

Role of Santri Middle Class in Democratization Process in Indonesia

Agus Darmaji

UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta

gusdarmaji@uinjkt.ac.id

Abstract: *Research on the Role of Santri Middle Class in Democratization Process in Indonesia was conducted in three cities in Java, i.e. the Cities of East Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya. The research was conducted by using quantitative approach and survey method. The data collection method used in this research is direct interview technique, by using questionnaire instrument that was asked to the respondents directly through face to face. There are two types of hypotheses to be proved through this survey research, they are associative and comparative hypotheses. The associative hypothesis verification aims to prove whether there is significant relationship between dependent variable (Y) and independent variable (X) as predictor or not. In this research context, the relationship between role in the democratization process as the dependent variable (Y) with predictor independent variables (X) will be tested, which are the literacy of political and economic information (X1), satisfaction to public services (X2), trust in democratic institutions (X3), access to political resources (X4), ideology (X5), and relative deprivation (X6). The comparative hypothesis verification aims to prove whether there is significant difference between two or more different respondent groups or not. Based on this research purpose, the differences of two respondent groups will be proved comparatively related to their role in the democratization process; they are (1) santri middle-class group and (2) groups of santri non-middle class.*

Keyword: *Middle class, santri middle class, democratization.*

Abstrak: *Penelitian tentang Peran Kelas Menengah Santri dalam Proses Demokratisasi di Indonesia dilaksanakan di tiga kota di Pulau Jawa, yaitu Kota Jakarta Timur, Kota Yogyakarta, dan Kota Surabaya. Penelitian dilakukan dengan menggunakan pendekatan kuantitatif dan metode survei. Adapun metode pengumpulan data yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah teknik wawancara langsung, dengan menggunakan instrumen kuesioner yang ditanyakan kepada responden secara langsung melalui tatap muka. Terdapat dua jenis hipotesis yang ingin dibuktikan melalui penelitian survei ini, yaitu hipotesis asosiatif dan hipotesis komparatif. Pembuktian hipotesis asosiatif bertujuan untuk membuktikan apakah terdapat hubungan yang signifikan antara variabel dependen (Y) dan variabel independen (X) yang menjadi prediktor. Dalam konteks penelitian ini, yang akan diuji adalah hubungan antara peran dalam proses demokratisasi sebagai variabel dependen (Y) dengan variabel-variabel independen prediktor (X), yaitu literasi informasi politik dan ekonomi (X1), kepuasan terhadap pelayanan publik (X2), kepercayaan pada institusi-institusi demokrasi (X3), akses terhadap sumber daya politik (X4), ideologi (X5), dan deprivasi relatif (X6). Adapun pembuktian hipotesis komparatif bertujuan untuk membuktikan apakah terdapat perbedaan yang signifikan di antara dua atau lebih kelompok responden yang berbeda. Sesuai tujuan penelitian ini, terdapat dua kelompok responden yang akan dibuktikan perbedaannya secara komparatif terkait peran mereka dalam proses demokratisasi, yaitu (1) kelompok kelas menengah santri dan (2) kelompok-kelompok non-kelas menengah santri.*

Kata Kunci: *Kelas Menengah, Santri Kelas Menengah, Demokratisasi.*

Introduction

Throughout human history, the middle class role in enforcing the democracy is always decisive. The middle class tends concerned to widen the political life segment while widening the opportunity to advance its economic interest, especially against the privilege held by the upper class.

In enforcing the democracy, of course, the encouragement from the lower class is definitely needed. But it is not sufficient if the upper class --leaders and rulers-- not yet willing to sacrifice their positions or at least change the attitudes to satisfy the lower class aspirations. Then in this dead-end state, the class that occupies strategic location between the upper class and lower class --is middle class-- that need to be reconsidered its role in strengthening the democracy.

From above facts, it can be concluded that the middle class has significant role in the democratization process. Democratization here is intended as the establishment of democratic system that is, from William Liddle phrase, the existence of various institutions and procedures, such as direct, general, free, and confidential (*luber*) election, the freedom to express the opinion, gather and form political parties, as well as the independence of judiciary.

The phenomenon of the relationship of Islam and democracy in Indonesia has long been became the scientists studies in Indonesia. Among quite popular theses in explaining the positive relation between Islam and democracy in Indonesia is the existence of Muslim middle-class group role in the democratization process. In this thesis, for example, in Fachri Ali and Bachtiar Effendy (1992) and Bachtiar Effendy (1998) showed that the Muslim middle class provided positive contribution in the democratization

process in Indonesia, began since the mid of New Order period until Reformation period.

So far it is clear that the thesis on the positive relationship between Islam and democracy in Indonesia rests on two assumptions, that are, first, middle-class group role as change catalyst that encourages, including, the democratization process; and, second, the occurrence of socio-economic transformation of traditional *santri* groups into middle-class groups as shown by Heffner.

In the context of contemporary Indonesia, the middle class appears as social group that tends to not only maintain the *status quo*, but also intolerant of differences. The research that conducted by Litbang Kompas in six major cities, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Medan, and Makassar (2012) showed that the middle class has consumptive character and tend to be intolerant.

In short, the thesis on middle class role in encouraging the democratization process is not always proven. Leaning the positive relationship between Islam and democracy on middle class role and *santri* transformation into such group become problematic thing and important to be studied further.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework is conceptual model on how theory relates to identified various factor. A conceptual framework will connect theoretically the research variables, that are between the independent and dependent variables.¹ This section discusses the main concepts used in this research:

¹Murti Sumarni & Salamah Wahyuni, *Metode Penelitian Bisnis* (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset, 2006), h. 27.

middle class, *santri*, *santri* middle class, and role in democratization.

1. Middle Class

The middle class as social class is not only measured quantitatively with revenue and expenditure indicators, but also measured by education level, professional status, lifestyle, etc. However, in this research, economic factor become the main variable in determining the category of middle class respondents. Specifically, the middle class is seen from household expenditure level in the aggregate.

There are three approaches to define the middle class based on expenditure or revenue of household: (i) absolute approach, (ii) relative approach, and (iii) combined approach. The absolute approach defines middle class at certain expenditure level; those who have revenue (or spending) on certain upper and lower limits regarded as middle class. Relative approach emphasis on the level of household revenue or expenditure relatively, percentile figures of expenditure per capita is often used for the relative approach. The combined approach is a mixture of absolute and relative approaches.²

This research uses absolute measurement, identifying the middle class category based on World Bank standard, which is adjusted to the approach of Asian Development Bank, in which the middle class is defined as those with daily expenditure per capita between USD 5 - USD 10.³ Based on the above definition, then the respondents are included in middle class category when their

daily expenditures are about USD 5 - USD 10, which is equal to approximately Rp 2 – 4 million rupiah per month.

2. Santri

The word “*santri*” is derived from Tamil language which means “*guru mengaji*”. While C.C Berg argued that *santri* term comes from the word “*shastri*”, which in Indian language means “people who understand the sacred books of Hinduism”. This opinion is supported by Karel. A. Steenbrink, who stated that *pesantren* education, in terms of form and system, is similar to the Hindu-style education in India.⁴

Other opinions argue that the word “*santri*” is derived from the word “*sastri*” in Sanskrit, which means “literacy” alias can read. There is also someone who researches that the word *santri* comes from Javanese language, from *cantrik* word, which means someone who always follows his/her *guru* wherever the *gurugo*/settle.⁵

Based on the search of word roots above, it can be concluded that *santri* is a person who understands Islamic religion that involved in learning system of *pondok pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) as a student who studies Islamic religious science from one or several *guru* or *kyai*. According to Zamakhsyari Dzofier (1985: 52) *santri* is classified into two groups. First, *santri mukimis* a *santri* who lives in *pesantren* during *nyantri* process. Second, *santri kalong* is a *santri* or a student who comes from the

² The World Bank, “Perkembangan Triwulan Perekonomian di Indonesia.” *World Bank*, 2010. h. 44.

³ Asian Development Bank, 2010, “The Rise of Asia’s Middle Class”, dalam *Key Indicators for Asia and the Pacific* (Manila, 2010).

⁴ Zamakhsyari Dzofier, *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), hlm. 18

⁵ Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan* (Jakarta: Paramadina.1999), h. 19-20

areas around the *pesantren* and does not live in the *pesantren*.⁶

The definition of *santri* has four keywords: student, Islamic boarding school, *kyai*, and Islamic religious knowledge. Therefore, someone is called *santri* if being a student in Islamic boarding school who studies at someone or some *kyai* to deepen the Islamic religious knowledge, either as *santri mukim* or *santri kalong*.

3. *Santri* Middle Class

Robert Heffner, an anthropologist, in the late 1970s saw that Indonesia experienced Islamic modernity wave. Heffner saw that Islam modernity project also came from traditional circle or *santri* who tried to affiliate with various modern religious institutions and modern secular institutions in their surroundings. He stated that, at that time, traditional *santri* society is in the transformation process to be modern by negotiating on New Order power. In the middle of Soeharto reign, traditional *santri* became educated, westernized, and know about printing capitalism (publication of books, journals, and pamphlets) that talking about who, what, and how *santri* see the world and problems therein. Heffner called this phenomenon as "printing Islam".

This modernization wave of muslim-*santri* changes the *santri* image from countrified and lower class connotations into the *santri* who adapts to the development of economic, social, political, and modernity culture that make many *santri* and former *santri* become in the middle and upper-middle classes. This important thing is also followed in the post-reform period, in which a lot of *pesantren* Muslim continue their education to

modern Islamic universities, such as IAIN. Thus it is natural that nowadays, a lot of *santri* graduated from Islamic or secular universities, who have the career as teachers, civil servants, social workers, and others.

Passing through higher education and get decent work make *santri* now has sufficient revenue to meet their needs standard or lifestyle as upper middle social class. This change makes the *santri* become unique social class that has Islamic culture style but following modernization pattern of democratization process in Indonesia. Their roles are taken into account. Many of *santri* middle class active in practical politics and become academics and social workers.

In this research, what is called *santri* middle class is not what Kuntowidjoyo called as "Neo *Santri*" or pious muslim society that transform into modern *santri*, who are not educated in *pesantren*.⁷ This research limits the definition of middle class *santri* refers to the above explanation and the definition of *santri* and middle class in two previous sub-chapters, in which if concluded, *santri* middle class are those who have studied or become the students at *pondok pesantren* that then have decent revenue and the spending per day is USD 5 - USD 10.

4. Role in Democratization

Role is the expected behavior owned by person in certain social position in the society. The role in this research is formulated in the dimension of participation, i.e. someone involvement in the behavior that is expected to meet and strengthen certain values, in this case is democratic values.

Democracy is a system of sovereign popular government based on recognition of

⁶ Zamakhsyari Dzofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, h. 52.

⁷ Kuntowidjoyo. *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi*. (Bandung: Mizan, 1991). h. 370-78.

civil and political rights of each individual citizen to participate in government implementation. Democracy is characterized by balanced division of powers between the executive, legislative, and judiciary, opportunity to convey citizen aspirations such as free, honest, and fair General Election, and freedom of the press, and the development of civil society organizations.

Democratization is development process of democratic procedures and institutions. Therefore, the role in democratization is expected behavior owned by individual in certain social position in the society that can encourage the development of democratic procedures and institutions.

Definition of Variable Operational

This research aims to identify *santri* position in social strata of middle class and assess the role of *santri* middle class group in democratization process in Indonesia. Based on the theory review as discussed previously, this research was conducted with the following variables.

1. Demographic Variable

Demographic variable is variable that related to respondents characteristics that become research sample. Demographic variables used in this research include:

- Age, measured using indicator with year nominal scale.
- Gender, measured using indicators with nominal scales of men and women.
- Expenditure Level per Month, measured using interval indicator in currency unit of rupiah.
- Profession, measured using indicator with nominal scale of profession types.
- Religion, measured using indicator with religious nominal scale in Indonesia.

- Education, measured using indicator with ordinal scale of formal education level and, specifically for Muslim respondents, participation learning in *pesantren* educational institutions.

2. Independent Variable (X)

The independent variable is variable that serves as predictor and explanatory for other variables. Predictor variables in this research include:

- Information literacy level, measured using indicators of (1) access intensity to political information and national and international economics and (2) media diversity used to access such information. The information literacy level is measured with interval scale.
- Satisfaction to public services, measured using indicator of respondent satisfaction level to public service types with interval scale.
- Trust level in democratic institutions, measured using the indicator of respondent trust level to democratic institution types including the executive, legislative, judiciary, political parties and civil society organizations, and mass media. This indicator uses interval scale.
- Accessibility of political resources, measured using the indicators of the number of political party organizations and non-governmental organizations in respondents neighborhood and the intensity of respondent interaction with political party official and non-governmental organization activists. These indicators are measured by interval scale.
- Ideology, measured using indicator of respondents attitudes toward the rights

of ethnic minority groups, religion/belief, and the people with disabilities. This indicator is measured by interval scale.

- Relative deprivation, measured using indicator of current year economic and security conditions than previous year conditions in respondent perception. This indicator is measured by interval scale.

3. Dependent Variable (Y)

The dependent variable is variable to be described in this research in its conjunction with variables X. The dependent variable in this research is the role in democratization. The indicator used to measure this variable is the directly and indirectly citizen participation level, which is grouped into three sub-indicators: participation through delegation in general election and regional head election; participation in policy formulation process in state organizer institutions; and participation in expressing opinion or disagreement in public spaces. These indicators are measured with interval scale.

Hypothesis

There are two types of hypotheses to be proved through this survey research, they are associative and comparative hypotheses. The associative hypothesis verification aims to prove whether there is significant relationship between dependent variable (Y) and independent variable (X) as predictor or not. In this research context, the relationship between role in the democratization process as the dependent variable (Y) with predictor independent variables (X) will be tested, which are the literacy of political and economic information (X1), satisfaction to public services (X2), trust in democratic institutions (X3), access to political resources

(X4), ideology (X5), and relative deprivation (X6).

The comparative hypothesis verification aims to prove whether there is significant difference between two or more different respondent groups or not. Based on this research purpose, the differences of two respondent groups will be proved comparatively related to their role in the democratization process; they are (1) *santri* middle-class group and (2) groups of *santri* non-middle class.

Associative hypotheses tested in this research include:

Hypothesis 1: There is positive and significant correlation between *information literacy* and *role in democracy*.

Hypothesis 2: There is positive and significant correlation between *satisfaction to public services* and *role in democracy*.

Hypothesis 3: There is positive and significant correlation between *trust in democratic institutions* and *role in democracy*.

Hypothesis 4: There is positive and significant correlation between *access to political resources* and *role in democracy*.

Hypothesis 5: There is positive and significant correlation between *ideology* and *role in democracy*.

Hypothesis 6: There is positive and significant correlation between *relative deprivation* and *role in democracy*.

The comparative hypothesis tested in this research is stated by following hypotheses: There are positive and significant role differences between *santri* middle class and other social groups in the democratization process in Indonesia.

Approaches and Methods of Research

The research was conducted in three cities in JavaIsland; they are East Jakarta (Jakarta Capital City), Yogyakarta City (the Special Region of Yogyakarta) and Surabaya City (East Java). The research was conducted from June – November2015.

The research was conducted by using quantitative approach and survey method. The use of this quantitative approach enables the researcher to analyze the correlation between various measured variables to answer the problems posed in this research.

In quantitative research, the researcher must determine and limit the population and sample so that researched object corresponds or consistent with the research purpose. The research population was all Indonesian citizens who domiciled in three cities: East Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya. The population proportions of each city are as follows:

City	Total population	Percentage
East Jakarta	2,693,896	39.53
Yogyakarta	388,627	7.45
Surabaya	2,765,487	53.02
Total Population	5,216,346	100.00

The samples are part of population that determined statistically through calculation by the following formula.

$$n = \frac{Z^2 \cdot [p(1-p)] \cdot N}{E^2}$$

Where:

- N : Numberof Samples
- Z : Trust Level Value
- p(1-p) : Population Proportion
- N : Total Population
- E : Margin of Error

At trust level of 95% and margin of error of 5%, samplenumberof 1,060 respondents is obtained, which are distributed in each city as follows:

City	Total Population
East Jakarta	420
Yogyakarta	80
Surabaya	560
Total Population	1060

In general, there are two sampling methods, random and non-random. Random sampling (random/probability sampling) is a sampling technique that uses the laws of probability, all sampleframes have the same opportunity to be researched. There are 4 ways of random sampling; they are simple, systematic, stratification, and multistage random samples.⁸ This research used the sampling with randomization technique of *multistage random sampling* with the *kelurahan/* village as the *primary sampling unit* (PSU). The number of sample in each PSU was set at 10 respondents, so that *kelurahan* sample is obtained as follows:

City	Total of <i>Kelurahan</i> Sample
East Jakarta	42
Yogyakarta	8
Surabaya	56
Total of PSU <i>Kelurahan/Village</i>	108

The stages of sampling:

1. *Kelurahan* samples were determined by simple random technique based on *kelurahan* database in bps.go.id site in each city.
2. Respondent samples were determined by simple random technique based on population database in the *kelurahan/village* that chosen as samples.

The respondent criteria are Indonesian citizens domiciled in the survey area, aged 17

⁸ See Eriyanto, *Analisis Isi* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2011), h. 118-126

years or older, and selected randomly through process of sampling techniques mentioned above.

The data collection method used in this research is direct interview technique, by using questionnaire instrument that asked to the respondents directly through face to face.

Validity and reliability of the instrument are things that determine the quality of research results. The instrument is valid if it measures what should be measured. Reliable instrument is an instrument which when used several times to measure the same object, will generate the same data (Sugiyono, 2006: 109-110).

Validity test was carried out by measuring correlation level of the score of each question item with total score of all questions. The reliability test was carried out by measuring correlation level of inter-item in single instrument. The validity and reliability of tested instrument score were obtained from instrument testing process that involves the number of respondents.

The validity test was carried out first than the reliability test. Scores obtained from instrument testing is sought for its correlation with product moment correlation formula as follows.

$$r = \frac{n(X_1, X_{total}) - (\sum X_1)(\sum X_{total})}{\sqrt{\left\{n \sum X_1^2 - (\sum X_1)^2\right\} \left\{n \sum X_{total}^2 - (\sum X_{total})^2\right\}}}$$

Where: r = correlation coefficient
 n = number of respondents

Sugiyono (2006: 122) also mentioned that the instrument reliability is tested by seeing its validity, discard invalid instrument, and then when all instruments are valid, by using *split half* method, the respondent answers were divided into two groups which

were then correlated. Its correlation coefficient is inserted into the formula:

$$r = \frac{2 \times r_b}{1 + r_b}$$

Where:

r = reliability value

r_b = *product moment* correlation between first and second cleavages

After the instrument reliability value (r_{bcount}) is obtained, then such value is compared with the number of respondents and the real level. If $r_{count} > r_{table}$, then such instrument is reliable, otherwise if $r_{count} < r_{table}$, then such instrument is unreliable.

This research used 30 respondents in instrument testing, the validity and reliability were tested from such testing scores with the help of Analysis Tool Pack software of Microsoft Excel 2007. After passing the validity and reliability tests, it is known that all instrument question items proved to be valid and reliable. The results of validity test and instrument reliability are attached hereto.

The instrument is in the form of questionnaire with closed question type. The instrument questions were formulated based on operationalization of research concepts that breakdown to the question item level. The used instruments are attached in this research.

The researcher conducted hypothesis testing of the relationship between variables with significance level of 5 percent. There are two types of hypotheses tested in this research: associative and descriptive hypotheses.

Associative hypothesis was tested using product moment correlation analysis. The comparative hypothesis was tested using discrimination test by Pearson's Chi

Square method with significance level of 5% with the following formula.

$$\chi_p^2 = \sum_{ij} \frac{(f_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}}$$

Research data analysis was carried out descriptively and associatively. The analysis aims to display structured overview of research results and show the relationship between researched independent and dependent variables.

Analysis and Interpretation

It is mentioned above that 321 of 1,060 survey respondents (30.28%) in East Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya are included into middle class group, that measured by indicator of expenditure on consumption per month between Rp 2 – 4 million. The survey further found that 17 of 321 middle-class respondents (5.30%) are the part of *santri* middle-class group, as conceptualized in this research, as individuals with *pesantren* educational background that meet the economic criteria as middle-class group.

In line with the statement of problems and research purpose, some interesting things to be elaborated further are what kind of portrait of the *santri* middle-class group and how the actualization of their role in the democratization process. In addition to the *pesantren* educational background, are there any certain demographic traits that become the characteristics of *santri* middle-class and distinguish them from *santri* middle-class group of Muslim middle-class of non-*santri* group and the middle-class in general? If any, are the characteristics of such *santri* middle-class influence the actualization of their role in driving the democratization process?

1. Characteristics of *Santri* Middle-Class

The word "*santri*" is used in various definitions in the variety of literatures that discuss the *santri* phenomenon in Indonesia. Most of literatures understand the word "*santri*" with an emphasis primarily on religiosity and pious behavior of a Muslim, regardless of whether the Muslims had "*nyantri*" at *pesantren* or not. Therefore, *santri* is a trait that distinguishes the non-pious Muslims and pious Muslims. Most of other literatures, on the contrary, make *pesantren* educational background of Muslims as the main trait of their identities as *santri*, without mentioning whether such Muslims reflect the pious religious behaviors or not. There is also literature that tends to not draw distinct limits between a *santri* and Muslims in general. Semiotically, it can be said that the word "*santri*" is a *signifier* with a *signified* of different objects. The diversity in conceptualizing the word "*santri*" impacts on the different explanations about the phenomenon called "*santri* middle-class".

This research, as already explained, conceptualizes *santri* as Muslim individuals who have involved in the process of Islamic education in *pesantren* educational institutions. *Santri* is a person who understands Islamic religion that involved in learning system of *pondok pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) as a student who studies Islamic religious science from one or several *guru* or *kyai*. The conceptualization of *santri* in this limit in line with Zamakhsyari Dzofer (1985: 52), who classified *santri* into two categories: *santri mukim* and *santri kalong*. *Santri mukim* is a *santri* who lives at *pesantren* during the studying process, *santri kalong* is a *santri* or a student who comes from the areas around the *pesantren* but does not live in the *pesantren*. In the category of

santri mukim and *santri kalong*, there are four key words to understand what the meaning of *santri*: student, *pesantren*, *kyai*, and Islamic religious science.⁹

By limiting the word "*santri*" in the conceptualization above, then the term of "*santri* middle-class" used in this research refers to Muslim individuals who have educational background of *pesantren* religious and managed to put themselves in the middle economic strata. In this limitation, it seems that the phenomenon of "*santri* middle-class" is not a new thing. The reasons are, *first*, because *pesantren* is an educational institution that has operated long before the independence era. *Second*, the socio-economic transformation of *santri* that is an alumni of *pesantren* educational institution has also been identified for a long time.

Although a lot of literatures use "*santri*" term in broad definition, it must be recognized that the majority of community members referred as "*santri*" are Muslim individuals involved in religious learning process at the *pesantren*, whether as *santri mukim* or *santri kalong*. Abdul Munir Mulkhan, for example, in *Runtuhnya Mitos Politik Santri*, stated that until the 1950s, about 90% of community members that called "*santri*" are those who have studied in *pesantren*. Soon this condition is turned on the New Order period. Along with the increased access to formal education, the non-formal religious education at *pesantren* is being abandoned by the Muslim society. It is not surprising that that 90% of those referred as "*santri*", according to Mulkhan, are the

people who have never experienced the religious learning process in *pesantren*.¹⁰

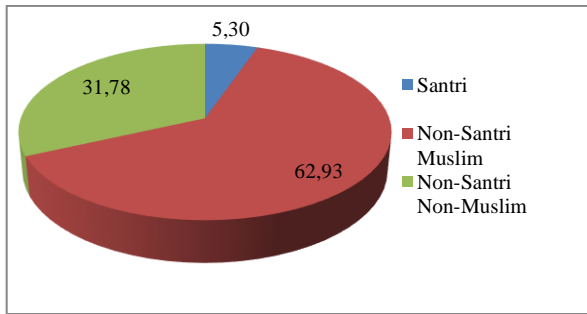
Mulkhan is not exaggerating his statement. Based on the survey results that carried out by the researcher in East Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya, it is found that not more than 145 respondents who have involved in the education at *pesantren* (15.46% of 938 Muslim respondents, 13.68% of 1,060 overall respondents). This condition is directly correlated with to the *pesantren* education participation rate is smaller if compared to the participation rate of formal educational institutions, either in the form of school and *madrasah*.

Related to the socio-economic transformation that leads *santri* to middle strata as *santri* middle-class group, the survey also found that the middle class proportion with *pesantren* background is smaller than the number of Muslim middle class population and particularly much smaller compare with the middle class population in general. The survey results showed that there are 321 respondents included in middle class group (30.28%, N = 1,060). From this, middle-class individuals who adhere to Islam religion (the Muslim middle class) are as much as 219 respondents (68.22%, N = 321). The numbers of Muslim middle-class respondents who have *pesantren* educational background as much as 17 respondents (7.76% of Muslim middle class, or 5.30% of overall middle class).

“Graph of *Santri* Middle-Class, Middle Class of Muslim Non-*Santri*, and Middle Class of Non-Muslim Non-*Santri*”

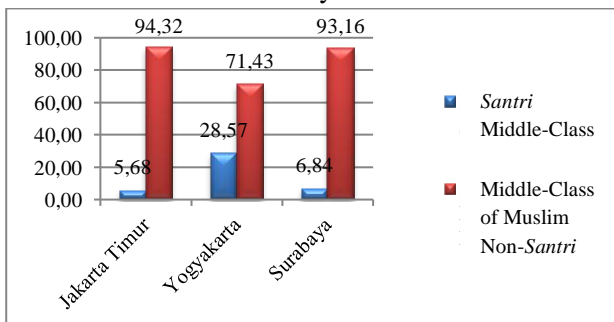
⁹ Zamakhsyari Dzofier, *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), h. 52.

¹⁰ <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/koran/islam-digest-koran/15/10/25/nwry9p1-kebangkitan-santri-kelas-menengah>



Based on survey results, *santri* proportion is smaller than the middle class that occurs evenly in three cities of research sites. In Surabaya, the city inhabited by 154 of 321 overall middle-class respondents (47.98%), there are only eight (8) respondents who have *pesantren* educational background from 109 Muslim middle-class respondents. In East Jakarta, the city inhabited by 132 of 321 overall middle-class respondents (41.12%), there are only five (5) *santri* respondents from 83 Muslim middle-class respondents. While in Yogyakarta, from 35 of 321 overall middle-class respondents (10.90%), there are only four (4) *santri* respondents of 14 Muslim middle-class respondents. Based on *santri* middle-class proportion of overall Muslim middle-class in each city, Yogyakarta is the city with most *santri* middle-class proportion (28.57%), the next is Surabaya (6.84%), and East Jakarta (5.68%).

“Graph of *Santri* Middle-Class Proportion and Middle-Class of Muslim Non-*Santri* of Muslim Middle-Class in East Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya”



The small proportion of *santri* compare with Muslim middle-class and particularly the

overall middle class is influenced by many factors that are related to one another. Referring to the history of *santri* middle-class development in Indonesia in the pre-independence era, the trade is an economic sector that became *santri* foundation in carrying out the socio-economic transformation. The stronger *santri* politics in Soekarno presidential era and development policy in Soeharto presidential era slowly change the *santri* economic orientation and this group composition in between the middle-class society.

Different from pre-independence era in which the trade sector drives the existence of *santri* middle-class, the contemporary *santri* middle-class is emerged and developed in various economic sectors. While the trade is being abandoned, nowadays, the *santri* middle-class has various professions in the variety of economic sectors.

Based on the survey results in East Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya, the profession that becomes the main revenue source for most of middle-class in three survey location cities is the employee in private company. Overall, there are 104 of 321 middle-class individuals in three cities (32.40%) who have the profession as private company employees.

According to the classification of *santri* middle-class and non-*santri* middle-class both Muslim and non-Muslim, the profession of private company employee is carried out by 2 (two) respondents of *santri* middle-class (0.87%), 89 respondents of middle-class of Muslim non-*santri* (27.73%), and 13 respondents of middle-class of non-Muslim non-*santri* (4.05%). Company director is the least profession that carried out by the middle-class, in which there are only four (4)

middle-class individuals who work as company director (1.25%).

The survey results also showed that none of middle-class group who work as factory worker, public transport driver, unskilled laborer, construction worker, and farmer that works on land owned by another person. Detailed overview of middle-class professions in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya are shown in the table below.

“Table of Middle-Class Professions in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya of *Santri* Middle-Class, Middle-Class of Muslim Non-*Santri*, and Middle-Class of Non-Muslim Non-*Santri*.”

PROFESSION	SANTRI	MIDDLE-CLASS NON-SANTRI		AMOUNT
		MUSLIM	NON-MUSLIM	
Employee in Private Company	2	89	13	104
Owners of shop/store/stall	2	13	16	31
Factory worker	0	0	0	0
Civil Servant	1	44	13	58
Consultant	2	7	21	30
Public transportation driver	0	0	0	0
Teacher	0	24	5	29
Farmers who work in their own land	0	8	4	12
Worker at stores owned by others	0	3	0	3
College lecturer	4	4	7	15
Doctor	0	1	5	6
Lawyer	0	0	5	5
Unskilled laborer	0	0	0	0
NGO (non-governmental organizations) activist	4	3	1	8
Company Director	0	1	3	4
TNI/Polri	0	1	1	2
Journalist	1	2	2	5
Construction worker	0	0	0	0
Farmer who works on land owned by others	0	0	0	0
Others	1	2	2	5
Not identified	0	0	4	4
AMOUNT	17	202	102	321

Judging from the profession types of *santri* middle-class and middle-class of non-*santri* either Muslim or non-Muslim, there is no significant difference between *santri* middle-class and non-*santri* middle-class. As

contemporary middle-class in general, *santri* middle-class carries out a wide range of professions, such as private company employee, owners of shop/store/stall, civil servant (PNS), consultant, lecturer, NGO activist, and journalist. This indicates the economic role of *santri* middle-class is increasingly extends to various sectors. But, it must be recognized that the proportion of *santri* middle-class in such various professions is still limited when compared to non-*santri* middle-class, either from the group of Muslim or non-Muslim. However, there is an interesting thing on the other side: *santri* middle-class is better in the profession of non-governmental organizations (NGO) activist compared to non-*santri* middle-class. The dominant involvement of *santri* middle-class as NGO activist is the indication of the significant role of *santri* middle-class in democratization process.

As mentioned above, the change of *santri* economic orientation in carrying out the vertical mobility is influenced by external changes in their surroundings, which resulted in the decline of *santri* role in trading sector. In the Old Order period, *santri* middle-class suddenly became the political elite. The opinions of *santri* middle-class during the Old Order are channeled through political parties, such as Masyumi (1945), Perti (1945-1946), PSII (1947), and NU Party (1952). Since this era, *santri* middle-class started to work in various professions, such as civil servant, intellectual, military official, and political official. At the same time, *santri* middle-class who engaged in the trade sector did not develop. This tendency is stronger in the New Order period. Patrimonial character in the New Order period makes indigenous small businesses cannot grow, Muslim-*santri* entrepreneurs who have gone bankrupt on the

Old Order period did not get the chance to develop. As noted by Jajat Burhanuddin in "Pasang Surut Industri Batik Kaum Santri Pekajangan", *Ulumul Quran III* (1992), this sample case is the bankruptcy of cigarette industry in Kudus and textile industry in Pekajangan owned by santri entrepreneurs due to political-economic policy of the government.

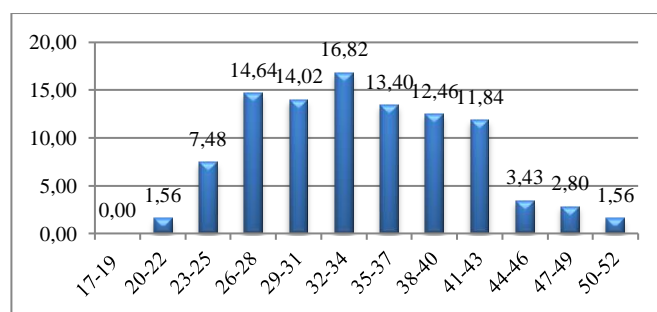
This social condition drives the *santri* to work in many professions. On the other hand, the *santri* are motivated to send their children to school in order to enter the bureaucracy sectors or become professional workers. Nowadays, *santri* education is not limited at UIN or religious schools, but also at public universities. Based on survey results in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya, besides undergoing religious education in pesantren, *santri* middle-class has very good access to formal education. From 17 respondents of identified *santri* middle-class, there is 1 (one) person with SMA/MA education level, 12 people with bachelor degree, three (3) people with master degree, and 1 (one) person with doctoral degree. The survey also showed that none of *santri* middle-class whose formal education level under SMA/MA.

“Table of the Latest Education of *Santri* Middle-Class, Middle-Class of Muslim Non-*Santri*, and Middle-Class of Non-Muslim Non-*Santri*”

EDUCATION	MIDDLE CLASS			AMOUNT
	SANTRI	NON-SANTRI		
		MUSLIM	NON-MUSLIM	
Did not complete SD/MI	0	0	0	0
Graduated from SD/MI	0	0	0	0
Graduated from SMP/MTs	0	0	0	0
Graduated from SMA/MA	1	93	70	164
Graduated from S1	12	97	21	130
Graduated from S2	3	9	9	21
Graduated from S3	1	3	2	6
Total	17	202	102	321

Another typical characteristic of contemporary middle-class is their age profiles that are mostly in young and productive age group. Pursuant to the survey results, all middle-class citizens in East Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya are in productive age range of 20-52 years. This demographic characteristic exists in *santri* and non-*santri* groups, either from people who adhere to Islam religion (Muslim) or people who adhere to other religion (Non-Muslim).

“Graph of Middle-Class by Age Group (%)”



As shown in the graph above, middle-class age group that has the most members sequentially are the age group of 32-34 years (16.82%), 26-28 years (14.64%), 29-31 years (14.02%), 35-37 years (13.40%), 38-40 years (12.46%), 41-43 years (11.84%), 23-25 years (7.48%), 44-46 years (3.43%), 47-49 years (2.80%), and 20-22 years (1.56%). The graph above also shows that none of middle-class in the age group of 17-19 years.

As detailed by the category of *santri* middle-class, middle-class of Muslim non-*santri*, and middle-class of non-Muslim non-*santri*, the classification of middle-class age is shown in the following table.

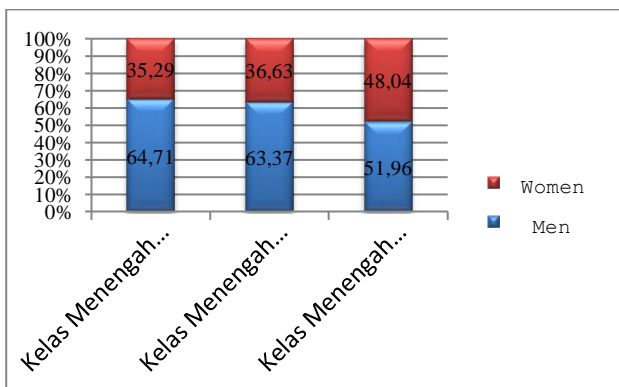
“Table of Frequency Distribution of Middle-Class Age Group by the Category of *Santri* and Non-*Santri*”

AGE GROUPS	SANTRI	NON-SANTRI		AMOUNT
		MUSLIM	NON-MUSLIM	
17-19	0	0	0	0
20-22	0	3	2	5

23-25	1	10	13	24
26-28	1	30	16	47
29-31	2	33	10	45
32-34	4	31	19	54
35-37	4	29	10	43
38-40	1	31	8	40
41-43	1	17	20	38
44-46	1	9	1	11
47-49	1	6	2	9
50-52	1	3	1	5
AMOUNT	17	202	102	321

In terms of gender, the most of middle-class respondents in East Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya are male. From 371 middle-class respondents in such three cities, there are 192 male respondents (59.81%) and 129 female respondents (40.19%). However, the proportion of men and women between *santri* middle-class and non-*santri* middle-class tends to be different. In *santri* middle-class, the proportion of men and women is 11 men (64.71%) and six (6) women (35.29%). In the group of middle-class of Muslim non-*santri*, there are 128 male respondents (63.37%) and 74 female respondents (36.63%). In the group of middle-class of non-*santri* and non-Muslim, proportion of men and women is 53 men (51.96%) and 49 women (48.04%).

Graph of the Proportion of Men and Women in *Santri* Middle-Class, Middle-Class of Muslim Non-*Santri*, and Middle-Class of Non-Muslim Non-*Santri*



General overview of middle-class in three survey location cities is the proportion of women less than men. This indicates that women role and productivity in economic field is still lower than men. In particular, the imbalance of the proportion of men and women in socio economic life appears primarily on Muslim middle-class group, either have *pesantren* educational backgrounds (*santri* middle-class) or not (middle class of Muslim non-*santri*). In fact, in *santri* middle-class, the proportion of women is much lower than men. This condition is allegedly related to educational participation in *pesantren* educational institution that dominated by male *santri*. Furthermore, this condition also may reflect the cultural bias with in Muslim society environment, which still limits women role in the domestic area.

2. Role of *Santri* Middle Class in Democratization

Based on the demographic characteristic as discussed above, how significant the role of *santri* middle-class in democratization process in Indonesia? This question is very worthy to be asked considering some recent researches show the middle-class portrait that tends to be gloomy.¹¹

Referring to survey results of Litbang Kompas (2012), the Indonesian middle-class that formed now is the blend of various elements. Some of them are those who have born from the middle-class families, the others are lower-class groups that become middle-class, and in much smaller amount are those who have upper-class or upper-middle class parents. Although few in number, they have highly significant influence in

¹¹<http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2012/06/08/1204529/Kelas.Menengah.Konsumtif.dan.Intoleran>

transmitting the upper-class lifestyle to the middle-class.

The middle class is also the blend between those who experience directly the impact of economic crisis and those who do not have job responsibilities because they still aged 0-17 years when the crisis occurred. This pre-crisis young group – especially those who become upper-middle class citizens – currently become the most enthusiastic group to buy luxury goods. Only about 2% of such group of wealthy young who do not have smart gadgets (smartphone) such as Blackberry, iPhone or Samsung Galaxy, the rest of them have one or more of those smart and expensive mobile phones.

Their consumptive character that restrained during the economic crisis, has arisen back even very rapidly. This is evidenced by the level of consumer goods sale. The sale of two-wheeled vehicle increased by an average of 19.2 percent per year over the last decade, the fund loans for vehicles from bank grew 29.33 percent at the end of January 2012, the growth of electronic market had reached 17 percent that was partly triggered by the purchase of mobile phones.

Theoretically, the middle-class character is characterized by high consumption. This characteristic may not be a problem, as long as accompanied by higher level of productivity. The problem is, whether the consumptive lifestyle is directly correlated with the growth of outlook that increasingly opens to the differences? The survey results of Litbang Kompas found otherwise.

Freedom to express the consumerism desire is not linear with the growth of democratic values. In fact, on the contrary, democratization through the liberalization of electoral institutions does not produce tolerant society and uphold the values of ideological

differences. Contemporary Indonesian middle-class supports greater state role to enter into the deepest aspects of public morality. Survey results of Litbang Kompas also found the growing rigidity of middle-class society attitude in addressing the ideology, which appears in their support over the statements that refuse the differences. For example, they more agree with the statement of "leftist mass organizations or parties should be banned in Indonesia" than the statement of "all kinds of ideologies can develop in Indonesia". They also more agree with the restriction of Ahmadiyah in Indonesia rather than consider that the religious groups have the right to adhere their belief in Indonesia.

In line with the survey results of Litbang Kompas, middle-class characteristic in general that tends to be resistant to differences is reflected in the survey results that researcher do in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya. Despite having moderate stance in addressing the differences in terms of ethnicity and physical (disability), the middle-class showed strong resistance to religion/belief differences, with the tendency to deny the rights of minority group of religion/belief to occupy public positions.

In the context of executive position, for example, comparison of attitudes between various groups in contemporary middle-class is shown in the following table.

Middle class	President		Governor		Regent/ Mayor		Lurah/Village Head	
	S	TS	S	TS	S	TS	S	TS
Santri Middle-Class	10	7	10	7	10	7	10	7
Middle-Class of Muslim Non-Santri	111	108	110	109	110	109	110	109
Middle-Class of Non-Muslim Non-Santri	100	2	100	2	100	2	100	2
Non Middle-Class	71	651	49	673	49	673	49	673

Total	292	768	269	791	269	791	269	791
Remark:								
S = Agree								
TS = Disagree								

Although overall, the middle-class tends to be negative to the rights of minority group of religion/belief to occupy public position in the context of the executive, some groups actually show positive attitude. The most interesting is, highly significant positive attitude is shown by the groups of *santri* middle-class and middle-class of Muslim non-*santri*, in which the proportion of agree attitude is greater than disagree attitude. From such two groups, the proportion between agree and disagree attitudes is relatively balanced attitude in the group of Muslim non-*santri*. However, in the group of *santri* middle-class, the number of respondents who agree to the rights of minority group of religion/belief is greater than those who disagree. These findings strengthen the indication that Indonesian Muslim middle-class, and *santri* middle-class in particular, have more tolerant attitudes toward the differences in the tendency of intolerance which appears strong within the middle-class group.

Conclusion

Santri middle-class is social group that exists between economic and religious indicators. Based on the indicator of the revenue incurred by respondents to meet their consumption in one month, it is known that there were 321 respondents (30.28%) that classified in middle-class category, in which the *santri* middle-class became the part of the group.

Survey results also showed that of 1,060 respondents, there were 145 respondents (13.68%) who meet two criteria as *santri*: (1) adhere to Islam religion and (2) have involved in the religious education at *pesantren*. Based

on the indicator of the revenue incurred for consumption per month, there were 17 respondents of *santri* group that included in middle-class category. This means that there were 11.72% of *santri* middle-class of all *santri* (N = 145), or 5.30% of the entire middle-class (N = 321), or 1.60% of the total respondents (N = 1,060).

Quantitatively, *santri* middle-class group is much little against the population. This means that there are 1,043 respondents (98.40%), besides *santri* middle-class group, spread in other socio-economic and religious groups.

There are nine socio-religious groups in identified overall samples: (1) *santri* lower-class; (2) lower-class of Muslim non-*santri*; (3) lower-class of non-*santri* and non-Muslim; (4) *santri* middle-class; (5) middle-class of Muslim non-*santri*; (6) middle-class of non-*santri* and non-Muslim; (7) *santri* upper-class; (8) upper-class of Muslim non-*santri*; and (9) upper-class of non-*santri* and non-Muslim. The diversity of social groups in the samples is very important to be identified, so the significance level of the role of *santri* middle-class group in democratization process can be tested comparatively.

From the results of associative hypothesis verification, it is proved that all variables X were correlated positively and significantly to variable Y. With this result, the literacy of political and economic information (X1), satisfaction to public services (X2), trust in democratic institutions (X3), access to political resources (X4), ideology (X5), and relative deprivation (X6) are proved to correlate positively and significantly to the role in democratization (Y).

From the results of comparative hypothesis verification, the value X^2 of 1363.44

is obtained. This value is greater than the value X^2 of table at 88 degrees of freedom and significance level of 0.5. With these results, then the null hypothesis which states that there is no significant difference between *santri* middle-class and other class groups is rejected. This means that the alternative hypothesis that states otherwise is received. Conclusion based on the testing results: it is proved that there are significant differences between the role of *santri* middle-class and other sample groups in democratization process.

Although demographically, there are no significant differences between *santri* middle-class and other middle-class, there are significant differences between *santri* middle-class and other middle-class groups in addressing the democracy issues. It is found that *santri* middle-class more active in political participation and more tolerant to the diversity than other middle-class groups and groups of non-middle class.

Bibliography

Abdillah, Masykuri, 2011, *Islam dan Dinamika Sosial Politik di Indonesia*, PT Gramedia, Jakarta.

Abdullah, Taufik (ed.), 1988, *Agama, Etos Kerja dan Perkembangan Ekonomi*, LP3ES, Jakarta.

Abdullah, Taufik & Karim, M. Rusli, 1989, *Metodologi Penelitian Agama: Sebuah Pengantar*, Tiara Wacana, Yogyakarta.

Achidsti, Sayfa Auliya, 2015, *Kiai dan Pembangunan Institusi Sosial*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta.

Ali, Fachry & Effendi, Bahtiar, 1992, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam*

Indonesia Masa Orde Baru, Mizan, Bandung.

Anderson, Benedict, 2008, *Imagined Communities: Komunitasa-komunitas Terbayang*, penerjemah Omi Intan Naomi, INSIST dan Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta.

Barton, Greg, 1999, *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia*, penerjemah Nanang Tahqiq, Paramadina, Jakarta.

Boland, B.J., 1971, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*, The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, Netherlands.

Budiarjo, Mariam, 1998, *Partisipasi dan Partai Politik*, Gramedia, Jakarta.

Dwiningrum, Siti Irene Astuti, 2011, *Desentralisasi dan Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Pendidikan*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta.

Dhofier, Zamakhsyari, 1994, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*, LP3ES, Jakarta.

Effendy, Bahtiar, 2009, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Gagasan dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*, cet. ii, yang diperluas, Paramadina, LSI, dan Prenada Media Group, Jakarta.

Geertz, Clifford, 1976, *The Religion of Java*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.

Hadijaya (ed.), 1999, *Kelas Menengah Bukan Ratu Adil*, Tiara Wacana, Yogyakarta.

Haris, Syamsuddin, 2014, *Masalah-masalah Demokrasi dan Kebangsaan Era Reformasi*, Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, Jakarta.

Ingleson, John, 2015, *Buruh, Serikat, dan Politik: Indonesia pada 1920an – 1930an*, penerjemah Andi Achdian, CV Marjin Kiri, Serpong.

Jones, Tod, 2015, *Kebudayaan dan Kekuasaan di Indonesia: Kebijakan*

- Budaya Selama Abad Ke-20 Hingga Era Reformasi*, penerjemah Edisius Riyadi Terre, Yayasan Obor Indonesia dan KITLV-Jakarta, Jakarta.
- Klandersmans, Bert, 2005, *Protes dalam Kajian Psikologi Sosial*, Penerjemah Helly P. Sutjipto, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta.
- Kuntowijoyo, 1998, *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi*, Mizan, Bandung.
- Madjid, Nurcholish, 1999, *Bilik-bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan*, Paramadina, Jakarta.
- Mas'ood, Mochtar dan MacAndrews, Collin, 1986, *Perbandingan Sistem Politik*, Universitas Gajahmada, Yogyakarta.
- Mujani, Saiful, 2007, *Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca-Orde Baru*, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta.
- Noer, Deliar, 1988, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*, LP3ES, Jakarta.
- Rahardjo, M. Dawam (ed.), 1975, *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan*, LP3ES, Jakarta.
- Sarwono, Sarlito Wirawan, dkk, 2009, *Psikologi Sosial*, Salemba Humanika, Jakarta.
- Singarimbun, Masri & Effendi, Sofian (ed.), 1995, *Metode Penelitian Survei*, LP3ES, Jakarta.
- Sumarni, Murti & Wahyuni, Salamah, 2006, *Metode Penelitian Bisnis*, CV. Andi Offset, Yogyakarta.
- Tanter, Richard & Young, Kenneth, 1993, *Politik Kelas Menengah Indonesia*, penerjemah Nur Imam Subono, LP3ES, Jakarta.
- Wertheim, W.F., 1956, *Indonesian Society in Transition*, Sumur Bandung, Bandung.
- Woodward, Mark R. (ed.), 1998, *Jalan Baru Islam: Memetakan Paradigma Mutakhir Islam Indonesia*, penerjemah Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, Mizan, Bandung.
- Yuswohady, 2015, *Marketing to The Middle Class Muslim*, PT Gramedia, Jakarta.