

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>List of Tables</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xv
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Puzzle	1
1.2 Argument	4
1.3 Contribution	10
1.4 Method	13
1.5 Structure of the Book	15
2 Explaining Democratic Survival in Indonesia	19
2.1 An Unlikely Democracy	19
2.2 Ordinary People and Democracy: An Analytical Framework	23
2.2.1 Evaluating Democratic Performance	24
2.2.2 Representation, Participation and Legitimacy	27
2.2.3 Representation, Polarization and Populism	31
2.3 Representation and Participation in Indonesian Politics	33
2.3.1 An Ideological Cleavage about Islam	33
2.3.2 Formal and Informal Participation	37
2.4 Conclusion	42
3 The Ideological Roots of Electoral Politics	43
3.1 A Clientelistic Democracy?	43
3.2 District-Level Analysis	45
3.2.1 Data and Measures	47
3.2.2 Electoral Geography	50
3.3 Examining Macro-Level Electoral Patterns	54
3.3.1 Dealignment or a Resurgence of Ideology?	55

3.3.2	Regional Variation and Clientelism	63
3.3.3	Resurgent Islamism and Electoral Participation	67
3.4	Conclusion	72
4	Political Elites and Ideological Competition	73
4.1	Ideological Competition in Young Democracies	73
4.2	Surveying Elites	75
4.2.1	Indonesia's Political Elites at a Glance	77
4.3	Policy Attitudes of Indonesian Politicians	79
4.3.1	Measuring Political Islam	79
4.3.2	The Economic Dimension	83
4.4	Islam and Other Attitudes	86
4.4.1	Anti-Chinese Prejudice	86
4.4.2	Democracy	89
4.5	Political Parties	93
4.5.1	How Much Do Political Parties Differ from Each Other?	93
4.5.2	Party Positions	96
4.6	Conclusion	103
5	Public Opinion on Political Islam	104
5.1	Studying Political Islam in Mass Attitudes	104
5.2	A Deep-Rooted Cleavage	107
5.2.1	A Profile of Political Islam in Indonesia	107
5.2.2	Political Participation	110
5.2.3	Party Choice	113
5.3	Islam and National Identity	117
5.3.1	Political Islam and the Structure of Indonesian National Identity	118
5.4	Political Islam and Political Preferences	122
5.4.1	Democracy	122
5.4.2	Populism	124
5.4.3	Economic Issues	128
5.4.4	Decentralization	132
5.5	Conclusion	134
6	Ideological Representation	135
6.1	Studying Substantive Representation	135
6.2	Ideological Congruence in Indonesia	137
6.2.1	Political Islam	138
6.2.2	Economic Issues	140
6.2.3	Inequalities of Representation	142
6.3	Political Parties and Representation	146
6.3.1	Party–Voter Ideological Linkages	146
6.3.2	Variation in Representation across Parties	150
6.3.3	Ideological Linkages and Clientelism	153

<i>Contents</i>	<i>ix</i>
6.4 Ideological Representation and Partisanship: An Experiment	154
6.4.1 Experimental Design	155
6.4.2 Data	157
6.4.3 The Effect of Elite Cues on Preferences Regarding Political Islam	159
6.5 Conclusion	163
7 Meaning and Evaluation of Democracy	165
7.1 Democratic Attitudes in Indonesia	165
7.1.1 The Meaning of Democracy: Measures and Data	169
7.1.2 The Structure of Public Conceptions of Democracy	174
7.2 Political Islam and Conceptions of Democracy	176
7.3 The Meaning of Democracy and Evaluations of Democratic Performance	181
7.4 Conclusion	185
8 Conclusions	187
8.1 A Resilient Democracy	187
8.2 Indonesia: A Democracy in Decline?	190
8.2.1 Representation and Participation	191
8.2.2 Accountability	195
8.3 Practical Implications	199
<i>References</i>	203
<i>Index</i>	219