

**EMAIL KORESPONDENSI DAN RESPON DAN PERBAIKAN YANG DILAKUKAN**

**Asian Ethnicity**

**Taylor and Francis (Routledge)**

**Judul:**

**The Political Legacies of Transmigration and the Dynamics of Ethnic Politics: a case study  
from Lampung, Indonesia**

28-Aug-2020

Dear Dr Warganegara:

Your manuscript entitled "The Political Legacies of Transmigration and the Dynamics of Ethnic Politics: a case study from Lampung, Indonesia", which you submitted to Asian Ethnicity, has been reviewed. The reviewer comments are included at the bottom of this letter.

In general, the article needs some revisions to strengthen the analysis and to elaborate on some points which we feel might be lost on an audience that is not familiar with Indonesia.

I would like invite you to respond to the reviewer(s)' comments and revise your manuscript.

When you revise your manuscript please highlight the changes you make in the manuscript by using the track changes mode in MS Word or by using bold or coloured text.

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This will direct you to the first page of your revised manuscript. Please enter your responses to the comments made by the reviewer(s) in the space provided. You can use this space to document any changes you made to the original manuscript. Please be as specific as possible in your response to the reviewer(s).

This link will remain active until you have submitted your revised manuscript. If you begin a revision and intend to finish it at a later time, please note that your draft will appear in the "Revised Manuscripts in Draft" queue in your Author Center.

**IMPORTANT:** Your original files are available to you when you upload your revised manuscript. Please delete any redundant files before completing the submission.

Because we are trying to facilitate timely publication of manuscripts submitted to Asian Ethnicity, your revised manuscript should be uploaded by 27-Sep-2020. If it is not possible for you to submit your revision by this date, we may have to consider your paper as a new submission.

Once again, thank you for submitting your manuscript to Asian Ethnicity and I look forward to receiving your revision.

Sincerely,  
JULIE Chen  
Editor, Asian Ethnicity  
[asianethnicity@hotmail.com](mailto:asianethnicity@hotmail.com)

Reviewer(s)' Comments to Author:

It was a pleasure to review this research article. The author presents a well argued case for focusing

on ethnicity in local politics, drawing on some very good interview data with politicians and others in Lampung province, Indonesia. The piece challenges some of the work being done by others that assumes ethnicity is waning as a political force in Indonesia, and opens up discussion about the significance of transmigration (or more specifically, its sedimented history) for the contours of political discourse and voting patterns. There are many questions that this article provokes, and a few that need resolving to strengthen it as a publication. I would urge the author to consider these, and look forward to seeing this work published and available to a wider audience.

1. Contextual background. Some points being made need a bit more information for readers not familiar with Indonesia. Suharto – when was he in power, what was significant about his rule, and in particular, his support for transmigration and its Javanese inflection? (see page 3, line 40) Also, the article discusses transmigration but it may be necessary to elaborate on this programme for a readership that might not be familiar with this programme, and in particular, its specifics in Lampung province. Much of what is politically significant about transmigration pre-dates Suharto (ie Metro was founded under the Dutch, but it is really here that Javanese-ness is so critical in politics). In sum, what might be needed is a better sense of the history of transmigration, its changing relationship with colonial and post-independence centres of governance (state authorities), as a context in which local politics plays out. Similarly, the opening paragraphs note the relationship between ethnic-religious sentiment and decentralization, but non-Indonesianists might need a bit more information on the geography of ethnicity (see final paragraph of page 2). I would advise the author to assume the reader knows nothing about the context – some of this is second nature to Indonesianists but not to a more general readership.

2. The concept of ethnicity. This is well explained in the text, but it would be good to include an explanation of how ‘ethnicity’ is being defined in the quantitative data presented on page 5, paragraph 1. Some of these ethnic categories are quite broad-brush.

3. Transmigration – at times the article glosses over the wider significance of transmigration (although this comes through later in some of the interview quotes) and the reader gets the impression that this is simply a question of the resettlement programme shifting the province’s demographics. It was more than that: transmigration centres like Metro enjoyed huge levels of investment, and similarly, some other sites were built around large scale agricultural operations (plantations, outgrower schemes). The author doesn’t really mention this side of the story, and readers might wonder about this, given the clear link between local politics and the corporate sector in other parts of Indonesia (presumably Lampung also, re corporate agriculture and certain political families). Given the focus on Metro in the article, it would be good to hear a little more about how specific this particular transmigration region really has been, in terms of its history and development, and the sentiments it engenders amongst Javanese elites. There are very different kinds of transmigration political stories elsewhere in the province, and these could be acknowledged to add some nuance to the argument being made.

4. Methodology. Generally this is well explained, but it would be good to have a little more detail about how the data was analysed (what kind of qualitative analysis), and the significance of the timing of the interviews (what kinds of political discourses were prevalent at the time? The article gives the impression that these could change very quickly, and it would be good to know more about this).

5. Findings and discussion. This was really well written, and there is lots that is rich in here. I did feel that a number of quotes were rather left hanging and would benefit from a bit more discussion and interpretation from the author. I would advise checking each quote, rather than leaving the interviewee to ‘speak for themselves’ what point does their quote serve to the overall argument? For example, around page 9, some additional discussion seems important for helping the reader understand why the Javanese elite resumed its dominance, displacing the centrality of Putra Daerah at that time. Did this slippage come at a time when PD was dissipating more generally (nationally?), why was the figure of Satono so powerful (the reader might need some context about his background and rise to power), the timing itself (2005) seems quite important given the resurgence of interest in transmigration (its centenary) – was that a factor in reawakening awareness of the

‘transmigrant as hero’ story? Did this give leverage to Javanese ethnicity in politics? A second example that feels like it needs a bit of explanation (it is glossed slightly) is the on page 10, line 25 regarding Balinese, and here, mention is made of religious differences. This is somewhat absent in the article as a whole, but would seem to be a factor that has enabled (possibly?) some of the coalitions between Lampungese and Javanese candidates/interests, in ways that Balinese or Christian Javanese might not have access to. A bit more interpretation/analysis from this quote would serve this purpose. Finally, the analysis and discussion does not really talk about the political economy underpinning power in Lampung (I mentioned this earlier) and it would be good for this to be explained somehow – is it omitted because it is not part of this story, or because it is explored elsewhere and the focus of the article is on something else? Either way, we need a justification for its omission (business and politics go hand in hand) – or if it is significant, it needs including within the text.

6. Conclusion. The first line of the conclusion should read ‘transmigration’ rather than migration, as this is more about transmigration as a deliberate policy with some specific histories that have shaped the political landscape in Lampung (certainly more than just in a demographic sense). A minor editorial point: the opening sentence is very long – consider rephrasing.

Dear Dr Warganegara:

Your manuscript entitled "The Political Legacies of Transmigration and the Dynamics of Ethnic Politics: a case study from Lampung, Indonesia" has been successfully submitted online and is presently being given full consideration for publication in Asian Ethnicity.

Your manuscript ID is CAET-2020-0062.R1.

Please mention the above manuscript ID in all future correspondence or when calling the office for questions. If there are any changes in your street address or e-mail address, please log in to ScholarOne Manuscripts at <https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/caet> and edit your user information as appropriate.

You can also view the status of your manuscript at any time by checking your Author Center after logging in to <https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/caet>.

Thank you for submitting your manuscript to Asian Ethnicity.

Sincerely,

Asian Ethnicity Editorial Office  
Asian Ethnicity Editorial Office

25-Jan-2021

Dear Dr Warganegara:

Your manuscript entitled "The Political Legacies of Transmigration and the Dynamics of Ethnic Politics: a case study from Lampung, Indonesia", which you submitted to Asian Ethnicity, has been reviewed. The reviewer comments are included at the bottom of this letter.

The literature reviews are quite good but it will benefit from incorporating relevant literature published locally. Some arguments are not exclusive to (East) Lampung, there are other similar cases elsewhere (for example, with the issue of strategic 'pairing' in the pilkada), but you did not engage with those sources. The writing did not explore whether the ethnic relations were largely harmonious (or tense) before the local pilkada were introduced, and what are the effects? Some of the claims were not backed with hard evidence, and this weakens the argument. However, the writing does provide a new insight by looking into the transmigration issues in the local pilkada.

I also include an example of correct style here as your paper currently does not conform to our style.

Overall, we would like to encourage you to revise and resubmit.

When you revise your manuscript please highlight the changes you make in the manuscript by using the track changes mode in MS Word or by using bold or coloured text.

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This link will remain active until you have submitted your revised manuscript. If you begin a revision and intend to finish it at a later time, please note that your draft will appear in the "Revised Manuscripts in Draft" queue in your Author Center.

**IMPORTANT:** Your original files are available to you when you upload your revised manuscript. Please delete any redundant files before completing the submission.

Because we are trying to facilitate timely publication of manuscripts submitted to Asian Ethnicity, your revised manuscript should be uploaded by 08-Feb-2021. If it is not possible for you to submit your revision by this date, we may have to consider your paper as a new submission.

Once again, thank you for submitting your manuscript to Asian Ethnicity and I look forward to receiving your revision.

Sincerely,  
JULIE CHEN  
Editor, Asian Ethnicity  
[asianethnicity@hotmail.com](mailto:asianethnicity@hotmail.com)

Reviewer(s)' Comments to Author:

Reviewer: 1

Comments to the Author

In general, the revised paper is interesting and well-written. The literature reviews are quite good but it will benefit from incorporating relevant literature published locally. Some arguments are not exclusive to (East) Lampung, there are other similar cases elsewhere (for example, with the issue of strategic 'pairing' in the pilkada), but you did not engage with those sources. The writing did not explore whether the ethnic relations were largely harmonious (or tense) before the local pilkada were introduced, and what are the effects? Some of the claims were not backed with hard evidence, and this weakens the argument. However, the writing does provide a new insight by looking into the transmigration issues in the local pilkada.

Some technical suggestions here.

1. The author need to clearly indicate sources of images in the paper. It might be that requesting permission to publish the map is mandatory. Check with publisher and editor.
2. Bibliography style does not match Asian Ethnicity's style.

Reviewer: 2

Comments to the Author

Dear authors,

It is a pleasure to read your article. Below are my observation and suggestions for revisions.

**\*\*General\*\***

The literature reviews are quite good but it will benefit from incorporating relevant literature published locally. Some arguments are not exclusive East Lampung, there are other similar cases elsewhere (for example the strategic 'pairing'), it will be good that they are also be incorporated, perhaps as a comparison. The writing did not explore whether the ethnic relations were largely harmonious (or tense) before the local pilkada were introduced, and what are the effects on the pilkada? There are a few claims that were not backed by hard evidence, and these weaken the argument.

**\*\*Specific\*\***

Page 1 line 37 on 'tendency in the literature to downplay'. While ethnicity does not play a

significant role in many local elections, it has played a decisive role in 'divided' regions in parts of Kalimantan, Sumatera and Sulawesi. These were highlighted in relevant research on those regions.

Page 2 Line 50. There are publications on West Kalimantan local elections (and elsewhere) where the Javanese and Madurese candidates were recruited (or being 'paired') to get the ethnic (migrants) votes. The authors need to engage with these sources, and noted in the writing (at least in the footnotes).

Page 9 line 3. This strategic pairing has been documented elsewhere, perhaps a brief mention here will show that this case in Lampung is a common strategy in the 'divided' regions?

Page 9 line 48 on choosing the leaderships based on ethnicity. Where is the evidence? Suggest to list leaderships structure of a few political parties from the province, district to subdistrict levels?

Page 10 line 3. The issues of ethnicity and ethnic background could be blurry particularly when there have been intermarriages, and in an area with a long history of transmigration. If not clear cut, have the authors cross-check with other sources to ascertain the ethnic background of those leaders?

Page 10 line 26. This claim (prioritising Lampungese candidates) might adversely affect the election results if the population (largely Javanese) is still considering ethnic card when casting their votes - thus, politically not a wise move. Why the local party leader was still doing it? Also, there are no evidence that this was actually the case. One way to prove this is to show the ethnic background of the legislature candidates (not the ones who have won the positions). There are authors who have worked on the ethnic background of the legislative candidates elsewhere when trying to ascertain the ethnic background in nominating legislature candidacy.



Dear Professor Julie,

Many thanks for your email.

We will revise it and upload it to the system before 8th of February 2021. Thanks also for the copy of the journal, it is indeed very useful for us.

Best regards  
Arizka

26-Jan-2021

Dear Dr Arizka Warganegara:

Recently, you received a decision on Manuscript ID CAET-2020-0062.R1, entitled "The Political Legacies of Transmigration and the Dynamics of Ethnic Politics: a case study from Lampung, Indonesia." This email is simply a reminder that your revision is due in two weeks on 08-Feb-2021.

To start the revision, please click on the link below:

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This will direct you to the first page of your revised manuscript in your Author Center. The manuscript and decision letter are located here also.

This link will remain active until you have submitted your revised manuscript. If you have already begun a revision, you can click on the link to continue your revision. Please note that your draft will appear in the "Revised Manuscripts in Draft" queue in your Author Center.

If it is not possible for you to submit your revision by 08-Feb-2021, we will consider your paper as a new submission.

Please contact the Editorial Office if you are unable to submit within this time.

Sincerely,  
Asian Ethnicity Editorial Office  
Asian Ethnicity Editorial Office  
[asianethnicity@hotmail.com](mailto:asianethnicity@hotmail.com)

05-Feb-2021

Dear Dr Warganegara:

Your manuscript entitled "The Political Legacies of Transmigration and the Dynamics of Ethnic Politics: a case study from Lampung, Indonesia" has been successfully submitted online and is presently being given full consideration for publication in Asian Ethnicity.

Your manuscript ID is CAET-2020-0062.R2.

Please mention the above manuscript ID in all future correspondence or when calling the office for questions. If there are any changes in your street address or e-mail address, please log in to ScholarOne Manuscripts at <https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/caet> and edit your user information as appropriate.

You can also view the status of your manuscript at any time by checking your Author Center after logging in to <https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/caet>.

Thank you for submitting your manuscript to Asian Ethnicity.

Sincerely,

Asian Ethnicity Editorial Office  
Asian Ethnicity Editorial Office

Dear Professor Julie and Reviewers

Thank you very much for your kind help in advising us to provide the response sheet to deal with the reviewers' suggestions and comments. We appreciate your time to review and consider our manuscript, and have suggested to make the necessary amendments. If there is anything else we can add and to give a further explanation so that our manuscript can be accepted for publication, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Many thanks,

Arizka Warganegara and Paul Waley

Reviewer	Reviewer comments/suggestions	Response/amendment
General Comment	It was a pleasure to review this research article. The author presents a well argued case for focusing on ethnicity in local politics, drawing on some very good interview data with politicians and others in Lampung province, Indonesia. The piece challenges some of the work being done by others that assumes ethnicity is waning as a political force in Indonesia, and opens up discussion about the significance of transmigration (or more specifically, its sedimented history) for the contours of political discourse and voting patterns. There are many questions that this article provokes, and a few that need resolving to strengthen it as a publication. I would urge the author to consider these, and look forward to seeing this work published and available to a wider audience.	<p>We are glad to receive this overall comments. We are delight that we get a very supportive and favourable comment on our manuscript.</p> <p>In general, we believe that these suggestions will improve the quality of this paper and its potential to be read by a wider audience including the non-Indonesian specialist.</p>
1	Contextual background. Some points being made need a bit more information for readers not familiar with Indonesia. Suharto – when was he in power, what was significant about his rule, and in particular, his support for transmigration and its Javanese inflection? (see page 3, line 40) Also, the article discusses transmigration but it may be necessary to elaborate on this programme for a readership that might not be familiar with this programme, and in particular, its specifics in Lampung province. Much of what is politically significant about	<p>Thanks you for these suggestions. We agree to give a bit more information on the transmigration, the role of Suharto and the political economy of Lampung that focusing on the current political dynamics related to the family politics, business driven vis a vis natural resources politics in Lampung. (Please see paragraph 2 in page 1 and paragraph 2 in page 2)</p> <p><i>While the official government line under Suharto stressed that the transmigration policy was designed to strengthen national unity,</i></p>

	<p>transmigration pre-dates Suharto (ie Metro was founded under the Dutch, but it is really here that Javanese-ness is so critical in politics). In sum, what might be needed is a better sense of the history of transmigration, its changing relationship with colonial and post-independence centres of governance (state authorities), as a context in which local politics plays out. Similarly, the opening paragraphs note the relationship between ethnic-religious sentiment and decentralization, but non-Indonesianists might need a bit more information on the geography of ethnicity (see final paragraph of page 2). I would advise the author to assume the reader knows nothing about the context – some of this is second nature to Indonesianists but not to a more general readership.</p>	<p><i>critics and commentators saw it as a blunt instrument to enhance Javanese dominance of the country.<sup>1</sup></i></p> <p><i>Lampung's politics have been dynamic, and in many senses the narrative of local politics is similar to other parts of the Indonesian archipelago, for example in the role of natural resource politics giving rise to a business-driven political climate and the domination of a particular family in local politics. The Sjahroedin family dominated local politics in Lampung between 2003 and 2014. Business-driven politics continues to influence local politics of Lampung nowadays. Lampung's politics appear to have been moving toward a strong business orientation. Having said that, as a result of the impact of the transmigration programme politics in Lampung remain strongly influenced by ethnic sentiment especially in transmigration affected locations such as our case study locations, East Lampung and Metro.</i></p>
2	<p>The concept of ethnicity. This is well explained in the text, but it would be good to include an explanation of how 'ethnicity' is being defined in the quantitative data presented on page 5, paragraph 1. Some of these ethnic categories are quite broad-brush.</p>	<p>Thanks you for these suggestions. We agree to give a further detail on how ethnicity is defined in this study. We have added a paragraph to explain ethnic definition in this study as stated below (please see paragraph 1 in page 3)</p> <p><i>We preface our discussion of the ways in which ethnicity and more specifically ethnic politics have been treated in the literature with a brief reference to our interpretation of the term ethnicity itself. In the context of Indonesia, we support the position that ethnicity is a socially ubiquitous category, as described by Goebel.<sup>2</sup> This enables us to argue that ethnicity is related to culture and language: it is defined by analysing the language spoken, customs and habits associated with a particular ethnic group. Further, we have used government data as provided in the official ethnic population survey by the Indonesian Government in 2010. According to this survey, which is conducted every 10 years by the Indonesian Government, ethnicity is simply defined based on patrilinealism and self-identification at the time the survey is conducted<sup>3</sup>. In this sense, most respondents provide an ethnic</i></p>

		<p><i>identification that tallies with their father's ethnic group (patrilinealism). If a child is born to parents of mixed ethnicity -- a Javanese father and a Lampungese mother, for example – she or he will almost certainly identify him or herself as Javanese in the national ethnic survey. It is precisely the ossification that results from the state's definition of ethnicity that has given rise to what we argue is the continuing relevance of ethnic politics.</i></p>
3	<p>Transmigration – at times the article glosses over the wider significance of transmigration (although this comes through later in some of the interview quotes) and the reader gets the impression that this is simply a question of the resettlement programme shifting the province's demographics. It was more than that: transmigration centres like Metro enjoyed huge levels of investment, and similarly, some other sites were built around large scale agricultural operations (plantations, outgrower schemes). The author doesn't really mention this side of the story, and readers might wonder about this, given the clear link between local politics and the corporate sector in other parts of Indonesia (presumably Lampung also, re corporate agriculture and certain political families). Given the focus on Metro in the article, it would be good to hear a little more about how specific this particular transmigration region really has been, in terms of its history and development, and the sentiments it engenders amongst Javanese elites. There are very different kinds of transmigration political stories elsewhere in the province, and these could be acknowledged to add some nuance to the argument being made.</p>	<p>We agree to give a further explanation on this suggestion particularly about the connection between the local politics and the corporate sector (please see again paragraph 2 page 2).</p> <p><i>Lampung's politics have been dynamic, and in many senses the narrative of local politics is similar to other parts of the Indonesian archipelago, for example in the role of natural resource politics giving rise to a business-driven political climate and the domination of a particular family in local politics. The Sjahroedin family dominated local politics in Lampung between 2003 and 2014. Business-driven politics continues to influence local politics of Lampung nowadays. Lampung's politics appear to have been moving toward a strong business orientation. Having said that, as a result of the impact of the transmigration programme politics in Lampung remain strongly influenced by ethnic sentiment especially in transmigration affected locations such as our case study locations, East Lampung and Metro.</i></p> <p>Further, we also give an explanation on how the transmigration has influenced the development of the particular area, and we agree with the suggestion that transmigration is not only impact on demographic shifting but also another aspect within particular region (please see paragraph 3 and 4 in page 5).</p> <p><i>The prolonged transmigration programme has resulted in some minor but not insignificant differences in transmigration-affected locations in Lampung. For instance, Metro has better resources compared to East</i></p>

		<p><i>Lampung; Javanese transmigrants in Metro are better off economically than those in East Lampung. East Lampung is predominantly rural, with more people working in the agricultural sector and as labour in plantations.</i></p> <p><i>There is no in-depth Indonesia-wide research on the correlation between transmigration and the poverty rate. However, this also indicates that the different handling of the transmigration programme resulted in a different characteristic upon a particular transmigration-affected location. Metro was well prepared and established by the Dutch colonial administration as the central location of the transmigration programme, As a result, the city is more developed than East Lampung, the poverty of this city has a lower index than in East Lampung where the rate is 8.68% for Metro, and it is 15.24% for East Lampung in 2019.<sup>4</sup> This disparity is reflected in the Human Development Index, which stands at 75.10 for Metro, and 67.10 for East Lampung in 2015.<sup>5</sup></i></p>
4.	<p>Methodology. Generally this is well explained, but it would be good to have a little more detail about how the data was analysed (what kind of qualitative analysis), and the significance of the timing of the interviews (what kinds of political discourses were prevalent at the time? The article gives the impression that these could change very quickly, and it would be good to know more about this).</p>	<p>Thank for this suggestion. We agree to give a further explanation on how we have analysed the data (Please see paragraph 1 in page 6)</p> <p><i>The interviews themselves were mostly conducted from October 2015 to March 2016. The data that came out of the interviews was analysed thematically, although the disparities between the interviewees led to some unevenness in the application of the themes.</i></p>
5.	<p>Findings and discussion. This was really well written, and there is lots that is rich in here. I did feel that a number of quotes were rather left hanging and would benefit from a bit more discussion and interpretation from the author. I would advise checking each quote, rather than leaving the interviewee to ‘speak for themselves’ what point does their quote serve to the overall argument? For example, around page 9, some additional discussion seems important for helping the reader understand why the Javanese elite resumed its dominance, displacing the</p>	<p>This is surely a good points, especially on Lampung’s political economy on religious differences, this is probably an issue for a different paper, but we agree to give a further explanation on some issue related to political economy which has also been addressed in the previous section.</p> <p>Further, we also provide a further explanation on the story about how Javanese have been able to resume the power in 2005 and how Satono be a symbol of Javanese domination within East Lampung regency.</p>

<p>centrality of Putra Daerah at that time. Did this slippage come at a time when PD was dissipating more generally (nationally?), why was the figure of Satono so powerful (the reader might need some context about his background and rise to power), the timing itself (2005) seems quite important given the resurgence of interest in transmigration (its centenary) – was that a factor in reawakening awareness of the ‘transmigrant as hero’ story? Did this give leverage to Javanese ethnicity in politics? A second example that feels like it needs a bit of explanation (it is glossed slightly) is the on page 10, line 25 regarding Balinese, and here, mention is made of religious differences. This is somewhat absent in the article as a whole, but would seem to be a factor that has enabled (possibly?) some of the coalitions between Lampungese and Javanese candidates/interests, in ways that Balinese or Christian Javanese might not have access to. A bit more interpretation/analysis from this quote would serve this purpose. Finally, the analysis and discussion does not really talk about the political economy underpinning power in Lampung (I mentioned this earlier) and it would be good for this to be explained somehow – is it omitted because it is not part of this story, or because it is explored elsewhere and the focus of the article is on something else? Either way, we need a justification for its omission (business and politics go hand in hand) – or if it is significant, it needs including within the text.</p>	<p>We have added some more explanation on it (please see paragraph 3 in page 9).</p> <p><i>Satono, a member of the Javanese elite, was a symbol of the political resistance of Javanese transmigrants against the political rights granted to Putra Daerah in the early years of political reform between 2000 and 2005. However, the changing mode of election from election through the local assembly to a direct system of election -- a one-person one-vote sytem -- created the political domination of Javanese transmigrants over the local politics of East Lampung. Three consecutive elections to the post of head of regency, in 2005, 2010 and 2015, have provided evidence of the political domination of Javanese transmigrants in this regency. The direct election system has also resulted in a diminishing role for the Putra Daerah (in this case, ethnic Lampungese) in local politics particularly in the transmigration affected location. A senior politician and campaign manager expressed the situation thus:</i></p> <p><i>This was a consequence and a blowback response to the Putra Daerah policy [of the early 2000s]. The rise in Javanese sentiment brought polasitical advantages for Satono. He received massive support from many Javanese groups such as [the transmigrant descendant organisation] PATRI. The campaign tagline was also clear at that time: Javanese must vote for the Javanese candidate.<sup>6</sup></i></p> <p><i>This victory by a member of the Javanese elite represented a comeback for Javanese in local politics and in the bureaucracy – a return, albeit under different circumstances, to the situation in the Suharto era, when the majority of local bureaucrats and politicians were Javanese.</i></p> <p>Further, on the religious difference, we have also added a paragraph at the end of the section on Strategies of the Lampungese elite: political coalitions with the Javanese. We think that this additional paragraph is</p>
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		<p>enough to answer the reviewer's suggestion (please see paragraph 5 in page 10)</p> <p><i>This comment reflects the reality of grassroots political dynamics in Indonesia where religious adherence sometimes becomes tangled with ethnic identity in ways that require discussion that is beyond the scope of this paper. We should note in passing, however, that the mode of election through a one-person one-vote system never provides an advantage for minority groups whether of an ethnic or religious nature, or indeed a combination<sup>7</sup>.</i></p>
6	<p>Conclusion. The first line of the conclusion should read 'transmigration' rather than migration, as this is more about transmigration as a deliberate policy with some specific histories that have shaped the political landscape in Lampung (certainly more than just in a demographic sense).</p>	<p>We agree to change the term of migration into transmigration (please see paragraph 1 in page 14)</p> <p><i>Our focus in this paper has remained on the impact of transmigration on voting practices in local elections as evidence of the continuing role played by ethnicity in Indonesia's local politics</i></p>
	<p>A minor editorial point: the opening sentence is very long – consider rephrasing.</p>	<p>Thanks for these suggestion. We are really sorry that we think that it is not really necessary to shorter the opening sentence. We believe that some suggested points need to be in this section (please see again in point 1)</p>

## ***Second round revision***

Dear Professor Julie and Reviewers

Thank you very much for your kind help in advising us to provide the response sheet to deal with the reviewers' suggestions and comments. We appreciate your time to review and consider our manuscript, and have suggested to make the necessary amendments prior to the publication. We also note that the manuscripts is a few hundred words over limit, we are really hope that the editor will allow us to have more words for a substantial reason.

Many thanks,

Arizka Warganegara and Paul Waley

<b>Reviewer</b>	<b>Reviewer comments/suggestions</b>	<b>Response/amendment</b>
General Comment	The literature reviews are quite good but it will benefit from incorporating relevant literature published locally. Some arguments are not exclusive to (East) Lampung, there are other similar cases elsewhere (for example, with the issue of strategic 'pairing' in the Pilkada), but you did not engage with those sources. The writing did not explore whether the ethnic relations were largely harmonious (or tense) before the local Pilkada were introduced, and what are the effects? Some of the claims were not backed with hard evidence, and this weakens the argument. However, the writing does provide a new insight by looking into the transmigration issues in the local Pilkada.	We are glad to receive these overall comments, which we see as both supportive and helpful to improve the quality of this paper prior to publication.  Please see our specific responses below.
1	Page 1 line 37 on 'tendency in the literature to downplay'. While ethnicity does not play a significant role in many local elections, it has played a decisive role in 'divided' regions in parts of Kalimantan, Sumatera and Sulawesi. These were highlighted in relevant research on those regions.	Thank you very much for this comment. We have not wanted to suggest that ethnicity does not exist as an issue in other parts of Indonesia; we are well aware that it does indeed exist, for example in parts of Kalimantan and Sulawesi. However, we argue here that relations between Lampungese and transmigrants are different because of the powerful role played by transmigrants in local politics and their overwhelming share of the population. This represents a contrast to, for example, Kalimantan, where migrants are a minority (Please see paragraph 1 on page 1; this argument also relates to comment number 4; please also see paragraph 1 on page 8).

		<p><i>This is not to deny that ethnic sentiment plays a role in some parts of Indonesia, especially in divided regions such as in Kalimantan and Sulawesi. However, the legacy of transmigration in Lampung has resulted in a different narrative compared to other parts of Indonesia. Most notably in specific parts of Lampung where they form an overwhelming majority, transmigrant descendants have become particularly powerful in local politics.</i></p>
2	The writing did not explore whether the ethnic relations were largely harmonious (or tense) before the local pilkada were introduced, and what are the effects?	<p>Thank you very much for this comment. We have responded by adding some more information in paragraph 2 on page 2 and 3.</p> <p><i>Before the implementation of local elections in 2005, ethnic relations between Lampungese and transmigrants and their descendants had been relatively harmonious, with only very occasional minor ethnic conflicts. Indeed, according to a World Bank report published in 2004, Lampung is “not typically associated with identity based conflict”.<sup>8</sup></i></p>
3	The literature reviews are quite good but it will benefit from incorporating relevant literature published locally	<p>Sure, we do believe that this is a good suggestion. But please note that we have already cited some locally published literature such as papers written by Kristianus, Tirtosudarmo and Sjaf, either in the literature review or discussion sections.</p>
4.	Page 2 Line 50. There are publications on West Kalimantan local elections (and elsewhere) where the Javanese and Madurese candidates were recruited (or being 'paired') to get the ethnic (migrants) votes. The authors need to engage with these sources, and noted in the writing (at least in the footnotes)	<p>Thanks for this suggestion. We have added some sentences to provide a further explanation on this context. Please see paragraph 1 on page 8.</p> <p><i>In West Kalimantan, for example, where political competition mostly occurs between the largest and second-largest ethnic groups, no one ethnic group is able to form a majority in local government. As a result, minority migrant groups, mainly Maduranese and Bugis, act as a complementary political power to native ethnic groups.<sup>9</sup></i></p>
5.	Map sources	<p>Thanks very much for the suggestion. Please see page 12</p>

		<p>The map is provided by Badan Information Geospacial (Indonesian Geospacial Board). It is open source, and we have redrawn it using GIS. It should therefore be fine.</p>
6	<p>Page 9 line 3. This strategic pairing has been documented elsewhere, perhaps a brief mention here will show that this case in Lampung is a common strategy in the 'divided' regions?</p> <p>Some arguments are not exclusive to (East) Lampung, there are other similar cases elsewhere (for example, with the issue of strategic 'pairing' in the pilkada), but you did not engage with those sources</p>	<p>Thanks for these comments. As we have argued in our paper, the case of Lampung is so different. This is not solely about ethnic pairing, which is also applicable in some other parts of Indonesia. The case of East Lampung shows that ethnicity and its context in the history of transmigrant descendants creates a mode of identity that amplifies the dynamics of local politics. Please see paragraph 2 on page 15.</p> <p><i>Indeed, the use of ethnic coalitions is a common strategy in some regions such as West Kalimantan.<sup>10</sup> However, Lampung is different as these coalitions are formed not only on the basis of ethnicity but also of a candidate's transmigrant origins.</i></p>
	<p>Page 9 line 48 on choosing the leaderships based on ethnicity. Where is the evidence? Suggest to list leaderships structure of a few political parties from the province, district to subdistrict levels?</p>	<p>Thanks for this suggestion. We think that the result of the interview with the campaign manager who is also Javanese has provided proper evidence that relates directly to the comment raised by the reviewer. Please see paragraph 1 on page 17.</p> <p><i>“You can see that almost all of the local political party leaders are Lampungese here... This is a strategy by Lampungese to retain their power; they can get it as a consequence of the exclusive political rights of Putra Daerah in local politics”.<sup>11</sup></i></p> <p>In order to strengthen the argument, we have also added information on the ethnicity of leaders of Lampung's political parties as suggested by the reviewer. Please see Table 2 on page 17.</p>
	<p>Page 10 line 3. The issues of ethnicity and ethnic background could be blurry particularly when there have been intermarriages, and in an area with a long history of</p>	<p>Thank you for the suggestion. We think it is common in Indonesia that a person's ethnicity is widely known especially when they are a public figure. This is not typically just a personal matter.</p>

	<p>transmigration. If not clear cut, have the authors cross-check with other sources to ascertain the ethnic background of those leaders?</p>	<p>Regarding the question of whether ethnic background can be blurry, we would distinguish here between how this question might play itself out for many people and how ethnicity is categorised by the government in ethnic population surveys, in which ethnicity is categorised based on either patrilinealism or self-identification. Furthermore, we have explained this in the previous section (see paragraph 2 on page 4),</p> <p><i>Further, we have used government data as provided in the official ethnic population survey by the Indonesian Government in 2010. According to this survey, which is conducted every ten years by the Indonesian Government, ethnicity is simply defined based on patrilinealism and self-identification at the time the survey is conducted.<sup>12</sup> In this sense, most respondents provide an ethnic identification that tallies with their father's ethnic group (patrilinealism). If a child is born to parents of mixed ethnicity -- a Javanese father and a Lampungese mother, for example -- she or he will almost certainly identify him or herself as Javanese in the national ethnic survey.</i></p>
	<p>Page 10 line 26. This claim (prioritising Lampungese candidates) might adversely affect the election results if the population (largely Javanese) is still considering ethnic card when casting their votes - thus, politically not a wise move. Why the local party leader was still doing it? Also, there are no evidence that this was actually the case. One way to prove this is to show the ethnic background of the legislature candidates (not the ones who have won the positions). There are authors who have worked on the ethnic background of the legislative candidates elsewhere when trying to ascertain the ethnic background in nominating legislature candidacy.</p>	<p>Thanks for these suggestions. We have added some more argument explaining how the minority Lampungese are able to obtain a majority of seats in the regency assembly in East Lampung. Please see paragraph 1 on page 18. We hope you will find our points convincing.</p> <p><i>There are two possible reasons why the minority Lampungese were able to gain a bigger share of seats in the regency assembly. Firstly, as Lampungese politicians have dominated the position of local political party leader in East Lampung, they have been able to prioritise Lampungese candidates in local assembly elections. Technically, political party leaders have tended to put the favoured candidates in positions lower down the ballot list because "voters will be more likely to choose candidates with low list positions regardless of whether or</i></p>

		<i>not they are incumbents”.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, it is probable that ethnicity is a lesser factor in legislative elections than it is in elections for executive positions. As a result, even though the Lampungese are a minority ethnic group, they still have a chance to be elected and win seats in the regency assembly.</i>
	References style	<p>Thanks very much for this suggestion</p> <p>We have changed the referencing style to the Chicago Style 16<sup>th</sup> edition.</p>

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- <sup>1</sup> Elmhirst, "Space, identity politics and resource control in Indonesia's transmigration programme"; Levang, "*Ayo ke Tanah Sabrang: Transmigrasi di Indonesia.*"
- <sup>2</sup> Goebel, "The idea of ethnicity in Indonesia."
- <sup>3</sup> Ananta et al., "Demography of Indonesia's ethnicity"; Central Statistical Bureau of Indonesia, "Penduduk Provinsi Lampung hasil Sensus Penduduk 2010"
- <sup>4</sup> Central Statistical Bureau of Indonesia, "Persentase Penduduk Miskin Menurut Kabupaten/Kota 2005-2019."
- <sup>5</sup> Central Statistical Bureau of Indonesia, "Indeks Komponen IPM (Indeks Pembangunan Manusia) Kota Metro Tahun 2010-2016"; Central Statistical Bureau of Indonesia, "Tabel Indeks Pembangunan Manusia."
- <sup>6</sup> Interview with a politician and campaign manager, 22 October 2015.
- <sup>7</sup> Horowitz, "Ethnic power sharing: Three big problems."
- <sup>8</sup> Tajima, "Mobilizing for Violence: The Escalation and Limitation of Identity Conflicts (the Case of Lampung, Indonesia)", 3
- <sup>9</sup> Peluso and Harwell, "Territory, custom, and the cultural politics of ethnic war in West Kalimantan, Indonesia"; Tanasaldy, "Regime change and ethnic politics in Indonesia: Dayak politics of West Kalimantan"; Kristianus, "Politik dan Strategi Budaya Etnik dalam Pilkada Serentak di Kalimantan Barat."; Tanasaldy, "Ethnic identity politics in West Kalimantan."
- <sup>10</sup> See above 13
- <sup>11</sup> See above 51.
- <sup>12</sup> Ananta et al., "Demography of Indonesia's ethnicity"; Central Statistical Bureau of Indonesia, "Penduduk Provinsi Lampung hasil Sensus Penduduk 2010"
- <sup>13</sup> Dettman et.al. "Incumbency advantage and candidate characteristics in open-list proportional representation systems: Evidence from Indonesia", 114.