

Estimating Policy Position of the Candidates in the 2017 Gubernatorial Election in Jakarta

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Abstract

This study attempts to understand the policy position of candidates in the 2017 gubernatorial election in Jakarta. The concept of policy position has been utilized in the electoral studies to distinguish policy orientation of political parties/candidates, and explaining voter preferences in electoral competition. Therefore, this study introduces the application of the quantitative text analysis method with the Wordfish model towards electoral platform of candidates in the 2017 gubernatorial election in Jakarta to estimate their policy positions. The model calculates words distribution and words frequency in the electoral platforms using simple Poisson process of statistical distribution. The process results in two key findings: two pairs of candidates (Agus-Sylvy and Anies-Sandi) indicate closer policy distance in the policy space, and socioeconomic issues emerge as central feature in the political rhetoric across the candidates. These findings are further confirmed by the observation of the voter preference distributions and the public statements of each candidate during the election.

Keywords:

Jakarta; Gubernatorial Election; Policy Position; Voter Preference; Quantitative Text Analysis

INTRODUCTION

The 2017 gubernatorial election in Jakarta has triggered debates among scholars and observers of Indonesian politics on the rise of sectarian politics in the largest Muslim-populous democracy in the world. As the capital of Indonesia, the politics of Jakarta's urban always been

part of national mass media attention. But it receives significant attention when the capitol became the stepping stone for Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo, an outsider for Jakarta's elite circle, to gain widespread popularity when he was elected as the Governor of Jakarta in 2012 (Hamid, 2014). Two years later, Jokowi took part in the presidential election and got elected as the current president. The rise of Jokowi in a relatively short period has developed into sort of conventional wisdom widely held among politicians and commentators about Jakarta's strategic position: anyone who gets into power in the capitol administration holds

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I am thankful to participants at the Prodipol International Symposium on Indonesian Politics April 2018 hosted by Universitas Negeri Semarang-Indonesia for their valuable comments on the early draft of this paper.

the key to shape the future constellation of Indonesian politics. Such wisdom was clearly reflected in the 2017 Gubernatorial election in Jakarta that was followed by three pairs of high-profile candidates: Agus Yudhoyono (former military officers, son of former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono)-Sylviana Murni (high-level bureaucrats); Anies Baswedan (former Minister of Education in Jokowi administration)-Sandiaga Uno (businessman); and Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or well-known as "Ahok" (incumbent, former Joko Widodo's vice governor of Jakarta)-Djarot Saiful Hidayat (former Mayor of Blitar). In the second round of election, Anies defeated Basuki (Ahok) with slight margin and later, Ahok was sentenced by the court for blasphemy.

Central to the debate among scholars and observers is whether religious issue seems to be the underpinning factor that defines the outcome of Jakarta's 2017 election or not. Three different perspectives emerge in this context. Some scholars-and most of the mass media headlines-highlighted to the increasing influence of Islamic activism in Indonesian politics. The core argument is that religious polarization during the Jakarta election was orchestrated by the

campaign managers, politicians, spin doctors, and the "conservative" Islamist groups (Ubaid & Habibisubandi, 2017). The momentum for their cooperation was happened after the incumbent, Ahok, a Christian with ethnic Chinese background, made a statement about particular Quranic verse and the upcoming gubernatorial election. The statement was then accused of insulting the Quran and blasphemy, particularly by the conservative Islamists groups and several politicians. Series of demonstrations were organized by the groups, involving mass rallies in Jakarta streets. As anticipated, the protests changed into massive anti-Ahok campaign, urging Muslim population in Jakarta not to vote Ahok for the second-term and demanding Ahok to be brought into trial for blasphemy. Consequently, Ahok faced voters who preferred his policies but less likely to cast vote for him (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2017). The other perspective offers the salience of class for the Jakarta's 2017 election (Wilson, 2017). With its metropolitan status, Jakarta is among the eight provinces with highest Gini ratio (0.397) in 2016 (BPS, 2017). Instead of sectarian politics, high level income gap is viewed as the fundamental drive for Jakartans, which mostly living under poor

condition in slump area, to cast their vote against the incumbent. Issues such as poverty (*kemiskinan*) and forced eviction (*penggusuran*) are considered prevalent among the poor Jakartans. Such argument is not overrated, considering that within two years of Ahok administration, more than 25.000 people become the victim of forced eviction, the highest record in the last decade (Kompas, 2017). For the urban poor, Ahok had broken his political promises in the 2012 election-with Jokowi-towards the Jakarta's urban poor to avoid forced eviction. And this condition was well-identified by Anies-Sandi, further establishing political contract with the urban poor community that later contribute significantly to their vote share in the second round (Savirani & Aspinall, 2017). Finally, other scholars attempts to bridge the aforementioned perspectives, arguing that the election was colored by interplay between religion and inequality statuses among the Jakartans (Warburton & Gammon, 2017). They propose that it is possible for sectarian voting behavior is channeling the perspective among Muslim poor voters that income inequality is the product of ethnic-Chinese domination on Indonesia's economy (Warburton & Gammon, 2017).

The main purpose of this study is, however, not to confirm any position in the aforementioned debate *a priori*. Rather, this study attempts to enrich our understanding on the 2017 gubernatorial election in Jakarta through novel approach on policy position and quantitative text analysis. In order to do so, the study proceeds in several parts. The next section explains the method of quantitative text analysis and the utilization *Wordfish* model for the study. Subsequently the study discusses theoretical framework of policy position and election in the literature as well as the logic of applying *Wordfish* model as an approach. This part then followed by a section dedicated to elucidate the findings of text scaling process done with *Wordfish* model on the electoral platform of candidates in the Jakarta Election. Estimated policy position of candidate and list of political rhetoric used by the candidate are included in the section. Based on the findings, the next section provides observation on the nexus between policy position of candidates with the voter preference distribution, and the manifestation of political rhetoric from candidates during their campaign. Finally, the concluding part summarizes the findings and explains future potential of

using quantitative text analysis for political studies in Indonesia.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Research Method

This study applies quantitative text analysis method to estimate the policy position of each candidate during the 2017 gubernatorial election in Jakarta. Specifically, it utilizes word scaling algorithm called *Wordfish* (Slapin & Proksch, 2008). Within the political science literature, the *Wordfish* model has been used by scholars to measure political position of parties in western/non-western democracies, legislators, interest groups, and presidents (Arnold, Doyle, & Wiesehomeier, 2017; Aydogan & Slapin, 2015; Klüver, 2009; Proksch & Slapin, 2010). Principally, the model treats political documents as distinct political position of the political actors who produce it based on the word's usage and frequency. Using simple Poisson process of statistical distribution, the model calculates words frequencies from each political document with formulation as follows.

$$y_{ij} \sim \text{Poisson}(\lambda_{ij})$$

$$\lambda_{ij} = \exp(\alpha_i + \psi_j + \theta_j * \omega_i)$$

Poisson distribution simply uses one parameter λ which covers the mean and

the variance. The count of word j in electoral platform i is y_{ij} . α is a set of text effects controlling the platform length. ψ is a set of word fixed effects that control for the fact that some words generally used more frequently than other words by all candidate, for example conjunctions, preposition, and so on. Meanwhile, β is an estimate of a word-specific weight showing the importance of word j in discriminating between policy positions and ω is the estimate of platform/candidate i 's policy position. Expectation maximization (EM) algorithm is repeatedly applied between these components to locate the position of candidate.

The application of *Wordfish* model in this paper follows several steps. *First*, the political documents are the electoral platform/official campaign documents (*dokumen visi dan misi*) from each pair of the candidates that had been submitted to the election commission (KPUD DKI Jakarta, *Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah DKI Jakarta*) before the campaign period and the Election Day. These electoral platforms are accessible from the url: <https://kpujakarta.go.id/download/>. All of the documents then converted into text format, resulting in total of 8.535 words.

In the *second* step, the text data is transformed into matrix of word frequencies format. The matrix comprises two key features: document identity and words as variable. Several rules applied when processing the data such as fixing typos and removing names of candidate, numbers, points/bullets, dots, comma, or parentheses. Finally, the *third* step is to run the *Wordfish* model in the R statistical language.¹ During the process, the word frequency matrix is processed through writing the *Wordfish* code in R to run the algorithm. The output is candidate position with standard error, word weight, and word fixed-effects. Based on the calculation of policy position and word distributions for each candidate, this study then observes the voter preferences distribution and manifestation of respective word in the candidate campaign rhetoric qualitatively.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on sub-national politics in Indonesia are flourishing after the implementation of direct election (*Pilkada*) for sub-national leader in 2005 (Choi, 2011; Erb & Sulistiyanto, 2009; Hadiz,

2010; Klinken, 2009; Schulte Nordholt & Klinken, 2007). Most of these studies emphasize 'informal politics' in the form of clientelism or political dynasty (family relationship) to explain election dynamics and outcome. It seems that the logic behind the sub-national politics research is influenced by the knowledge produced on the study of Indonesian political party. Study on Indonesian political party highlights post-Suharto political parties as weakly institutionalized and indicates the waning of ideological stand of each party (Ambardi, 2009; Mietzner, 2013; Slater & Simmons, 2013). Consequently, candidates running at the sub-national level extensively depend on extra-party strategy to win the voters such as family networks, patronage, vote buying (giving money or goods), or clientelism (promising jobs and allocating government contracts in return for support) directly to potential voters (Allen, 2015; Aspinall & As'ad, 2016; Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2016; Berenschot, 2018; Sobari, 2018). Other study offers another alternative on Indonesia's local politics. It finds that voters in three major cities also utilize retrospective reasoning when casting their vote, willing to spend their time to acquire information about the incumbent performance and other

¹ R is a *free* software environment for statistical computing and graphics that can be downloaded from <https://www.r-project.org/>. This study applies the *Wordfish* code implemented in the Austin package (Lowe, 2015).

candidate's background (Fossati, 2018). Nevertheless, it also pointed out that partisanship of the voters remains less significant in the process.

If party in Indonesia is weakly institutionalized and becoming less polarized ideologically, then what differentiate one candidate to another in electoral competition? Principally this has been the central theme in electoral studies. Politics levitate around the ability to exercise power, which holds far-reaching consequence on people's life. If one can control the legitimate authority then she/he can make policies that serve his own political interest or his constituency needs, thus improving opportunity for re-election. Taking this view into consideration, policy position then emerges as the important concept that can be used for making sense of candidate differences during the election. It is through policy position of each candidate that voters are able to decide their vote for certain candidate. For the candidates, this means that they must work with programmatic politics to win the heart of voters. And this type of strategy was evident in Indonesia, as one study found during the 2017 election in Kulon Progo district (Mas'udi & Kurniawan, 2017). The policy position

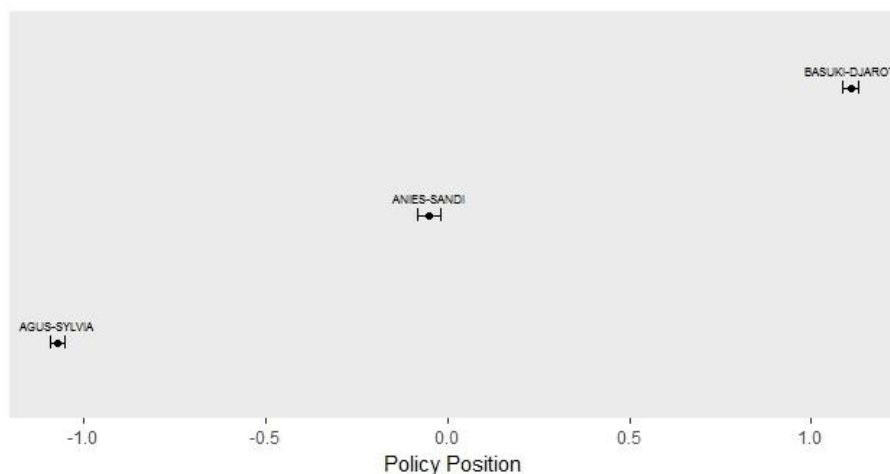
concept was rooted in the seminal work "An Economic Theory of Democracy" by Anthony Downs (1957). The core is that voters will more likely to vote political party/candidate with closest policy position to their own (Tomz & Van Houweling, 2008). Put simply, if a voter favors the improvement of public service, then it is more likely for her/him to vote candidate who promote or promise to improve public service. In short, mechanism of voting behavior is largely defined by the proximity of voter's position and the candidate position on certain issues/context. In the election, Downs proposes that 'each of them [voters] views elections strictly as means of selecting the government most beneficial to him. Each citizen estimates the utility income from government action he expects each party would provide him if it were in power in the forthcoming election period (Downs 1957b, p. 138).' Hence, voters are rational actors: they are able to locate political actor in a single continuum of possible policy alternatives and make their own choice (Adams & Meril III, 2005). The rationality of voters is manifested by the existence of transitive preferences i.e. if the voter prefers candidate A over candidate B and candidate B is preferred over candidate C, then candidate A is

preferred by the voter over candidate C ($A > B > C = A > C$). The core assumption is simple; voter holds rank order preferences in order and rarely violate it. Empirically, this preference order can be observed through surveys of voter preference on candidate prior and after the election (exit poll).

The subsequent issue is to implement feasible method in measuring policy position. Scholars of political party depend on three sources of data when dealing with estimating policy position: expert surveys, voter survey, legislator survey, and text (Laver, 2014). Of course, each type of data has different degree of advantage and most importantly, depending on the research objective. Using legislator survey, for example, runs the risk of greater bias since politicians are able to manipulate their policy position for strategic purpose. Meanwhile, expert survey and voter survey demand enormous resources financially. Based on these considerations, this study decides to use text-electoral platforms of candidate since it is the most accessible source of data. Furthermore, recent technique of quantitative text analysis is able to address the issue of validity in textual data. There are three main techniques for extracting policy position in the existing

literature: hand-coding (CMP, comparative manifesto project), and computer-assisted content analysis (Wordscores or Wordfish) (Benoit & Laver, 2003; Klingemann, Volkens, Bara, Budge, & McDonald, 2006; Laver, Benoit, & Gary, 2003; Slapin & Proksch, 2008). All of these techniques have similarity: utilizing text not as discourse that need to be interpreted or explained, but rather as data in forms of words. Nevertheless, one need to be careful when deciding which technique fits the research objective. The hand-coding technique and *Wordscores* demand *a priori* definition of policy dimension. Thus, researcher needs to define which political document/text can be referred as left or right on the ideological spectrum of a polity. Unlike the formers, the *Wordfish* model does not require any reference document to measure the policy distance. The *Wordfish* model assumes that the relative use of words by political actors (political party, legislators, president, electoral candidate, and even interest groups) could provide information about their position in a policy space/dimension as defined by the documents (Arnold et al., 2017; Klüver, 2009; Proksch & Slapin, 2010; Slapin & Proksch, 2008). This is particularly important when the

Figure 1. Policy position of the candidate in the Jakarta's 2017 Gubernatorial Election



left-right spectrum of ideological leaning such as in Western Europe is non-existent (Proksch, Slapin, & Thies, 2011). And similar condition fits well with the Indonesian case. In post-Suharto Indonesia, the left politics is virtually non-existent. Above all, communist and/or any leftist ideologies remains forbidden in Indonesia, making it less likely for a leftist party to compete in elections since 1966 or establish strong support in the society. The latter condition was evident in the failure of several left-leaning parties to secure parliamentary seats (Mietzner, 2013). In addition, the economic platforms of many parties appeared to be uniform, as all stressed their commitment to improving welfare among the lower-class and promulgated a protectionist stand (Liddle & Mujani, 2007; Ufen, 2008). This means that any attempt to

interpret policy position of political actors in post-Suharto Indonesia must be defined according to the empirical context rather than *a priori*.

In essence, the novelty of this study rests on the application of policy position concept and its measurement technique to understand the dynamic of sub-national election and voting behavior in contemporary Indonesia. Unlike the dominant 'informal politics' explanation of *pilkada*, this study departs from the assumption that voter's preference and coalition potential in the election can be explained from the policy orientation preferred by the candidates. And such objective can be achieved by using the recent technique of measuring policy position, which not necessitates researcher to set an ideological parameter for the policy space.

Table 1. Wordfish model calculation of candidate position in the 2017 Gubernatorial Election in Jakarta

Candidate	Score	Standard Error
Agus-Sylvia	-1.07092	0.020098
Anies-Sandi	-0.05045	0.031536
Basuki-Djarot	1.108655	0.021325

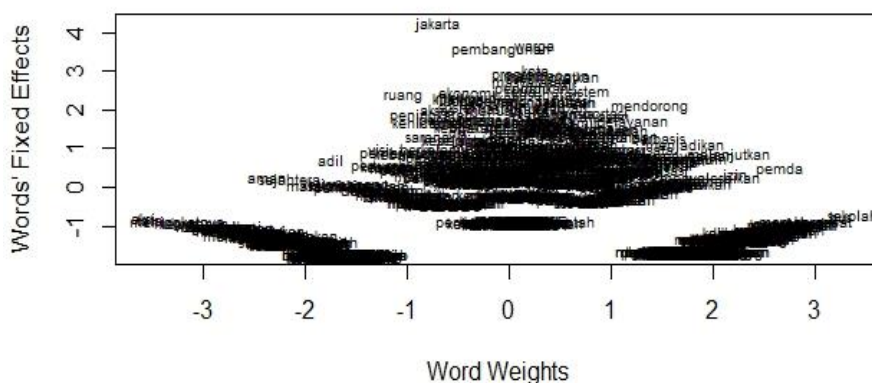
The Document-scaling Result of the 2017 Gubernatorial Election

The *Wordfish* model locates Agus-Sylvia and Basuki-Djarot at the end of each continuum of policy scale (Figure.1). Meanwhile, Anies-Sandi is located at the slightly middle position of policy scale leaning towards Agus-Sylvia position. The numerical measure for each position and standard error of each candidate is presented in Table 1.

The next important result is word distribution among the candidates. As aforementioned, *Wordfish* calculates words weight from the documents, meaning that each document put more

emphasis on specific words that latter differentiate their position in the policy scale. This also serves as the internal validity of the model. To calculate words weight, the model establishes so-called *word-fixed effects* i.e. frequency of mentioned words. Words that frequently mentioned (e.g. conjunctions, articles, prepositions, etc.) that do not discriminate between candidate supposed to have largest fixed effects (Slapin & Proksch, 2008). In contrary, there are some words that used less frequent in the document and having smaller fixed effects. These are the politically-relevant language that differentiates the political actors in the

Figure 2. Word-fixed effects and word weights in the electoral platform of Jakarta election



policy scale (Aydogan & Slapin, 2015). In this regard, words with a high fixed effect have zero weight, but words with low fixed effects have either negative or positive weight (Slapin & Proksch, 2008, p. 715). Consequently, we will see an Eiffel Tower plot from the model (see the Figure 2).

In addition, the *Wordfish* model allows us to establish list of words association with the policy position of political actors. Thus, we may identify the political rhetoric emphasized by each candidate in the Jakarta election.

Table 2. Words associated with the left position of the scale

<i>Demokrasi (democracy)</i>	<i>Historis (historical)</i>	<i>Penindasan (oppression)</i>	<i>Permasalahan (problem)</i>	<i>Tingkat (level)</i>
<i>Kerangka (framework)</i>	<i>Sentral (central)</i>	<i>Ketidakadilan (injustice)</i>	<i>Hak (right)</i>	<i>Pemukiman (settlement)</i>
<i>Martabat (dignity)</i>	<i>Citra (image)</i>	<i>Takut (fear)</i>	<i>Muda (young)</i>	<i>Dasar (basic)</i>
<i>Rakyat (people)</i>	<i>Trans-negara (trans-state)</i>	<i>Ketidakpedulian (uncaring)</i>	<i>Keamanan (security)</i>	<i>Penyalahgunaan (abuse)</i>
<i>Pilihan (choice)</i>	<i>Sumber (source)</i>	<i>Manfaat (benefit)</i>	<i>Pertumbuhan (growth)</i>	<i>Pemanfaatan (utilization)</i>
<i>Nilai (value)</i>	<i>Risiko (risk)</i>	<i>Social (social)</i>	<i>Pemerintah (government)</i>	<i>Green (green)</i>
<i>Generasi (generation)</i>	<i>Lemah (weak)</i>	<i>Alam (nature)</i>	<i>Hijau (green)</i>	<i>Sipil (civil)</i>
<i>Megatrends(mega-trends)</i>	<i>Dana (fund)</i>	<i>Dampak (impact)</i>	<i>Pusat (center)</i>	<i>Pembinaan (fostering)</i>
<i>Revolusi (revolution)</i>	<i>Non-budgeter (non-budgetary)</i>	<i>Demografi (demography)</i>	<i>Nyata (existent)</i>	<i>Efektivitas (effectiveness)</i>
<i>Bangsa (nation)</i>	<i>Perijinan (permit)</i>	<i>Arus (stream)</i>	<i>Aparat (apparatus)</i>	<i>Kewirausahaan (entrepreneurship)</i>
<i>Pergeseran (shifting)</i>	<i>Mahal (expensive)</i>	<i>Perserikatan (union)</i>	<i>Taman (park)</i>	<i>Lingkungan (environment)</i>
<i>Geo-politik (geo-politics)</i>	<i>Provinsi (province)</i>	<i>Pulau (island)</i>	<i>Manajemen (management)</i>	<i>Hubungan (relationship)</i>
<i>Geo-ekonomi (geo-economy)</i>	<i>With (with)</i>	<i>Keterbukaan (openness)</i>	<i>Kebahagiaan (happiness)</i>	<i>Budaya (culture)</i>
<i>Luhur (noble)</i>	<i>Equity (equity)</i>	<i>Sekat (partition)</i>	<i>Hidup (life)</i>	<i>Lintas (inter-)</i>
<i>Tugas (duty)</i>	<i>Kekinian (contemporary)</i>	<i>Negara (state)</i>	<i>Sarana (medium)</i>	<i>Global (global)</i>
<i>Andal (capable)</i>	<i>Struktural (structural)</i>	<i>Konektivitas (connectivity)</i>	<i>Kriminalitas (criminality)</i>	<i>Keterlibatan (involvement)</i>
<i>Fasilitas (facility)</i>	<i>Koordinasi (coordination)</i>	<i>Subordinasi (subordination)</i>	<i>Perkembangan (progress)</i>	<i>Kerjasama (cooperation)</i>
<i>Kreatif (creative)</i>	<i>Optimistis (optimistic)</i>	<i>Aspek (aspect)</i>	<i>Peningkatan (improvement)</i>	<i>Ukm (abbv. Micro and middle enterprises)</i>
<i>Jajaran (line)</i>	<i>Kalangan (group/class)</i>	<i>Rinci (detail)</i>	<i>Akses (access)</i>	<i>Penataan (regulating)</i>
<i>Kebersamaan (togetherness)</i>	<i>Prasana (infrastructure)</i>	<i>Tajam (sharp)</i>	<i>Perjuangan (struggle)</i>	<i>Mobilitas(mobility)</i>
<i>Perwujudan (realization)</i>	<i>Kekuatan (power)</i>	<i>Internet (internet)</i>	<i>Keadilan (justice)</i>	<i>Good (good)</i>
<i>Adil (justice)</i>	<i>Harmoni (harmony)</i>	<i>Drainase (drainage)</i>	<i>Dinamis (dynamic)</i>	<i>Manusia (human)</i>
<i>Harapan (hope)</i>	<i>Toleransi (tolerance)</i>	<i>Bantaran (flood plain)</i>	<i>Gini (gini)</i>	<i>Sanitasi (sanitation)</i>

<i>Pertahanan (defense)</i>	<i>Golongan (group/class)</i>	<i>Premanisme (gangster)</i>	<i>Rasio (ratio)</i>	<i>Pembangunan (development)</i>
<i>Perputaran (rotation)</i>	<i>Kohesi (cohesion)</i>	<i>Keterpaduan (solidity)</i>	<i>Komunikasi (communication)</i>	<i>Nasional (national)</i>
<i>Akumulasi (accumulation)</i>	<i>Keterampilan (skill)</i>	<i>Babinkamtibnas (non-commissioned police officer)</i>	<i>Isu (issue)</i>	<i>Infrastruktur (infrastructure)</i>
<i>Kapital (capital)</i>	<i>Sinergitas (synergy)</i>	<i>Babinsa (non-commissioned military officer)</i>	<i>Rekreasi (recreation)</i>	<i>Pekerjaan (job)</i>
<i>Gedung (building)</i>	<i>Pola (pattern)</i>	<i>Monitoring (monitoring)</i>	<i>Interaksi (interaction)</i>	<i>Pantai (beach)</i>
<i>Memori (memory)</i>	<i>Unsur (component)</i>	<i>Serangan (attack)</i>	<i>Efisien (efficiency)</i>	
<i>Sejarah (history)</i>	<i>Pemahaman (understanding)</i>	<i>Teroris (terrorist)</i>	<i>Kelompok (group)</i>	
<i>Bodetabek (bogor, depok, tangerang, bekasi)</i>	<i>Kesadaran (awareness)</i>	<i>Penyebaran (spreading)</i>	<i>Aspirasi (aspiration)</i>	
<i>Ruang (space)</i>	<i>Etika (ethics)</i>	<i>Kemiskinan (poverty)</i>	<i>Fakta (fact)</i>	
<i>Kenyataan (reality)</i>	<i>Pranata (institution)</i>	<i>Ketimpangan (unbalanced)</i>	<i>Kesenjangan (discrepancy)</i>	
<i>Sulit (difficult)</i>	<i>Public (public)</i>	<i>Shelter (shelter)</i>	<i>Partnership (partnership)</i>	
<i>Persentase (percentage)</i>	<i>Private (private)</i>	<i>Optimum (optimum)</i>	<i>Sustainable (sustainable)</i>	
<i>Kondisi (condition)</i>	<i>Growth (growth)</i>	<i>Posyandu (integrated health post)</i>	<i>Alternatif (alternative)</i>	
<i>Jurang (gap)</i>	<i>Ketidakamanan (insecurity)</i>	<i>Kawasan (region)</i>	<i>Uud (constitution)</i>	
<i>Kaya (rich)</i>	<i>Kemampuan (capability)</i>	<i>Heritage (heritage)</i>	<i>Pemenuhan (fulfillment)</i>	
<i>Serius (serious)</i>	<i>Pengalokasian (allocation)</i>	<i>Ibadah (worship)</i>	<i>Informal (informal)</i>	
<i>Metropolis (metropolis)</i>	<i>Mikro (micro)</i>	<i>Lahan (land)</i>	<i>Urban (urban)</i>	
<i>Peredaran (circulation)</i>	<i>Inisiatif (initiative)</i>	<i>Wahana (mode)</i>	<i>Farming (farming)</i>	
<i>Keterasingan (alienation)</i>	<i>Pengintegrasian (integrating)</i>	<i>Sepeda (bicycle)</i>	<i>Anak (children)</i>	
<i>Jalanan (street)</i>	<i>Kelestarian (conservation)</i>	<i>Feeder (feeder)</i>	<i>Tujuan (objective)</i>	
<i>Kepantasan (proper)</i>	<i>Kokoh (tough)</i>	<i>Centre (center)</i>	<i>Nyaman (comfort)</i>	
<i>Peradaban (civilization)</i>	<i>Tertib (order)</i>	<i>Konseling (counselling)</i>	<i>Produktif (productive)</i>	
<i>Megapolitan (megapolitan)</i>	<i>Keragaman (diversity)</i>	<i>Responsif (responsive)</i>	<i>Misi (mission)</i>	
<i>Bukti (evidence)</i>	<i>Suku (tribe)</i>	<i>Accountable (accountable)</i>	<i>Dukungan (support)</i>	
<i>Model (model)</i>	<i>Agama (religion)</i>	<i>Aktual (actual)</i>	<i>Sosial (social)</i>	
<i>Kebudayaan (culture)</i>	<i>Sumberdaya (resource)</i>	<i>Realistis (realistic)</i>	<i>Kualitas(quality)</i>	
<i>Homogenisasi (homogenization)</i>	<i>Landasan (base)</i>	<i>Visioner (visionary)</i>	<i>Modal (capital)</i>	
<i>Kemajemukan (plurality)</i>	<i>Pancasila (pancasila)</i>	<i>Elemen (element)</i>	<i>Pemberdayaan (empowerment)</i>	
<i>Akut (acute)</i>	<i>Orientasi (orientation)</i>	<i>Komitmen (commitment)</i>	<i>Kebijakan (policy)</i>	
<i>Buruk (bad)</i>	<i>Etis (ethical)</i>	<i>Kampanye (campaign)</i>	<i>Ekonomi (economy)</i>	
<i>Suara (voice)</i>	<i>Penghargaan (award)</i>	<i>Operasional (operational)</i>	<i>Kesejahteraan (prosperity)</i>	

<i>Pelaku (actor)</i>	<i>Ekspresi (expression)</i>	<i>Sasaran (target)</i>	<i>Penyerapan (absorption)</i>
<i>Minim (minimum)</i>	<i>Otentik (authentic)</i>	<i>Mandat (mandate)</i>	<i>Arah (direction)</i>
<i>Mental (mental)</i>	<i>Belenggu (handcuff)</i>	<i>Anggaran (budget)</i>	<i>Luas (wide)</i>
<i>Penggusuran (forced eviction)</i>	<i>Jangkauan (extent)</i>	<i>Situasi (situation)</i>	<i>Pengguna (user)</i>
<i>Restorasi (restoration)</i>	<i>Kebebasan (freedom)</i>	<i>Penghormatan (respect)</i>	<i>Kepemimpinan (leadership)</i>
<i>Situs (site)</i>	<i>Keterbelakangan (backwardness)</i>	<i>Konflik (conflict)</i>	<i>Bersih (clean)</i>

Note: The word list was obtained from the top 300 words that have the highest word weight. The verbs are dropped from the list since they have no ideological meaning. Similar words with different suffixes also dropped and only the root words preserved (see also, Aydogan & Slapin, 2015).

Table 3. Words associated with the right position of the scale

<i>Kebangsaan (nationality)</i>	<i>Finansial (financial)</i>	<i>Jabodetabek (jakarta-bogor-depok-tangerang-bekasi)</i>	<i>Waste (waste)</i>	<i>Tarik (pull)</i>
<i>Abai (ignorant)</i>	<i>Pemilihan (election)</i>	<i>Jalur (route)</i>	<i>Rusunawa (public housing)</i>	<i>Bahari (maritime)</i>
<i>Potensi (potential)</i>	<i>Badan (body)</i>	<i>Flyover (flyover)</i>	<i>Regulasi (regulation)</i>	<i>Pkl (street vendor)</i>
<i>Perpecahan (disunity)</i>	<i>Gizi (nutrition)</i>	<i>Underpass (underpass)</i>	<i>Volume (volume)</i>	<i>Betawi (betawi)</i>
<i>Entrepreneurship</i>	<i>Daging (meat)</i>	<i>Ratio (ratio)</i>	<i>Komunal (communal)</i>	<i>Pembuangan (disposal)</i>
<i>Kolusi (collusion)</i>	<i>Ekosistem (ecosystem)</i>	<i>Perlintasan (crossing)</i>	<i>Aturan (rule)</i>	<i>Bbg (gas fuel)</i>
<i>Nepotisme (nepotism)</i>	<i>Kredit (credit)</i>	<i>Optimalisasi (optimization)</i>	<i>Pembakaran (combustion)</i>	<i>Izin (permit/license)</i>
<i>Toleran (tolerant)</i>	<i>Pedagang (traders)</i>	<i>Penyempurnaan (perfection)</i>	<i>Larangan (prohibition)</i>	<i>Rapi (tidy)</i>
<i>Partisipatif (participative)</i>	<i>Peternakan (farming)</i>	<i>Command (command)</i>	<i>Perda (provincial rule)</i>	<i>Pangan (food)</i>
<i>Birokasi (bureaucracy)</i>	<i>Hasil (result)</i>	<i>Komersial (commercial)</i>	<i>Penyediaan (supply)</i>	<i>Keberlangsungan (sustainability)</i>
<i>Akta (certificate)</i>	<i>Koperasi (cooperative)</i>	<i>Transaksi (transaction)</i>	<i>Korupsi (corruption)</i>	<i>Institusi (institution)</i>
<i>Sengketa (dispute)</i>	<i>Perkulakan (wholesale)</i>	<i>Keuangan (finance)</i>	<i>Pelayan (servant)</i>	<i>Online (online)</i>
<i>Tumpang (nearby)</i>	<i>Ump (minimum wage)</i>	<i>Telepon (telephone)</i>	<i>Penerbitan (publication)</i>	<i>Pegawai (workers)</i>
<i>Tindih (overlapping)</i>	<i>Job (job)</i>	<i>Emergency (emergency)</i>	<i>Proaktif (proactive)</i>	<i>Rotasi (rotation)</i>
<i>Implementasi (implementation)</i>	<i>Fair (fair)</i>	<i>Aksesibel (accessible)</i>	<i>Pembuatan (make)</i>	<i>Negeri (country)</i>
<i>Uu (laws)</i>	<i>Pengembalian (returning)</i>	<i>Tanggap (responsive)</i>	<i>Langsung (direct)</i>	<i>Pendidik (educator)</i>
<i>Jabatan (position)</i>	<i>Tindakan (action)</i>	<i>Paramedik (paramedic)</i>	<i>Lelang (auction)</i>	<i>Pengobatan (treatment)</i>
<i>Kepegawaian (personnel section)</i>	<i>Cekungan (basin)</i>	<i>Pemadam (extinguisher)</i>	<i>Mutasi (mutation)</i>	<i>Sertifikasi (certification)</i>
<i>Rasionalisasi (rationalization)</i>	<i>Otomatisasi (automation)</i>	<i>Kebakaran (fire)</i>	<i>Demosi (demotion)</i>	<i>Ambulans (ambulance)</i>
<i>Seleksi (selection)</i>	<i>Pintu (door)</i>	<i>Cctv (cctv)</i>	<i>Ketat (tight)</i>	<i>Target (target)</i>
<i>Penerimaan</i>	<i>Ketinggian</i>	<i>Tawuran (communal)</i>	<i>Pengaduan</i>	<i>Pelaksanaan</i>

<i>(acceptance)</i>	<i>(height)</i>	<i>violence)</i>	<i>(complaining)</i>	<i>(implementation)</i>
<i>Pejabat (officials)</i>	<i>Curah (pour)</i>	<i>Fiber (fiber)</i>	<i>Pemberantasan (eradication)</i>	<i>Pendukung (support)</i>
<i>Lhkpn (public official asset report)</i>	<i>Biopori (biopori)</i>	<i>Optic (optic)</i>	<i>Kpk (anti-graft commission)</i>	<i>Hujan (rain)</i>
<i>Kejaksaan (prosecutor)</i>	<i>Hibah (grant)</i>	<i>Wifi (wifi)</i>	<i>Kepolisian (police)</i>	<i>Rth (green open space)</i>
<i>Ppatk (financial transaction center)</i>	<i>Debit (debit)</i>	<i>Startup (startup)</i>	<i>Pembayaran (payment)</i>	<i>Gor (sports arena)</i>
<i>Bpk (state audit body)</i>	<i>Intensitas (intensity)</i>	<i>Digital (digital)</i>	<i>Aset (asset)</i>	<i>Trotoar (pedestrian)</i>
<i>Auditor (auditor)</i>	<i>Unit (unit)</i>	<i>Kejuruan (vocation)</i>	<i>Lengkap (complete)</i>	<i>Gedung (building)</i>
<i>Penyisiran (inspection)</i>	<i>Pemindahan (transfer)</i>	<i>Perikanan (fishery)</i>	<i>Sekolah (school)</i>	<i>Tahap (phase)</i>
<i>Pemborosan (misspending)</i>	<i>Konsolidasi (consolidation)</i>	<i>Resort (resort)</i>	<i>Uji (test)</i>	<i>Darurat (emergency)</i>
<i>Detail (detail)</i>	<i>Gelanggang (arena)</i>	<i>Kapal (boat)</i>	<i>Kompetensi (competence)</i>	<i>Hiburan (entertainment)</i>
<i>Satuan (unit)</i>	<i>Apartemen (apartment)</i>	<i>Tua (old)</i>	<i>Masuk (enter)</i>	<i>Panti (kind of foster home)</i>
<i>Penganggaran (budgeting)</i>	<i>Sewa (rent)</i>	<i>Restoran (restaurant)</i>	<i>Perguruan (college)</i>	<i>Sakit (sick)</i>
<i>Sanksi (sanction)</i>	<i>Pembelian (purchasing)</i>	<i>Olahan (processed)</i>	<i>Pembentukan (establishment)</i>	<i>Rangka (frame)</i>
<i>Patuh (obey)</i>	<i>Penghematan (saving)</i>	<i>Impian (dream)</i>	<i>Smkn (vocational school)</i>	<i>Standar (standard)</i>
<i>Pasaran (market)</i>	<i>Listrik (electricity)</i>	<i>Walikota (city major)</i>	<i>Kepala (head)</i>	<i>Pekan (week)</i>
<i>Pencatatan (recording)</i>	<i>Lomba (competition)</i>	<i>Reguler (regular)</i>	<i>Strategis (strategis)</i>	<i>Pemda (provincial government)</i>
<i>Asset (asset)</i>	<i>Cagar (reserve)</i>	<i>Tema (theme)</i>	<i>Kampung (village)</i>	<i>Pengurusan (handling/processing)</i>
<i>Amanat (instruction)</i>	<i>Pegiat (activist)</i>	<i>Penerima (recipient)</i>	<i>Rptra (child-friendly public space)</i>	<i>Gratis (free)</i>
<i>Partisipasi (participation)</i>	<i>Reklame (billboard)</i>	<i>Keanggotaan (membership)</i>	<i>Akreditasi (accreditation)</i>	<i>Bpjs (social security agency)</i>
<i>Instansi (agency)</i>	<i>Pelebaran (widening)</i>	<i>Dinas (agency)</i>	<i>Kolaborasi (collaboration)</i>	<i>Lurah (sub-district head)</i>
<i>Unggul (superior)</i>	<i>Jembatan (bridge)</i>	<i>Cabang (branch)</i>	<i>Space (space)</i>	<i>Rsud (sub-national hospital)</i>
<i>Peringkat (rank)</i>	<i>Penyeberangan (crossing)</i>	<i>Retribusi (retribution)</i>	<i>Pelaku (actor)</i>	<i>Liar (wild/illegal)</i>
<i>Pemerataan (even distribution)</i>	<i>Multifungsi (multi-function)</i>	<i>Klub (club)</i>	<i>Pasang (install)</i>	<i>Kilometer (kilometer)</i>
<i>Iuran (retribution)</i>	<i>Pengaturan (arrangement)</i>	<i>Atlet (athlete)</i>	<i>Embung (retention basin)</i>	<i>Kenyamanan (comfort)</i>
<i>Perusahaan (company)</i>	<i>Kabel (cable)</i>	<i>Kejuaraan (championship)</i>	<i>Rawa (swamp)</i>	<i>Rute (route)</i>
<i>Promotif (promote)</i>	<i>Utilitas (utility)</i>	<i>Regional (regional)</i>	<i>Relokasi (relocation)</i>	<i>Destinasi (destination)</i>
<i>Pasien (patient)</i>	<i>Permukiman (settlement)</i>	<i>Promotor (promoter)</i>	<i>Camat (district head)</i>	<i>Bumd (province-owned company)</i>
<i>Paliatif (palliative)</i>	<i>Kearifan (wisdom)</i>	<i>Turis (tourist)</i>	<i>Laut (sea)</i>	<i>Bus (bus)</i>
<i>Kategori (category)</i>	<i>Perkampungan (village)</i>	<i>Mancanegara (overseas)</i>	<i>Pembatasan (limitation)</i>	
<i>Penyakit (disease)</i>	<i>Nelayan (fishermen)</i>	<i>Acara (event)</i>	<i>Laju (rate)</i>	
<i>Spesialis (specialist)</i>	<i>Pribadi (personal)</i>	<i>Pagelaran (exhibition)</i>	<i>Penerangan (lighting)</i>	

<i>Pengendalian (controlling)</i>	<i>Penumpang (passenger)</i>	<i>Kesenian (art)</i>	<i>Smart (smart)</i>
<i>Rawat (care)</i>	<i>Peremajaan (rejuvenation)</i>	<i>Difabel (disable)</i>	<i>City (city)</i>
<i>Kebersihan (cleanness)</i>	<i>Koridor (corridor)</i>	<i>Jompo (seniors)</i>	<i>Konstruksi (construction)</i>
<i>Pemilik (owner)</i>	<i>Lrt (light rail transit)</i>	<i>Villa (villa)</i>	<i>Operator (operator)</i>
<i>Kuliner (culinary)</i>	<i>Asian (asian)</i>	<i>Hotel (hotel)</i>	<i>Rawan (fragile)</i>
<i>Aktor (actor)</i>	<i>Games (games)</i>	<i>Pengangkutan (transportation)</i>	<i>Integrasi (integration)</i>
<i>Persoalan (problem)</i>	<i>Penempatan (placement)</i>	<i>Pengiriman (delivery)</i>	<i>Toilet (toilet)</i>
<i>Ketahanan (resilience)</i>	<i>Petugas (officer)</i>	<i>Insinerator (incinerator)</i>	<i>Ruas (segment)</i>
<i>Peranan (role)</i>	<i>Erp (electronic road pricing)</i>	<i>Building (building)</i>	<i>Gawat (extreme/danger)</i>

Note: The word list was obtained from the top 300 words that have the highest word weight. The verbs are dropped from the list since they have no ideological meaning. Similar words with different suffixes also dropped and only the root words preserved (see also, Aydogan & Slapin, 2015).

While the above word lists show significant difference of political rhetoric used by the candidates, an important caveat must be explained here. Some words in the document are written in different language but with similar meaning. For example, 'kewirausahaan' was mentioned by the document on the left side of policy space and 'entrepreneurship' which holds the similar meaning in *Bahasa*, was emerged in the document on the right side. The number of words with such case is rarely emerged in the textual data of this study. Therefore, the original text is preserved. Nevertheless, it is important for the researcher to be more careful when the textual data comprises of words from different language but hold similar

meaning, and carefully consider about the bias problem.

Manifestation of policy position and rhetoric during election

To evaluate whether the candidate position in policy space as calculated by the *Wordfish* model is related to voter preferences distribution, we can use pre- and post-electoral survey results as proxy for voter rank-order preference. The election itself was conducted in 15 February 2017. Prior to the election date, LSI (Lingkaran Survey Indonesia) disseminated its survey results on the candidates in October 2016. The survey showed that 31,4% of the respondents would vote for Ahok-Djarot, 21,1% of the respondents would vote for Anies-Sandi, and 19,3% respondents would vote for

Table 4. Pre-election survey 12-14 April 2017

	Vote for Anies-Sandi (%)	Vote for Ahok-Djarot (%)	No response (%)
Agus-Sylvy coalition of parties	74.3	25.7	0
Anies Sandi coalition of parties	90.4	7.4	2,2
Ahok-Djarot coalition of parties	15.8	83.8	0,4
Non-partisan	31.8	48	20.3

Note: Total respondents 495; margin of error $\pm 4.5\%$.

Source: (Indikator Politik Indonesia, 2017b)

Agus-Sylvy. Meanwhile, another survey conducted by SMRC (Saiful Mujadi Research Consulting) in the similar period showed that around 45,4 % of the respondents would cast their vote to Ahok-Djarot while Agus-Sylvy was favored by 22,4% respondents and Anies-Sandi supported by 20,7% respondents (SMRC, 2016). Closer inspection to the results of both surveys hold similar pattern. Ahok-Djarot enjoyed significant portion of support (almost half) of the respondents, while the supports for Anies-Sandi and Agus-Sylvi were nearly equal. Of course, there were various interpretations on such pattern. But one thing for sure, that there was higher potential for Anies-Sandi and Agus-Sylvi might sharing the similar supporters. And such assumption was further indicated by the results on head-to-head survey scenario between candidates. The LSI survey reveals that in a head-to-head scenario of Ahok-Djarot against Anies-Sandi, around 64,3% of Agus-Sylvy supporters would divert its

support towards Anies-Sandi rather than Ahok-Djarot. If the scenario is Ahok-Djarot against Agus-Sylvy, then 59,1% of Anies-Sandi supporter would deliver their vote to Agus-Sylvy (Kompas, 2016). These survey results further confirm that the voters of Agus-Sylvy, which positioned at one end of policy space above, are more inclined to cast their vote to Anies-Sandi, which hold closer policy distance towards Agus-Sylvi rather than Ahok-Djarot at the opposite end of the policy space.

The election in February 2017 resulted as follows: Ahok-Djarot (2.364.577 votes or 42,99%); Anies-Sandi (2.197.333 votes or 39,95%); Agus-Sylvy (937.955 votes or 17,07%). Since there was no majority, the second election was held in 19 April 2018 involving Ahok-Djarot and Anies-Sandi as contenders. Indikator Politik Indonesia conducted a survey from 12-14 April 2017 to map the voters preference on the two pair of candidates. The result is in table 4.

Table 5. Exit Poll 19 April 2017

	Vote for Anies-Sandi (%)	Vote for Ahok-Djarot (%)
Agus-Sylvy coalition of parties	81	19
Anies Sandi coalition of parties	94	6
Ahok-Djarot coalition of parties	17	83
Non-partisan	61	39

Note: total respondents 798

Source: (Indikator Politik Indonesia, 2017a)

The above table shows that the preference of voters with party-affiliation (Party ID) that support certain candidate shows no significant difference with the survey results conducted before the first round of election. Those who support Agus-Sylvy were mostly devoted their vote to Anies-Sandi (74,3%) rather than Ahok-Djarot (25,7%). Exit poll conducted by the similar institution on the second round Election Day show no significant difference on the predicted survey in table 4.

The results of both surveys, once again, confirm that Agus-Sylvy voters felt their policy aspiration were closer to Anies-Sandi rather than Ahok-Djarot as already calculated by the *Wordfish* model on the candidate policy position.

To inspect the manifestation of *Wordfish* model result on political rhetoric from each candidate, this study observes the statement made by each candidate in the mass media and official debate during the campaign period. From table 4 above,

we can see that political rhetoric Ahok-Djarot, which stand on the right position of the spectrum, are levitate around *kebangsaan* (nationality); *penggusuran* (forced eviction); *pelayanan* (service); *birokrasi* (*bureaucracy*); *pemborosan* (wasting); *rasionalisasi* (rationalization). And these are reflected on the candidate statement and arguments during the campaign.

Ahok-Djarot focuses on establishment of 'modern' state in Jakarta by keeping its current eviction (*penggusuran*) policy in illegally-occupied slump areas and relocating the people to government-sponsored public housing (*rusunawa*) (Alsadad, 2016). In addition, the candidate also takes seriously public service, promising sort-of KPI (key performance indicator) to evaluate bureaucratic performance and salary level. From table 3, we can see that candidates on the left position i.e. Agus-Sylvy and Anies-Sandi positions are levitated around dominant rhetoric such as *keamanan*

(security); *kesenjangan* (discrepancy); *penggusuran* (forced eviction); *penindasan* (exploitation); *ketidakadilan* (injustice); *kesejahteraan* (welfare) and *kewirausahaan* (entrepreneurship). Both Agus-Sylvy and Anies-Sandi promise no forced eviction if they get elected as the next governor for Jakarta. Agus offered housing program to tackle the problem in illegally-occupied slump areas while Anies promoting a more 'humane' (*manusiawi*) approach in the relocation of citizen from slump areas (Fitrahudin, 2016; Putra, 2016). In one of his speech, Agus emotionally called that the victory of Agus-Silvy is also the victory of Jakartans poor against injustice (*ketidakadilan*), further mentioning that Jakarta should be led with more humane (*manusiawi*) way (Maulana, 2016). Another important rhetoric used by candidate on the left side of the policy spectrum was entrepreneurship (*kewirausahaan*). Anies-Sandi frequently raises the topic in their media statement and campaign event, particularly targeting youth (*anak muda*) as potential entrepreneur through OK-OCE (*One Kecamatan, One Center for Entrepreneurship*) program (Carina, 2016). Similarly, Agus-Sylvy also calls for government assistance in terms of financing small and medium business for

the poor Jakartans through the allocation so-called 'dana bergulir' program annually (Rizki, 2017). In contrary, Ahok criticizes the entrepreneurship program from Anies-Sandi, stating that such type of program is unrealistic, citing the low rate of success from current government program for stimulating entrepreneur (Mardiastuti, 2016).

The first official debate of Jakarta's 2017 election was held in January 2017. During the introductory session, Agus and Anies correspondingly raise the issue of security, justice, welfare, and humanity for all Jakartans. On the other hand, Ahok directly emphasizes the issue of transparency, professional, and clean bureaucracy to improve public service and human development index in Jakarta (Herlinawaty, 2017). The second debate was conducted in April 2017, involving Anies-Sandi and Ahok-Djarok as participants. When discussing about justice issue for the Jakartans, Ahok mentioned that justice related with the leader ability to avoid corruption and taking side [to one group only, emphasis added], taking into account his previous experience as non-Muslim Mayor in Belitung Timur. Meanwhile, Anies quickly pointed out to justice as the ability to resolve inequality (*ketimpangan*) among

the Jakartans, between the poor and the rich, between those educated and uneducated (Aziza, 2017). Responding to Anies's statement, Ahok says that justice has been served for the poor Jakartans through Kartu Jakarta Pintar (KJP) and access for the poor to use public transportation (Transjakarta) for free. The debate, once again, show candidates' consistency on political rhetoric utilized since the onset of election campaign as specified by the *Wordfish* model.

CONCLUSION

Text is the great resource for political analysis since political actors produce political rhetoric to signal their political stance and preference over public issues. Electoral competition among politicians establishes diversity of policy options that can be used by the voters to maximize their utility in voting. In the election, voters decide on the basis of policy position closer to their preference on what should be done by the government once elected. This study has taking the benefit of using quantitative text analysis on the 2017 gubernatorial election in Jakarta. Using the electoral platform of candidates as data, the *Wordfish* model indicates two important findings.

First, the model estimates closer policy distance between Agus-Sylvy and Anies-Sandi in the policy space. Discussion on the voting preference during the election above shows that voters for both pair of candidates also more likely to share its vote each other rather than transferring their vote to Ahok-Djarot which stand at the opposite of the policy space. The *second* finding is associated with political rhetoric utilized by candidates. The *Wordfish* model enlisted several words associated with the pair of candidates in the left-position, i.e. Agus-Sylvy and Anies-Sandi. And this rhetoric was evident in the candidates' statement captured by the mass media and during the official debates. Likewise, Ahok-Djarot also use the political rhetoric recorded by the model for the right-side position in the policy space during the campaign and debates. Interestingly, the type of political rhetoric was mainly dominated by *socio-economic* issues such as forced eviction, entrepreneurship, public service, justice and inequality rather than sectarian-or identity-related rhetoric. Whether this result confirms the class-based explanation as aforementioned is beyond the objective of the study and requires further investigation. Overall, this study shows

the greater benefit of using quantitative text analysis method to analyze programmatic politics during electoral competition in Indonesia. The recent advances in computational social science allow researcher to systematically extract information from large amounts of text with minimum constraints (temporal and financial). In the future, researcher can expand the method to study other issues such as political communication, ideology, foreign policy, legislative politics, or policy-making process in Indonesia.

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