THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIO-ECONOMICS ON POLITICAL AWARENESS IN THE EFFORT TO INCREASE A NATION'S RESILIENCE
(CASE STUDIES OF FIVE MAJOR CITIES IN INDONESIA)

PENGARUH SOSIAL EKONOMI TERHADAP KESADARAN POLITIK DALAM UPAYA MENINGKATKAN KETAHANAN BANGSA
(STUDI KASUS LIMA KOTA BESAR DI INDONESIA)

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Abstract- The existence of an income gap in political participation is explained in this article using Stylized Facts. This study examines the relationship between income and political consciousness in five major Indonesian cities using population, Growth Domestic Product (GDP), health spending, and education spending. The population effects GDP and the proportion of income allocated to Education and Health. This study examines the correlation analysis and GMM (*Generalized Method of Moment*) as independent variables and democratic and political involvement. In five main cities in Indonesia, income inequality will affect political consciousness. The population affects GDP, which affects the proportion of income allocated to Education and Health. An acceptable allocation of income of income to education and health affects political awareness since it influences an individual's aptitude and capacity to reason about their political perceptions.

Keywords: population, growth domestic product (GDP), health, education, political awareness

Abstrak- Adanya kesenjangan pendapatan dalam partisipasi politik dijelaskan dalam artikel ini dengan menggunakan *Stylized Facts*. Penelitian ini menguji hubungan antara pendapatan dan kesadaran politik di lima kota besar di Indonesia dengan menggunakan data populasi, Produk Domestik Bruto (PDB), belanja kesehatan, dan belanja pendidikan. Jumlah penduduk mempengaruhi PDB dan proporsi pendapatan yang dialokasikan untuk Pendidikan dan Kesehatan. Penelitian ini menguji analisis korelasi dan GMM (*Generalized Method of Moment*) sebagai variabel independen dan keterlibatan demokrasi dan politik. Di lima kota besar di Indonesia, ketimpangan pendapatan akan mempengaruhi kesadaran politik. Jumlah penduduk mempengaruhi PDB, yang mempengaruhi proporsi pendapatan yang dialokasikan untuk Pendidikan dan Kesehatan. Alokasi pendapatan yang dapat diterima untuk Pendidikan dan Kesehatan mempengaruhi kesadaran politik karena hal ini mempengaruhi bakat dan kapasitas individu untuk bernalar tentang persepsi politik mereka.

Kata Kunci: penduduk, pertumbuhan produk domestik (PDB), kesehatan, pendidikan, kesadaran politik

Introduction

The democratization process is one of the reform agendas in Indonesia currently has shown satisfactory results. Democratization is the process of transforming a political government into

a democratic one. Beginning in the mid-twentieth century, the explosive development of democracy in the world altered the international political scene from one in which democracies were the exception to one in which they were the rule. The process of amending the 1945 Constitution was producing a general election system for the President and Vice President who were directly elected by the people, is clear evidence of the democratization process in Indonesia. The quality of decision-making is affected by democracy. Democracy offers a means of resolving disagreements and problems. Citizens' dignity Is come by democracy. Democracy is superior to other kinds of government in that it permits us to fix errors.

Socioeconomic factors play a crucial role in enhancing a nation's resilience. A resilient nation can withstand and recover from various crises such as natural disasters, economic shocks, and political instability.

An agenda that is no less interesting than the subsequent democratization process is the election of regional heads in several regions of Indonesia. In line with efforts to put democratization in its place, this Regional Head Election is also carried out directly by making the people

the basis for determining the victory of a general election. The above shows that society is increasingly understanding the importance of democratic life in Indonesia and Law No. 32 of 2004 and Regulations Government No. 6 of 2005 concerning Election, Ratification Appointment, and Dismissal of Regional Heads and Deputy Heads (Hara, 2001; Honna, 2013).

The regions guarantee the implementation of the democratization process, where the election process is carried out directly by the people, by the people, and for the people. The transition to a more democratic political system, also known as democratization, entails substantive political reforms that move in a democratic direction. With the implementation of the system in this direct election by the people, the election contestants will face with the reality that the community (supporters) is the key to a contestant' emerging as a winner in the competition. It means that the contestants will be increasingly challenged to be able to win, satisfy, and convince voters to vote for themselves in the Democratic party that is being held (Bosher et al., 2009; Carnegie, 2008; Rasyid, 1995). Political awareness is commonly referred to as a modern type

of democracy, democracy as a form or process of a country's political system that aims to actualize the people's sovereignty over the province through government action to create mutual prosperity. Political participation is necessary for balanced socioeconomic progress and human development in today's globalized society (Mujani et al., 2018). According to Alford & Friedland (1975), and Olujobi (2022), a person's political awareness is determined by several factors, the first of which is socioeconomic status (SSE), which includes education, employment, and income levels; people with a higher SSE are more likely to participate in politics. The second aspect is political awareness; is that someone understands political knowledge and how important politics is to them; if someone understands politics and believes it is vital, they will participate in politics. The socio-economic status factor is thought to be a factor that influences a person's degree of engagement. Their socio-political life was restricted during the New Order since it would have an impact on spending in other areas such as Education and Health, both of which promoted a person's ability to understand politics.

Political awareness can boost a country's capacity for resilience, surprisingly when we are selective in the political news we read or receive, are not overly influenced by social media news, can filter incoming culture, love and purchase Indonesian goods, uphold order and security wherever we are, and do not make distinctions based on race, ethnicity, or culture. Having adequate political understanding is also a plus.

Persuasive approaches can analyze the relationship between democracy and income inequality. (Parker, 2001) examines the theoretical relationship between democracy and income equality based on three models: the Democratic Model, The Authoritarian Model, and the Skeptical Model (Gurr, 1991). The first model claims that democracy reduces economic inequality, whereas authoritarian regimes raise it. In essence, the democratic process will transfer political influence away from high-income households and toward lower-income groups, resulting in a fairer allocation of income. On the other hand, an authoritarian dictatorship will implement policies that favor the wealthy minority at the expense of the poor majority (Malini, Islahiyah, et al., n.d.; Mikko Mattila et al., 2017).

The distribution of income changes because of much attention during development (Mikko Mattila et al., 2017; Shield, 2004). The existence of an inverted U curve is theorizing, implying that when development begins, income distribution will be uneven, but by achieving a certain degree of development, income distribution will be more equitable. According to Kuznets, the relationship between income distribution and per capita income is inverted U-shaped. The evolution of income distribution during the transition from a rural to an urban economy will view as this result. As processes result of urbanization and industrialization, income inequality increased at the start of the development process, but inequality decreased as the process progressed. It will quickly widen the revenue disparity between contemporary businesses and traditional farm sectors, before narrowing again after the barrier is crossed (Mannarini et al., 2008; Russell et al., 1972; Stockemer, 2014).

Campbell (2013), Democracy did not affect inequality, nor did it have the opposite effect. To test the relationship between economic disparity and democracy, they used a simultaneous equations model. They characterized inequality as a curvilinear function of economic level based on the premise of an inverted U form. The study's key finding was that there was no substantial relationship between democracy and inequality or between inequality and democracy (Alford & Friedland, 1975; Crain & Deaton, 1977; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013).

Five cities in Indonesia were case studies because they had similar voting preferences, voting patterns, substantial income, and voter representation across of range. The study will examine the influences of socioeconomics on political awareness. Based on finding prior research that focuses on the effects of political choices on political alertness. As a result, studying the influences of socioeconomics on political consciousness will be fascinating.

Methodology

Data

Since the fall of an authoritarian dictatorship in 1998, Indonesia has made substantial democratic accomplishments, establishing significant pluralism in politics and the media and enduring several peaceful power transitions between parties. Systemic corruption, discrimination and violence against

minority groups, separatist tensions in the Papua area, and the politicization of defamation and blasphemy laws are all issues that the country continues to face. The data comes from BPS and The Economist Intelligence Unit, and it covers the years 2019-2020, a period of political transition following the events of 1998.

Table 1. Type of Data and Data Source

Type of Data	Source
Indonesian Democracy Index	BPS, 2019-2020
Indonesian GDP	BPS 2019-2020
Health Spending in Indonesia	The Economist Intelligence Unit
Education Spending in Indonesia	The Economist Intelligence Unit

Source: Author data collection, 2022

Autoregressive Distributed Lag Model (ARDL) Bound Testing Approach

To examine the long-run relationship between the five variable's compliances, this research employs the ARDL bound testing approach to cointegration which involves estimating the conditional error correction version of the ARDL model. The choice of the ARDL approach in this research is forming on the consideration that cointegration analysis is unbiased and efficient given the experience that, firstly, it can apply to a small sample size study and therefore conducting bound testing will be appropriate for the present course. Secondly, it estimates the short and long-run components of the model simultaneously, removing problems associated with omitted variables and autocorrelation. Finally, it can distinguish between a dependent and independent variable.

$$\Delta Dt = \delta 0 + \sum_{i=1}^{p} \varepsilon\, iGDPt\text{-}1 + \sum_{i=1}^{p} \phi i\Delta Ht\text{-}i +$$
$$\sum_{i=1}^{p} \phi i\Delta EDt\text{-}i + \sum_{i=1}^{p} \Upsilon i\Delta PPt\text{-}i +$$

In the above equation, the terms with the summation signs represent the error correction dynamic when the second part (style with λs) corresponds to the long-run relationship. The null of no cointegration in the long run relationship is looked for H0: $\lambda 1 = \lambda 2 = \lambda 3 = \lambda 4 = \lambda 5 = 0$ and is tested against the alternative of H1: $\lambda 1 \neq \lambda 2 \neq \lambda 3 \neq \lambda 4 \neq \lambda 5 \neq 0$, using familiar F-test. However, the asymptotic distribution of this F-statistic is non-standard irrespective of whether the variables are I (0) or I.

Generalized Method of Moments

This research investigates the short and long-run relationship among five variables. It estimates them by GMM estimation when the error correction terms incorporate into the models. The

GMM can use to estimate the model parameters and test the set of moment conditions that arise during a research period. Based on Hung and Cheung's (1995) study on five variables Johansen-Juselius cointegration test, the VECM representation can then be reformulated in a simple matrix form as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \Delta D \\ \Delta GDP \\ \Delta H \\ \Delta ED \\ \Delta PP \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} \delta 1 \\ \delta 2 \\ \delta 3 \\ \delta 4 \\ \delta 5 \end{bmatrix} + \sum_{i=1}^{K} ri \begin{bmatrix} \Delta D \\ \Delta GDP \\ \Delta H \\ \Delta ED \\ \Delta PP \end{bmatrix}_{t-k} + \Pi \begin{bmatrix} D \\ GDP \\ H \\ ED \\ PP \end{bmatrix}_{t-1} + \begin{bmatrix} v1 \\ v2 \\ v3 \\ v4 \\ v5 \end{bmatrix}$$

In this research, the Akaike (1974) information criterion (AIC) is used to determine the lag length incorporation in the entire tests of this research. It is important to note that for the GMM estimator to be identified; there must be at least as many instrumental variables Z as there are parameters Ө. Following Lee *et al* (1997), this study used lags of explanatory variables as the instrumental variables. These variables were opted for use because of the difficulty in finding other instrument variables, as the research utilizes daily data for an extended period. These variables are, however, obvious instruments and in most cases, should be included in the instrumental list. Another important aspect of specifying GMM is the choice of the weighting matrix to yield a consistent and robust estimate.

Result and Discussion

Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung, Medan, and Semarang are Indonesia's five largest cities (Pindarwati & Wijayanto, 2015). Because they house the primary political, financial, and business offices, these five cities may be called metropolitan centers rather than huge provincial towns.

Table 2. Regression Results on Gini Index

Cities	Democracy	Regional GDP Per capita (GDP is measured based on productive age)	Health Spending	Education Spending
Jakarta	-0.2283	304.217	1.2512	4.2594
Surabaya	-0.0035	88.821	0.2238	-0.2885
Bandung	-0.0081	28.248	0.1869	0.6904
Medan	0.0251	38.29	0.3279	2.7519
Semarang	0.0191	26.057	0.2545	0.6453

Source: Author data collection, 2022

The importance of democracy in Indonesia's five big cities varies, as seen by the observations in Table 1. Even though the population's spending on health and education is relatively high, the city of Jakarta has a low democratic

value due to its heterogeneous population dispersion. On the other hand, Surabaya and Bandung have poor democratic ideals despite having high GDP due to inequalities in expenditure and education frameworks. Because of their high GDP statistics, the cities of Medan and Semarang have good democratic values and are given to Education and Health.
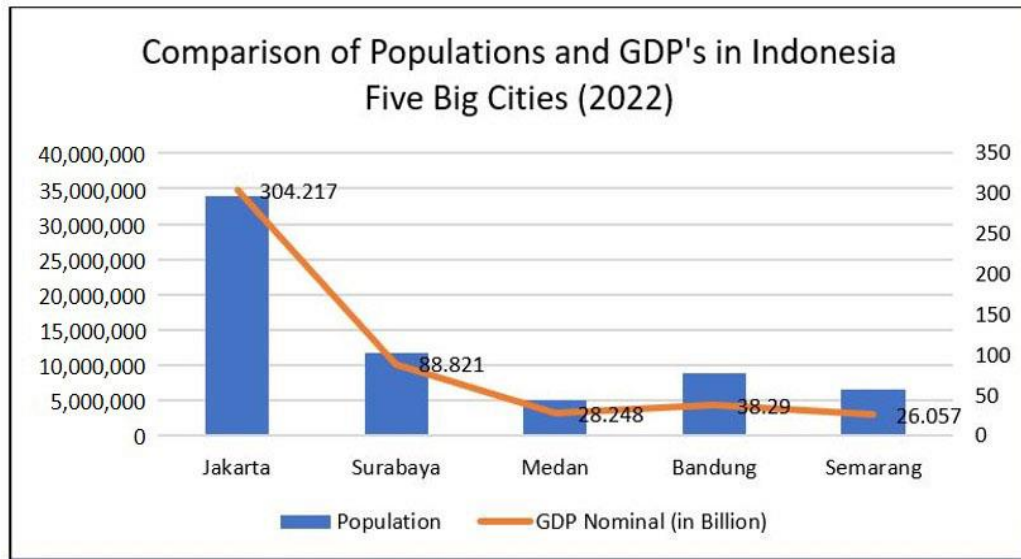

Figure 1. Comparison of Populations and GDP'S in Indonesia Five Big Cities
Source: Author data collection, 2022

The graph above shows a considerable discrepancy in total population and GDP in Indonesia's five greatest cities. Jakarta, with population of 33,898,027, has a totall GDP of 304.217 dollars. Surabaya has a population of 11,800,657 people and a total GDP of 88,821. Medan is a city in Indonesia with a population of 5,106,670 people and a GDP of 28.248. Bandung has a population of 8,790,308 and a total GDP of 38.29, whereas Semarang has a population of 6,608,815 and totally GDP of 26.057. It can be seen from the total population of Indonesia's five largest cities that can be raised the amount of GDP. The cities of Jakarta and Surabaya are examples of this. On the other hand the large population in the other three cities, is not accompanied by an increase in GDP. As a result, it will be fascinating to analyze whether the total poplation and GDP will influence the political choices of Indonesians in the five major cities.

Table 3. Statistics Descriptive on Selected Variable

Jakarta					
Variable	Mean	Median	Maximum	Minimum	Standard Deviation

Variable	Mean	Median	Maximum	Minimum	Standard Deviation
Democracy	0,0191	-0.1814	0.2545	0.6453	0.4085
Regional GDP Per capita	-0,00892203	0.0322269	-0.3082	0.65272	12.9692
Health Spending	-0,0035	-0.2333	0.2238	-0.2885	1.7653
Education Spending	0,0109	-0.1666	0.1696	0.016	1.7085

Surabaya					
Variable	Mean	Median	Maximum	Minimum	Standard Deviation
Democracy	0.0109	-0.1666	0.1696	0.016	1.7085
Regional GDP Per capita	0.0322	-0.1621	0.5692	2.9903	1.3592
Health Spending	-0.0046	-0.2871	0.1239	-2.6359	11.4431
Education Spending	-0.01082	0.01691	0.01286	-0.8530	7.2839

Bandung					
Variable	Mean	Median	Maximum	Minimum	Standard Deviation
Democracy	-0.0046	-0.2871	0.1239	-2.6359	11.4431
Regional GDP Per capita	0.01395	0.01751	0.00986	-0.4229	7.1434
Health Spending	0.01286	0.02260	0.01483	-0.4008	8.4188
Education Spending					

Medan					
Variable	Mean	Median	Maximum	Minimum	Standard Deviation
Democracy	-0.01411	0.01967	0.01931	-0.3603	7.6900
Regional GDP Per capita	0.00986	-0.01522	0.01168	-0.4416	5.8470
Health Spending	0.0163	-0.0931	0.2396	1.0748	2.3908
Education Spending	0.0509	-0.0904	0.2879	1.0064	1.4775

Semarang					
Variable	Mean	Median	Maximum	Minimum	Standard Deviation
Democracy	-0.01604	0.01723	0.01416	-0.2084	6.1468
Regional GDP Per capita	-0.0081	-0.133	0.1869	0.6904	0.3974
Health Spending	0.0109	-0.1666	0.1696	0.016	6.7085
Education Spending	0.0251	-0.0588	0.3279	2.7519	10.188

Source: Author data collection, 2022

The data demonstrate that Jakarta has the biggest GDP per capita, implying that GDP plays a significant role in advancement of democracy, health, and education. According to Mikko Mattila et al (2017), a person can grow and develop well if they are in decent environment in terms of education and health. Having excellent knowledge and perspective will assist someone in managing incoming

information effectively and without haste, notably when making political decisions. Surabaya, Indonesia's second-largest metropolitan city, has a high GDP and a large population. The Health and Education sectors account for the majority of Surabaya's GDP. When Health and Education are evaluated, the standard deviation value for democracy in Surabaya is significantly high, as it will promote a person's assessment process of their political decisions. Voters tell the difference between campaign pledges and long-term projects, allowing Surabaya to be known as a democratically sound city.

Bandung, the third largest population of the five cities, can see that the GDP value is in area of 38.29. The consumption of each resident of Bandung on Health and Education is enormous, even in the same proportion. The attention of the people of Bandung to this excellent health and education will affect the value of democracy in the city of Bandung. The political choice of Bandung residents is positive because of the ability of voters, in this case, the Bandung people, who can distinguish between good and awful among all available political choices. Education

helps the understanding process while well-being provides the ability to process both cognitively and physically (Malini, Seinna, et al., n.d.).

Meanwhile, the city of Medan, with a population of 5,106,670 has a GDP at the level of 28.248. It makes Medan the fifth largest city in Indonesia. The fifth position is because population and GDP do not make Medan's public spending area of Health and Education large. It is due to the perception that education and health are not crucial in proportion to the needs of the people of Medan. The people of Medan use their income to finance their daily lives. Socio-cultural background is different from other urban communities where the standard of living of houses, cars, and clothes is the central choice compared to Health and Education. Because the residents of Medan do not have a strong knowledge of their political prime, the number of democratic votes in Medan is similarly low when compared to other cities.

The final city is Semarang, Indonesia's fourth largest city, with a population of 6,608,815 people and a GDP of $26.057. These findings reveal that the GDP distribution in Semarang demonstrates that the inhabitants of

Semarang value education and health, as evidenced by the broad standard deviation. Because of their extreme political comprehension and participation, the people of Semarang City have a high level of political cooperation due to their concern for education and health.

Political engagement has a brunt on the community's legitimacy regarding the elected candidate pair in an election. Every civilization has its tastes and interests when it comes to voting. The destiny of elected public officials determines by the desires of voters. Furthermore, people's political engagement in elections might have appeared as a form of government control. The level of control offered varies based on each person's political activity. Political engagement is informally related to the realization of citizens' political rights, in addition to being the essence of democracy. The freedom of every citizen to voice their thoughts and gather is a sign of the fulfillment of political rights. "Freedom of association and assembly, expression of opinions verbally and in writing, etc., is regulated by the Constitution," according to Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution.

Table 4. ARDL Correlations among Population, GDP with Political Choice and Democracy

	Population	GDP	Political Choice	Democracy
Jakarta	1.000			
Surabaya	0.430	1.000		
Bandung	0.312	0.341	1.000	
Medan	0.241	0.453	0.031	1.000
Semarang	-0.222	-0.456	0.674	-0.765

Source: Author data collection, 2022

Table 4 reports that during the period of observation, the five biggest cities in Indonesia showed a strong correlation to population, GDP, Political Choice, and democracy as reflected by the strong correlation of coefficients. A strong correlation or the highest value of correlation is recorded between Semarang with Political Choice (0.674), followed by Surabaya and Population (0.430) and Medan with GDP (0.453). The strong correlation between these models suggests that the main factor contributing to political participation is the allocation of income on specific spendings such as health and education.

Jakarta is known as the nation's capital, but political participation and

democracy in Jakarta's population are still low. It is because the allocation of GDP is not a factor that can increase political participation. The dependence between income and political participation to build democracy is still low. Meanwhile, Table 3 shows that in Semarang, political participation shows a low value because the GDP allocation is used for education and health but on the result of the correlation calculation, it affects political participation but not for democracy. Several factors can explain this, namely the existence of other influences outside the population and GDP that affects the city of Semarang such as ethnicity and the level of religiosity (Elias & Malini, n.d.). Political participation and democracy can be interpreted as openness and absorption of new information. Where Education and Health affect acceptance and absorption. Based on the results of correlation calculations, Bandung and Medan are two cities that have a positive representation of the influence of income on political participation and democracy.

Table 5. Generalized Method of Moments (GMM) Analysis

Dependent Variables	Jakarta	Surabaya	Bandung	Medan	Semarang	ECTs stats
ΔDemocracy	-	6.202*** [0.000]	0.543 [0.169]	4.432*** [0.007]	4.985*** [0.001]	-0.948*** (-4.386)
ΔGDP	11.342*** [0.000]	-	1.645** [0.021]	1.984** [0.064]	0.542 [0.0876]	-0.643*** (-3.002)
ΔHealth	0.643 [0.218]	3.654* [0.032]	-	2.532** [0.010]	1.512 [0.414]	-0.598*** (0.203)
ΔEducation	0.543 [0.142]	1.543 [-0.232]	2.121** [0.023]	-	0.765 [0.454]	-0.988*** (1.113)
ΔPolitical Participation	2.432 [0.333]	3.432* [0.001]	2.5346** [0.001]	3.754** [0.000]	-	-0.7543*** (-6.675)

Source: Author data collection, 2022

In selecting variables, the GMM estimation is an appropriate technology because this model distinguishes between short and long-run dynamics linkages among variables. Both of them are important to see the impact of GDP on health, education, and political participation. The result showed that all the Error Correction Terms (ECTs) are significant for the selected variables and reviewed. The ECTs coefficients ranging from 0.59 to 0.98 suggest on average, the selected variables take nearly one and a half weeks to clear any disequilibrium.

Disequilibrium is considered a distraction for stability and clarity as the influence of selected variables toward political participation (Malini, 2021).

Political participation is significantly influenced by GDP, health and education spending. However, in the long term, the result explained that GDP impacts Indonesia's five biggest cities with the sense population and level of democracy. Health, education, and population interdependence brings benefit to awareness and builds a better perception of politics. Sharing similarities in common beliefs principally related to politics was framed through education, health, and population. The significant ECTs imply selected variables that are interrelated with each other in the long run.

Conclusions, Recommendations, and Limitations

Political consciousness is essential to the growth of democracy. This study adds to the growing body of evidence showing political awareness influences people's political involvement in five major Indonesian cities, bolstering the hypothesis that political participation is decisive by political awareness.

Based on the premise of an inverted U shape, they described inequality as a curvilinear function of the economic level. The primary finding was no significant correlation between democracy and inequality or inequality and democracy.

According to research, socioeconomic (income/GDP) factors influence people's political engagement in Indonesia's five largest cities. As a result, this study concludes that the socioeconomic impact on people's political awareness in five major Indonesian cities is real. People with a greater level of education, higher salaries, and white-collar jobs are more likely to vote than those with a lower socioeconomic status. Many aspects of a person's life, including political participation, are influenced by their level of education.

Based on educational degrees, people can establish a mindset in determining their attitudes and decisions, especially in politics. Overall, our findings point to the necessity for more research into the impact of socioeconomic experiences on other Indonesian regions. Furthermore, focusing on specific income segments will aid in mapping political decisions at a later time, so future studies should concentrate on this mapping.

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