

Dynamics of Jambi Malay Ethnic Group in The Political Contestation of Jambi Mayor Election

*Jafar Ahmad¹, Hengki Firmanda²

¹Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kerinci, Indonesia

²Universitas Riau Pekanbaru, Indonesia

*jafar@iainkerinci.ac.id

Received: 28-11-2022

Revised: 13-12-2022

Accepted: 25-12-2022

Abstract

Primordial loyalty that breeds fanaticism is often used by politicians as a shortcut and easy way to gather support. By using primordial interests, politicians do not need to work hard to gain support from the people. This research seeks to explain why Jambi Malay ethnic loyalty, as the dominant group, was not formed in relation to the Mayor Election in Jambi City. What are the factors that cause Malay ethnic sentiment not to appear. This research is qualitative research, with a case study approach. Data collection is done through interviews, observation, and documentation. The results of this study indicate that Malay identity does not play a significant role in the contestation for the Jambi mayoral election. Malay identity does not get high interest in society as a communal identity that is able to win leaders from the Malay tribe. The Jambi Malay community tends to support prospective leaders who are committed to eradicating societal ills, such as prostitution and drinking. In addition, Malay primordial solidarity was not formed in the mayoral election contestation because of the minimal role of Malay figures to build this solidarity, and the Jambi Malay community was not in a threatened position, allowing them to carry out consolidation efforts.

Keywords: Electoral Democracy, Ethnic Loyalty, Malay Ethnicity, Politics.

© 2022 Jafar Ahmad, Hengki Firmanda



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

INTRODUCTION

The Malay nation is a great nation, has a lot of heritage, including a very wide distribution of influence (Pahmi, 2014). Historically, in some records, the Malay kingdom was even born before the Sriwijaya kingdom (Wolters, 2011, p. 211-220). It is believed that the center of this Malay kingdom was Jambi. From the findings of temples in Jambi Province and several temples spread across the Jambi region, it provides the fact that before being conquered by Sriwijaya, Malay was a big undertaking as revealed in The First International Conference on Jambi Studies. (2014)

The Malay kingdom has spread widely, even to the corners of the world. Malay traces can be felt in Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Singapore, the Philippines, and Thailand. The distribution of the Malay kingdoms indicates that the Malays are a great nation. As a form of Malay domination, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, and of course Indonesia make Malay their national language. This indicates how big Malay has become, even for a long time. Thus, Malay is not only seen as a social and cultural order, but also the main identity of the people of the archipelago (Dedees, 2015).

Malay has great potential as a community that allows it to form high solidity as an ethnic group. This solidity should be able to have benefits in political mobilization at the same time.

However, it turns out that the distribution of Malays which is quite wide does not make this entity unite Malays in the same political entity, except in Malaysia (Mutalib, 1996). For Indonesia, Malay has not become a political entity that is recognized jointly. This is proven, so far, in Indonesia, there has not been found a party that relies on the Malay ethnicity as their party's identity.

In fact, in the post-New Order era in Indonesia, the opportunity for freedom to act and express opinions, including in terms of establishing political parties, has been wide open. Symptoms to restore ethnic identity have been seen in several areas. For example, several figures emerged who claimed to be descendants of kings or sultans in several regions. Garry Van Klinken mentioned that there has been an increase in the involvement of local ethnic groups to re-emerge as ethnic symbols that once ruled in their area. Then came the descendants of kings/sultans, from Sumatra to Maluku. This symptom has also appeared in Jambi, but so far it doesn't appear that this problem has been taken care of completely. One of the reasons was because the sultan's descendants had not been able to agree on choosing one of the descendants of Sultan Thaha Saifuddin, the Sultan of Jambi, as the successor to the Jambi sultanate. So far, the rise of local ethnic leaders has not been significant in Jambi City.

The unresolved issue of appointing a replacement Sultan for the Sultan of Jambi may also have had an impact on not forming a single symbol of the Jambi Malay community, so that so far, the authors do not see Jambi Malay joining and identifying themselves in the same political community, both in the Regional Head Elections, let alone in support of a political party. What seems massive is the political involvement of other communities, such as Minang, Javanese, Batak, Sundanese, and others. This situation is a paradox. Ethnic groups that have emerged earlier and for a longer time should be far more solid and mature in maintaining the integrity of their community. The experience gained by ethnic members throughout their lives will bring their own ego in maintaining their respective ethnic interests (Isaacs, 1993; Isiyama & Breuning, 2013).

According to Hasib Kalimudin Syam, the Jambi Malay community is still the majority compared to people from other ethnicities, but in terms of practical politics, Jambi Malay has declared himself not to participate in practical politics. Nevertheless, Hasib explained, even though they were not directly involved in practical politics (open support for one of the regional head candidate pairs), the interests of the Malay ethnic group in the bureaucracy and government were running well. Until now, the wishes of the Malay elite could be compromised and accommodated by Jambi leaders. But on the other hand, Pahmi (2014) said that in fact the Jambi Malay elite remained political. They do not openly convey their political aspirations, but if there are certain interests of the Malay elite that are not accommodated, then they will act more openly. For example, if the leader leaves cadres from the Malay elite in government, then they will react, question, and ask to be accommodated.

Under these conditions, Jambi Malays were faced with the process of decentralization in Indonesia, following the reform movement that forced President Soeharto to step down. Then starting in 2005, the dynamics of local politics underwent a change. In politics, decentralization takes the form of direct regional head general elections (direct regional elections) which are enacted based on Law No. 32/2004 concerning Regional Government. The basic regulation regulates the General Election of Regional Heads directly. The success of local political democracy is marked by the direct post-conflict local election taking place which shows that in

Indonesia there has been a democratic political system, because in direct regional head elections, the principle of one voter with one vote has come close to the true meaning of democracy. Although on the other hand, the elections for Regional Heads (Governors, Regents/Mayors) which are currently taking place in various regions also have many records of ethnic divisions, fraud, money politics, and direct intimidation of voters (Risalah Sengketa Hasil Pemilu, 2004).

In terms of ethnic divisions, Saiful Ahmad (2012) considers that ethnic divisions in regional head elections is a very important study to do, because the direct election process carried out to elect regional heads has allowed this ethnic division to occur. The ethnic political conflict that occurred in North Maluku, as discussed by Saiful, shows that there is potential to disrupt the harmonization of inter-ethnic relations in the region. Even though in his conclusion Saiful found that in fact this inter-ethnic conflict was not triggered by ethnic issues, but by political interests involving each ethnic group.

Until now, there has been no visible ethnic division that has given rise to conflict in Jambi. Jambi Malays, whose majority does not appear to have formed an agreement to support or not support a particular candidate. Like the political process of selecting the Mayor of Jambi, both in 2008 and 2013, the active role of Jambi Malay figures was absent. Even the Mayor who was elected in the two Jambi Mayor elections did not come from the Jambi Malay ethnicity.

The political stance of the Jambi Malay elite who did not show open support in the Jambi Mayoral election process raises a question for the author, that there is something that must be explained behind this political attitude and role of the Jambi Malay ethnicity. This question has not been addressed by several previous studies. Existing research tends to highlight the existence of Jambi local customs at the democratic political level (Mubarrok, 2015; Armansyah, 2017), the model of government in the Jambi Malay Islamic community (Harun & Sagala, 2013), and local youth politics (Ulum et al., 2017). Based on existing research, the author places a focus on the political dynamics of the Malay elite in political contestation and the factors that cause Malay solidarity to not form in the context of the mayoral election.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study is qualitative research with a descriptive-narrative approach to see the failure of consolidation of ethnic Malay Jambi in the struggle of political power at the mayor election of Jambi, 2013. Data collection is done by interview, observation, documentation. Informants were selected using a purposive sampling approach with certain criteria. Therefore, informants are parties who are involved and have a direct impact on the research topic.

This research was conducted in several stages. The first stage is to formulate the main questions related to the failure of consolidation of ethnic Malay Jambi. Second, data collection was carried out through unstructured in-depth interviews for two months with an effective time of more than 129 hours. These interviews are conducted naturally and do not follow a strict structure. This method is intended to build a friendly atmosphere between the writer and the informant and avoid suspicion. The interview approach uses judgment sampling method, where one of the informants gives instructions about the suitability of the other informants. This method is also used to obtain validity between the answers of one informant to another. During the interview, reflection activities were carried out continuously.

This study uses qualitative analysis with thematic analysis approach through several stages, namely data collection, reduction, interpretation, and display. Thematic analysis requires more involvement and interpretation from the researchers. All information was recorded and transcribed. The reduction stage is the process of identifying the raw data, where the data are sorted and summarized, coded, and categorized.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Malay Ethnic Domination in the Jambi Election (Pilwako) 2013

The direct regional election has shifted the position of members of the provincial/regency DPRD to the people (as direct voters). If in the previous regional head elections, the Regents/Mayors or Governors were elected by the DPRD, now the candidates for regional heads are directly elected by the people who are scattered in various polling places (TPS) in each region. This direct election is a relatively new phenomenon in today's Indonesian society. On the one hand there is euphoria from the voting public and on the other hand there is the need for votes to be "requested" directly from voters. This need process certainly generates requests for votes and supplies (votes) from voters. There is supply and demand between the regional head candidates who wish to be elected and the people as voters. In the process of course there are transactions that involve both parties. So, in subsequent practice, as often revealed in PHPU hearings at the Constitutional Court, political transactions that violate rules and regulations often occur, and in some cases, they occur in a structured, systematic, and massive.

The practice of money politics, black campaigns, "buying" votes, and vote counting fraud are common phenomena in direct post-conflict local elections that cannot be avoided. Apart from that, the General Election Result Settlement (PHPU) which took place at the Constitutional Court also became a bad record for the direct post-conflict local election process which had been running since 2005. The arrest of the head of the Constitutional Court, Akil Mukhtar, for accepting bribes in arranging the PHPU trial at the Constitutional Court adds to the bad record of this direct regional head general election. These notes, of course, become special lessons for the improvement of subsequent implementation, and will be processed in accordance with the political and social dynamics that occur in the community.

The shift in the right to vote to the people has had so many impacts on the people themselves. If in an indirect election, the community is not involved in making a choice, but in a direct election, the community holds control to give voting rights at the polling place. Communities who have personal rights in voting, not all of them have special attention to the process of selecting regional heads that are taking place. Some did not feel that their right to vote was so important and contributed to the outcome of the election. But on the other hand, there are a small number of them, including activists, economic elite, political elite, and a small number of certain community groups who really care about the election process. Thus, those who were few emerged as entities that could act on behalf of the wider community and carry out political transactions with competing political players. Their presence can be considered as representatives of their own group, be it ethnicity, community, political parties, even business network (Yanuarti, 2019).

From an ethnic perspective, voters belonging to certain communities will be more easily consolidated by members of their own ethnicity. The formation of the desire to communicate with each other can be seen as an effort to build consolidation between them. This has become

a habit that takes place within the internal ethnic group. They have experiences that are not only direct, but also very influential for the formation of their ego in behaving and acting (Isaac, 1993). Based on this perspective, it is important to see that the primordial attachment between group members will influence their attitudes and actions, including in determining political choices.

The city of Jambi, as well as several other regions in Indonesia, in holding direct regional elections for regional heads experienced a period where communities agreed and united to provide support or not to support competing candidate pairs. Usually, this union is seen in the form of primordial bonds. Some are due to ethnic elements; some are due to regional elements.

In Jambi City, several organizations belonging to ethnic elements, for example the Wisnu Murti organization (Javanese ethnicity), Minang Community Association (HMM), Jambi Community Association from South Sumatra (Himjass), Bengkulu Family Association, Sundanese Community Gathering Association (Pangalaras), Association NTT Family, Sulawesi Family Harmony, Banjar Family Harmony, Chinese Community Social Association, Kito/Ethnic Indian Communication Forum, Lampung Community Association, Kerinci Family Association (HKK), Banten Family Association (Paku Banten), and Perkasa (Sarolangun Family Association) (Jambi Kesbangpol, 2018).

In addition, student organizations also stand alongside other organizations. For example, the Kerinci Student Association (IMK), the Bungo-Tebo Student Association (Himabute), the Sarolangun Student Association (Himsar), and the Batanghari Student Association (Himbari).

The association organizations above, in every political activity, are seen to be active and often show support or not support for regional head candidates that are carried out in every regional head election event. However, among all these organizations, there has been no visible Malay ethnic organization showing support or not supporting regional head candidates running in regional head elections, including in the Jambi Mayor-Deputy Mayor election in 2013.

When viewed from the composition of the population, Jambi Malays occupy the majority position, followed by other residents. The number of residents from other ethnic groups that are relatively dominant include the Javanese and Minangkabau ethnic groups. The composition of the population in Jambi City consists of various ethnic groups, ranging from Jambi Malay, Batak, Javanese, Minang, Kerinci, and other ethnic Malays. The role of each of these ethnic groups in politics is of course different from one another. The following is the ethnic composition in Jambi City:

Table 1. Ethnic Distribution in Jambi City by Number

Ethnic Identity	Amount	Percentage
Jambi Malay	116.226	36%
Java	92.064	29%
Minangkabau	52.785	16%
Malay (others)	24.488	8%
Sunda, Priangan	18.652	6%
Bugis	8.471	3%
Banjar	4.134	1%

Kerinci	3.850	1%
----------------	-------	----

This majority number should be the main capital for the Jambi Malay ethnicity to appear as the holder of power in Jambi City. This majority can be mobilized into a political force in supporting or not supporting regional head candidates running, in this context, the Jambi Mayor-Deputy Mayor election in 2013.

In practice, Malay has strong cultural roots in society. Inter-ethnic communication relations are also going quite well. The Jambi Malay Customary Institution even has communications down to the village level (Syam, interview). Organizing events such as weddings still uses Jambi Malay customs. Art displayed in Jambi also features Jambi Malay art, such as the Selaras Pinang Masak dance. This has been going on for a long time and is continuing today. Even today Jambi Malays can incorporate elements of Malay culture in the implementation of the Jambi Province government program. For example, there was an appeal by the Governor of Jambi that all government offices throughout Jambi Province wear Jambi Malay uniforms every Wednesday (Noor, interview). In fact, starting in 2014, all offices in Jambi Province must be given a nameplate that includes Arabic Malay letters alongside the office name in Latin letters. The official name tag must also include Arabic Malay letters alongside the name written in Latin letters.

Based on the habits that emerged in the people of Jambi City, it is very clear that the ethnic Malay element is still very strong here. In various Jambi arts and cultural performances, these elements are still well preserved. In the habitus perspective, Pierre Bourdieu, a sociologist from France, whose theory is also used across disciplines, including politics, shows theoretically that Jambi Malay people actually have strong roots and have a desire to be able to maintain the traditions they have.

Pierre Bourdieu explains that humans and their groups have habitus that have been formed in the long term. Habitus is a set of habits that have been deeply ingrained in a person from the experience he received from the beginning. In order to maintain their respective habitus, the actors carry out several strategies. According to Bourdieu, there are five strategies that a person can do, namely (1) The biological investment strategy is related to efforts to preserve offspring and ensure the transmission of capital to the next generation. (2) The successive strategy relates to efforts to ensure the transfer (transmission) of inheritance between generations in the most effective way possible. (3) The economic investment strategy is related to the transfer of economic capital, the aim is to maintain and increase the accumulation of owned capital. (4) The educational strategy is the effort of a social group to create new social actors who are worthy and able to receive the inheritance from that social group. 5) The symbolic investment strategy is related to all actions that preserve and increase symbolic capital: recognition or honor with the aim of reproducing the most appropriate perception and appreciation in order to ensure the legitimacy of their position in the social hierarchy.

The political role of the Jambi Malays was not evident in the Jambi Mayoral Election process in 2013. The main problem in this research is that the attitude shown is different from the ethnic concept described above, including if it is explained with Bourdieu's habitus.

B. Sum Indra, Malay Figure in the Jambi Election

The figure of Sum Indra has a special place in the Jambi Malay community. The fame of his name was inherited from his grandfather, Nurdin Hamzah, a wealthy Jambi Malay businessman. Sum Indra is the grandson of Nurdin Hamzah from his mother, Dewi Nurdin Hamzah.

Grandpa Sum Indra listed himself as the first native in Jambi, who was considered successful in competing with Chinese businessmen, and inherited abundant wealth to his grandchildren. Nurdin Hamzah controls the largest grocery business network in Jambi. Nurdin Hamzah is also known as a generous businessman. He donated part of his wealth to the people of Jambi. Every year, they spend billions of rupiah in zakat. In addition, this family is considered very concerned about the lives of Muslims who make up most of the Jambi's population. The proof is that they built a magnificent mosque in the center of Jambi City, the name of the mosque is Nurdin Hasanah, a combination of the names of Sum Indra's grandparents. The 'Nurdiniah dynasty' is deeply rooted in Jambi. Since the beginning it has not only built political hegemony but has also created hegemonic markers in the fields of economics-business, education, health, and places of worship. Economic-business markers can be seen in the form of Enha supermarket, Enha Plaza supermarket, Nurdin Hamzah Housing Complex, and Nurdin Hamzah Cemetery. In the field of education, the Nurdiniah Dynasty has several high schools, one foreign language academy, one high school and one vocational school, then STISIP Nurdin Hamzah and STMIK Nurdin Hamzah (now Nurdin Hamzah University). Sum Indra is a person who is trusted by Nurdin Hamzah's extended family to manage the Nurdin Hamzah University, until now (Ahmad, 2018, 5-6).

When contesting in the Jambi Pilwako in 2013, Sum Indra's strength was in a surplus condition. Apart from having symbolic capital inherited from his grandfather, Nurdin Hamzah, Sum Indra is also fully supported by his extended family, especially support from his uncle, Hazrin Nurdin (Nurdin Hamzah's second son). Hazrin is a well-known entrepreneur in Jambi City (jambilink.com). Apart from Hazrin, Sum Indra is also supported by another uncle, Zulkifli Nurdin, former Governor of Jambi for two terms. In fact, Zulkifli Nurdin made his private house in the Manggis Village area, Jambi City the headquarters for Sum Indra's victory. Sum Indra is an incumbent, who was serving as Deputy Mayor of Jambi for the 2008-2013 period. Practically, he personally had the opportunity to mobilize the bureaucratic machine for his victory.

In addition, of the 4 candidates for Mayor, Sum Indra, who received serial number 2, is the only figure who comes from the Jambi Malay ethnicity. He inherited a very clear and thick Malay lineage. Meanwhile, his rival, Bambang Priyanto (order number 1), is a figure from the Javanese ethnicity. Then Syarif Fasha (number 3) comes from South Sumatra and finally Effendi Hatta (number 4) comes from the Minang ethnic group.

Likewise with the composition of deputy mayor. Sum Indra's partner is Maulana, a native doctor from across the city of Jambi. Apart from being a doctor, Maulana is listed as a wealthy businessman. He has a private hospital and several educational institutions in the health sector (jambiupdate.com). While the pair of rivals are not classified as figures to be reckoned with. Abdullah Sani, for example, who was paired with Syarif Fasha was only a lecturer at the Sultan Thaha Syaifuddin Jambi State Islamic University. Abdullah Sani is also listed as a citizen of

Javanese ethnicity. Meanwhile, two other figures, Asnawi AB (Deputy Effendi Hatta) is a bureaucrat and Yeri Muthalib (Deputy Bambang Priyanto) Hanura politician, although they belong to ethnic Malays, their strength is far below Sum Indra.

This condition clearly greatly benefits Sum Indra's position as the only candidate from the dominant ethnic group in Jambi City. The Sum Indra-Maulana duo, which carried the SIMPATIK jargon, established themselves as the sole partner of the Jambi Malay ethnic group (Jambi Express). So, because there is no other choice, Malay ethnic voices should be solid in one pair, namely, Sum Indra-Maulana. As Rauf (2000, 64) said, one of the main problems in politics is how to increase the support of the people. Primordial ties, said Rauf, are a powerful tool to attract support from members of primordial groups. This is because they will be more interested in efforts to defend primordial interests than in efforts to realize political interests.

Malay ethnicity, as defined by Rauf above, includes ethnic identities that have formed primordial groups, namely groups that are larger than the family and smaller than the nation based on primordial ties. What is meant by primordial ties, according to Rauf is a person's attachment to his group based on given values caused by blood relations and similarities in terms of religion, ethnicity, language, regional origin and customs (Rauf, 2000: 62). People who are born and identified as ethnic Malays, based on this definition, will automatically form primordial bonds based on racial or ethnic equality.

According to Rauf (2000), ethnic identity is formed because of cultural similarities such as similarities in language, customs and regionalism. The nature of this ethnic identity is natural because a person cannot choose and determine where he is born. This primordial bond, said Rauf, will form primordial sentiments and loyalties that produce strong solidarity among group members. Solidarity within primordial groups on the basis of ethnicity is generated by the existence of similarities in cultural values that make them have the same way of life, mindset and interests. All these similarities result in a very strong solidarity among members which makes them willing to defend their group at any cost.

In fact, according to Clifford Geertz, an anthropologist from the United States, the solidarity produced by primordial groups is much stronger than that of national groups. Primordial loyalty is natural so it is very strong and not easily shaken. Fanaticism characterizes primordial loyalty. Therefore, each member has a high tendency to defend other group members to the death because of the belief that their members need to be defended against threats from others. In this kind of loyalty, support for group members is not based on rational considerations (such as performance appraisal), but rather on emotional considerations and feelings (Rauf, 2000: 67-68).

In the context of the 2013 Jambi Pilwako, Sum Indera, as the only candidate for Mayor of Jambi who comes from ethnic Malays, should be able to obtain electoral contributions from his ethnic solidity. Apart from the dominant number, ethnic Malays should have no other choice in Pilwako, except for Sum Indra. Based on the theory of identity politics explained by Rauf and Geertz above, the Malay ethnic solidity that is formed should be a powerful force for Sum Indra, because they will fight tooth and nail to defend the interests of their group. So that Sum Indra benefited from this situation. However, in fact, Malay identity did not benefit Sum Indra and Maulana. The dominance of the Jambi Malay ethnic group failed to bring victory to Sum Indra. Instead, he lost to the Syarif Fasha-Abdullah Sani pair, a figure who was once under-recognized, who came from ethnic South Sumatra and Java, two ethnic groups far below the

Malays. Many variables led to the defeat of the Jambi Malay figure, Sum Indra. However, this study specifically portrays that in the Pilwako case, the Jambi Malay ethnic loyalty sentiment was not formed. There are no signs of solid Malay ethnicity in one candidate. They do not feel it is important to fight for and defend Malay figures.

In the Pilwako, Syarif Fasha-Abdullah Sani took first place by collecting 88,464 votes. Followed by the pair Sum Indra-Maulana in second place with 85,394 votes. Then the Effendi Hatta-Asnawi AB pair with 47,646 votes and finally Bambang Priyanto-Yeri Muthalib with 28,660 votes (kpu.go.id).

C. Failure of the Malay Ethnic in the Politics of Power

The political format of the regional head election directly did not support the formation of identity politics for the Jambi Malay ethnic group in the 2013 Pilwako. In fact, in various regions, identity politics has had a great opportunity to develop. For example, in West Kalimantan (Buchari, 2014: 31), Dayak ethnic sentiments were formed in the 2007 West Kalimantan Governor Election. This is in stark contrast to the political phenomenon of the Jambi Malay Ethnic in the 2013 Jambi Pilwako. The most dominant ethnic group was not consolidated and formed ethnic sentiments. The Jambi Malay adat institution does not fully support candidates from ethnic Malays. Then, voter loyalty from Malay ethnic relations is not solid. In addition, the selection of campaign issues does not pay much attention to Malay identity (Sugiarto et al., 2014).

The findings of this research show the failure of consolidating the Malay ethnicity because ethnic sentiment was not developed from the start. There is no visible symptom of identity politics built or constructed as a means of political struggle for the Malay ethnic in achieving a particular goal in the context of the Jambi Pilwako 2013. This happened, according to Buchari (2014), because there was no pressure in the form of political injustice felt by the ethnic group. If there is no feeling of shared fate, then identity will not arise and show its ethnic identity in a political struggle to seize power. This primordial sentiment is impossible to grow without being constructed by carrying out a series of manipulations of identity similarities or characteristics that are grown in social life.

Primordial loyalty will also be formed if the representation of group interests is built (Buchari, 2014: 21). In the context of the Jambi Pilwako, Sum Indra as the only Jambi Malay ethnic figure did not build the perception that he represented the interests of his ethnic group. Syarif Fasha, who is not from ethnic Malays, in certain cases can show concern for and defend the interests of the Malay group. Fasha, for example, recruited Kemas Farid Alfarely, son of Kemas Farouq, a highly respected Jambi Malay figure. Kemas Farouq is a Malay figure who is also a businessman, owning a magnificent hotel in Jambi City. In fact, Kemas Farouq sent his biological son to become treasurer for the winning team for Syarif Fasha, a non-Malay figure. As a Jambi Malay figure, Kemas Farid feels that Fasha's figure is better and accommodates the interests of the people of Jambi than Sum Indra. Farid considers Malay and non-Malay primordial issues to be irrelevant in the context of Jambi City. The following is an interview with Kemas Farid, a Malay figure with the title 'kemas' who prefers to support Fasha over Sum Indra.

“Are we looking for a chief or a leader? Indigenous and non-indigenous issues are no longer valid. If there are outsiders who are more capable and capable of developing our area, why should we force them to support their own people (the natives). This is the modern era. The era of democracy. Our measure is capacity and performance.”

Kemas Farid's statement shows that Malay Ethnic sentiment was not developed from the start. Fasha instead appeared as the only candidate who dared to be assertive by showing his side with Islam, the majority religion followed by Jambi Malays. Datuk Paduko Berhalo, who was mentioned as a figure who contributed to rebuilding the Jambi Malay kingdom in the sultan's version, was a pious and strong Islamic figure. His real name is Sultan Ahmad Barus II. He is of Turkish descent, a fanatical adherent of Islam. Rang Kayo Hitam, his son was the first Jambi Malay Sultan who led the Jambi Malay Kingdom, after this kingdom collapsed in the 7th century AD. His grandson, Sultan Thaha Syaifuddin, is remembered as a national hero, who was also a strong Muslim (Putra, 2012: 381-394). This shows that the Jambi Malay sultanate built by Rang Kayo Hitam was a kingdom that embraced Islam fanatically. Fasha's alignment with Islam, by building Malay ethnic Islamic fanaticism is shown through his campaign promises to close 'Pucuk', the oldest and largest localization in Jambi City. Never in history has a candidate for Mayor of Jambi made such a bold and firm promise, and Fasha really proved it when he served as Mayor.

This illustrates that Fasha has advanced several steps from Sum Indra. Fasha, who is non-Malay, shows a very high sense of concern for the interests of Islam, which is the religion of the Malay people. For some Malay fanatics, closing 'pucuk' is the same as *jihad fisisabilillah*.

“At first, I didn't like Fasha. The person is arrogant and that is not the Malay type. However, after seeing the vision and mission, one of the points is to close the 'pucuk', wow, I think this is a great leader. I don't see a big vision like this in Sum Indra, even though he is a Jambi native. That is why I supported Fasha in the 2013 Pilwako," (Kemas Uzair, a Malay figure across Jambi City, interview, 26 July 2021).

Apart from the localization issue, Fasha's vision, and mission, which he read on the morning of Wednesday 12 June 2013 in the plenary room of the Jambi City DPRD, also alluded to his alignment with Islam and the interests of the Jambi Malay ethnicity. Fasha said he would build an Islamic Center in Sekoja, an area opposite Jambi City, which is the main base for Jambi Malays (syfasha.com). Although this promise has not been fulfilled until now, at least at that time, Fasha succeeded in promoting the representation of Jambi Malay ethnic interests.

The next factor that caused the primordial loyalty of the Jambi Malay Ethnic not to be built in the Jambi Pilwako 2013 was the absence of actors who constructed or enhanced the primordial identity of members of the Malay Ethnic group. The Malay Traditional Institutional Organization (LAM) Jambi City, which has customary legitimacy, did not try to build ethnic Malay loyalty in this election. In fact, according to Castells (2010: 8), identity legitimacy is one form of identity. Through legitimacy identity, said Castells, identity is built by an institution that dominates society to rationalize and continue its domination of social actors, such as a state institution that tries to enhance the national identity of community members. The institution has indeed gained the legitimacy to do so. At the practical level, the Jambi Malay Traditional Institution (LAM), which should be able to be relied on to form identities, does not seem to

work like the theory presented by Castells. In fact, as mentioned above, several Jambi Malay actors became part of the winning team for Syarif Fasha, a non-Malay figure. Regarding this matter, the following is a statement by Kemas Uzair, one of the commanders of the Jambi Malay army, interviewed on 27 July 2021.

“Organizationally, the Malay Traditional Institute has never issued a one-vote policy in every local election, including the Jambi Pilwako 2013. Malays are allowed to vote for anyone, it doesn't have to be one figure.”

Primordial Malay Ethnic allegiance was also not formed in the Pilwako 2013 because there was no identity formation by social actors from the Malay Ethnic group. The absence of threats against the Malay Ethnic group has resulted in unconsolidated ethnic allegiance. In fact, according to Castells, the formation of identity will be realized if there is construction from social actors who feel their interests are being threatened. Castells calls this resistant identity, which is a process of identity formation by social actors who are under pressure due to domination and stereotypes from other parties, thus forming resistance and identity emergence. The goal is to maintain the survival of the group or groups (Buchari, 2014: 23).

For example, in the 2018 regional elections of Kerinci. The people of Kerinci Mudik succeeded in building consolidation and group loyalty through the role of traditional leaders who disseminated instructions to their members that if a Kerinci Hilir figure became Regent it would threaten the sustainability of the interests of the Kerinci Mudik people. Consolidation was built in regular meetings in the form of social gathering. This shows its relevance to the Pilkada process, based on research data from the Idea Institute Indonesia, that only 5 percent of Kerinci Mudik residents have shifted their choices and voted for Kerinci Hilir figures. Meanwhile, on the other hand, 25 percent of Kerinci Hilir residents voted for the candidate figure from Kerinci Mudik (Idea Institute Indonesia, 2020). This shows that the residents of Kerinci Mudik have succeeded in building consolidation, as stated by Castells.

The Malay ethnic group in the Jambi Pilwako 2013 did not unite in a political community frame and did not consider Sum Indra, as the only Malay candidate, as their own. So, it doesn't form a sense of loyalty to him. In fact, the opening of regional autonomy and electoral democracy is one of the channels for the formation of primordial loyalty, and facilitate social movements (Fuqoha, 2018). Thus, explained by Sri Astuti Buchari, the application of regional autonomy is the beginning for the rebirth of an identity political phenomenon. The process of recruiting leaders in the regions tends to be based on primordialism parameters that facilitate the development of regional and ethnic spirits (Buchari, 2014: 25). In fact, the Jambi Malay Ethnic do not feel there is any problem with justice, there is no sense of threat such as marginalization or discrimination from other parties. As Castells views, that ethnic loyalty is formed through continuous modification through interaction, while this does not occur in the Jambi Malay ethnic group.

CONCLUSION

Even though the majority is in terms of numbers, it doesn't appear that the Malay ethnicity is trying to be the only ethnic group that holds power in Jambi. It was noted that during the reform period, there had been no native Jambi Malays, or people affiliated with Jambi Malays, who had been elected in the direct election for Mayor of Jambi since 2005. The first direct

regional election in 2008 won Bambang Priyatno, a general practitioner, coming from ethnic Javanese. Furthermore, in 2013, the Pilkada which was the object of this research was won by Syarif Fasha, a local businessman, of South Sumatra descent.

Based on research in the 2013 Pilwako case study, it shows that the primordial loyalty of the Malay Ethnic was not formed in the Pilkada because several markers for building political identity were not formed. Some of the reasons why the solidity of the Malay ethnic group was not formed included 1) the Malay ethnic group never felt marginalized and discriminated against in Jambi City, so that the emotional ties of the Malay ethnic group were not close and strong, which has the potential to create Malay identity politics, 2) the Jambi Malay ethnic group did not feel important and care to support their ethnicity in the struggle for political power, so that they are not consolidated in one sentiment in the Jambi Pilwako 2013.

REFERENCES

- Ahmad, Jafar. (2018). *Strategi Politik Orang Kuat Lokal (Studi Kasus Zulkifli Nurdin)*. Depok: Departemen Politik Universitas Indonesia.
- Ahmad, Saiful. (2012). *Politik dan Etnik: Studi Kasus Konflik Politik dalam Pemilihan Gubernur- Wakil Gubernur Provinsi Maluku Utara Tahun 2007 (Disertasi)*, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Departemen Ilmu Politik, Program Pascasarjana Ilmu Politik.
- Armansyah, Yudi. (2017). Kontribusi Seloko Adat Jambi Dalam Penguatan Demokrasi Lokal. *Sosial Budaya*. Vol. 14, No. 1.
- Buchari, S. A. (2014). *Kebangkitan Etnik Menuju Politik Identitas*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Dedees, Adek Risma. "Melayu di Atas Tiga Bendera: Konstruksi Identitas Nasionalisme Masyarakat Perbatasan di Kepulauan Batam." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*. Volume 19, Nomor 2, November 2015 (141-153).
- Fuqoha, F., Sururi, A., & Hasuri, H. (2018). Gerakan Sosial Islam diantara Gagasan Demokrasi Konstitusional dan Ancaman Radikalisme di Indonesia. *Jurnal Mahkamah: Kajian Ilmu Hukum Dan Hukum Islam*, 3(1), 111–140. <https://doi.org/10.25217/jm.v3i1.252>
- Geertz, Clifford (eds). (1963). *Old Societies and New State: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*. New York: The Free Press.
- Harun, Hermanto & Irma Sagala. (2013). Dinamika Model Pemerintahan dalam Masyarakat Melayu Islam Jambi: Studi Kasus Kabupaten Bungo. *Kontekstualita*, Vol. 28, No. 1.
- Hutchinson, J. & A.D. Smith (eds). (1996). *Oxford Readers: Ethnicity*, Oxford.
- Isaacs, Harold R. (1993). *Pemujaan terhadap Kelompok Etnik: Identitas Kelompok dan Perubahan Politik (terjemahan dari judul asli: Harold R. Isaacs, Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change)*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Isiyama, John T & Marijke Breuning. (2013). *Ilmu Politik: Dalam Paradigma Abad ke-21 Sebuah Referensi Panduan Tematis (terjemahan dari judul asli: 21st Century Political Science: A Reference Handbook)*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.

- Keller, Suzanne. (1995). *Penguasa dan Kelompok Elit: Peranan Elit Penentu dalam Masyarakat Modern*, Jakarta: Rajawali Grafindo Persada.
- La Ode, M.D. (2011). *Etnik Cina di Era Reformasi, Studi Kasus Keterlibatan Etnik Cina di Indonesia dalam Politik di Kota Pontianak dan Singkawang, Kalimantan Barat 1998-2008*, Jakarta: FISIP UI (Disertasi).
- Mubarrok, Akhyar. (2015). Bagaimana Peranan Lembaga Adat Mempertahankan Modal Sosial Masyarakat? (Studi Kasus di Kabupaten Sarolangun). *Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi*. Vol. 12 No. 2.
- Mutalib, Hussin. (1996). *Islam dan Etnisitas: Perspektif Politik Melayu (terjemahan dari judul asli: Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics)*, Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Pahmi Sy. (2014). *Silang Budaya Islam-Melayu: Dinamika Masyarakat Melayu Jambi*. Ciputat: Pustaka Compass.
- Putra, Fadilla. (1999). *Devolusi: Politik Desentralisasi sebagai Media Rekonsiliasi Ketegangan Politik Negara-Rakyat*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Putra, J. (2012). *Seloko Jurnal Budaya*. Jambi: Dewan Kesenian Jambi.
- Rauf, Maswadi. (2000). *Konsensus Politik: Sebuah Penajagan Teoritis*, Jakarta: Dirjen Dikti Depdiknas.
- Rondinelli, Dennis A. and G. Shabbir Shema. *Decentralization, Development and Directions*. Ch. 10. Sage Publication, Beverly Hills, California.
- S. Wallman. (1977). *Ethnicity Research in Britain, Current Antropology*, Vol. 18, no. 33.
- Smith, B.C. (1985). *Decentralization: The Territorial Dimension of The State*. Manchester: Allen & Unwin Inc.
- Stewart, John. (1996). *Democracy and Local Government, in Paul Hirt and Sunil Khilnani (eds), Reinventing Democracy*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Sudarsono, Juwono (eds.). (1981). *Pembangunan Politik dan Perubahan Politik*, Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Sugiarto, B., Pratiwi, O. C., & Akbar, A. A. S. (2014). "Strategi pemenangan dalam pemilihan kepala daerah." *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik*, 27(3), 143–151. <https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.V27I32014.143-151>
- Tonkin, Thi E, M. McDonald and M. Chapman. (1989). *History and Ethnicity*. London.
- Ulum, B., Jannah, S. R., & Arifullah, M. (2017). Hegemoni Sosial dan Politik Identitas Putra Daerah Jambi. *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum dan Perundangan Islam*, 7(1), 223–249. <https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2017.7.1.223-249>
- Wolters, O.W. (2011). *Kemaharajaan Maritim Sriwijaya dan Perniagaan Dunia Abad II – Abad VI (terjemahan dari judul asli: Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of The Origins of Srivijaya)*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu.

Yanuarti, Sri. (2019). "Pendanaan Negara kepada Partai Politik: Pengalaman Beberapa Negara." *Jurnal Penelitian Politik LIPI*. Vol. 16, No. 2.

Yin, Robert K. (2014). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. USA: Sage Publication.

Website

Population data by ethnicity in Jambi City. Accessed from <http://migas.bisbak.com/1571.html>

Perolehan suara Pilwako tahun 2013. Accessed from <https://kota-jambi.kpu.go.id/pengumuman/detail/46/perolehan-suara-pilwako-tahun-2013/>

Jambilink.com. Accessed from <https://jambilink.com/diza-aljoshahazrin-generasi-ketiga-nurdin-hamzah/>

Profil Maulana. Accessed from <http://jambiupdate.co/artikel-mengenal-dr-nadiyah-sosok-dibalik-kesuksesan-dr-maulana.html>

Sum Indra. Accessed from <https://jambiekspres.co.id/read/2017/05/03/7192/sum-indramaulana-siap-bersihkan-atribut>

Syarif Fasha. Accessed from <https://jambiekspres.co.id/read/2017/02/12/5482/gerogoti-suara-incumbent>