherjee, "Celebrity, Media and Politics: An Indian perspective", *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 57, no. 1 (2004): 80-92.

¹² *Ibid*, 80-81.

¹³ Darrel West and John Orman, *Celebrity Politics*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 2003), 15.

The television age provides an advantage to celebrities because these individuals are skillful at using the medium and good at attracting media coverage. As the culture has moved towards the glorification of celebrities and the line between Hollywood and Washington has become blurred, celebrities make for great copy and receive a great deal of coverage when they enter the political contest.¹⁴

The 2004 US elections witnessed a widespread use of celebrities who predominantly endorsed Democratic candidate John Kerry in the general election. Even with this huge visible and recognizable sources of support, Kerry lost the race and many have pondered on the real impact and importance of celebrity endorsements. Some political experts have even noted a potential criticism of some of the high-profile, clearly divisive, endorsements. However, their endorsement helps significantly in boosting young voter turnout.¹⁵

Equally important is the Austrian born international movie star and businessman, Arnold Schwarzenegger who won in the California Gubernatorial Election in 2003 over the incumbent governor Gray Davis and incumbent Democratic challenger Cruz Bustamante. It is perceived that the incumbent governor and his democratic challenger could not offer any solution for the serious political and economic crisis in the state of California. This situation had increased the presence of Arnold as an outside challenger from voter perceptions.¹⁶

¹⁴ Darrel West, *Arnold Schwarzenegger and Celebrity Politics*, <<http://insidepolitics.org/heard/westerport903.html>> viewed on 30 April 2009.

¹⁵ J. Gregory Payne, John. P.H., David. P.T., "Celebrity Spectacle Influence on Young Voters in the 2004 Presidential Election: What to Expect in 2008", *Journal of American Behavioural Scientist*, vol. 50 (2007): 1239.

¹⁶ Michel C.B, Jeffrey C.K, and Rajnandini P, "Crisis and Charisma in the California Recall Election", *Journal of Leadership*, vol. 1 (2005): 321.

A very recent study has been conducted by Andrew Pease and Paul R. Brewer about celebrity endorsement in the presidential primary campaign.¹⁷ The article examines the Oprah factors in affecting voters' opinion of Barack Obama. Subsequently, they concluded that her endorsement did not influence the extent to which participants held favourable opinions of Obama or the extent to which they saw him as likable. Yet such exposure did lead participants to see him as more likely to win the nomination and to say that they would be more likely to vote for him.

The literature on Indonesia's elections says little about celebrities' participation of running for public offices from the voters' perspectives in particular. However, the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) led by Saiful Mujani has conducted a survey to identify the competency and popularity factors between celebrity candidates and conventional politicians.¹⁸ He found that popular candidates like celebrities would win compared to conventional politicians who were perceived as being more experience and competent. This can be understood due to the pure open-list system which greatly benefited celebrity candidates with their fames power.

Another interesting survey was conducted by Charta Politika,¹⁹ one of the leading political consultants, to assess the voter perceptions on celebrities' involvement in Indonesia's legislative election 2009. The result shows that the voters would not elect celebrity candidates who lacked political experience, were inexpert in the field, and did not represent the people's aspirations.

¹⁷ Andrew Pease and Paul R. Brewer, "The Oprah Factor: The Effects of a Celebrity Endorsement in a Presidential Primary Campaign", *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 13 (2008): 386.

¹⁸ Saiful Mujani, "*Silent Revolution: Kampanye, Kompetisi Caleg, dan Kekuatan Partai Menjelang Pemilu 2009*," [Silent Revolution: Campaign, Candidate Competition, and the Strength of Party in the 2009 Elections] (Lembaga Survey Indonesia, 2008), 34.

¹⁹ Muhammad Faisal, "*Aspek Kepedulian sebagai Vote-Getter*," [The Empathy Factor as Vote-Getter] <<http://www.chartapolitika.com>> (accessed on 11 February, 2009).