

Index

```
abangan · 63
                                               corruption · 3, 5, 8, 20, 22, 38, 64, 86, 129,
accountability · 6, 12, 20, 26, 28, 30, 134,
                                                    188, 192
     195-199
                                               Crescent Star Party · See PBB
                                               crime and security · 3, 5, 19, 25, 27, 129,
Aceh · 19, 52-53, 109, 132
Africa · 169
Ahok · 87
                                               critical democrats · 5
                                               cultural backlash · 189
anti-Sinicism · 86-89, 121
Asian Financial Crisis · 19, 187-188
Aspinall, Edward · 188
                                               Darul Islam · 132
                                               dealignment · 35, 44, 46, 55
backsliding · See democratic backsliding
                                                  and electoral results · 71
Bali · 34, 49-54, 63-64, 69-70
                                                  uneven development · 57-59
                                               decentralization · 132-134, 156
Benda, Harry · 19
Bermeo, Nancy · 24
                                                  public support · 132-134
                                               democracy
catch-all parties · 61
                                                  and social norms · 4, 23
centrism (measure of ideological
                                                  backsliding · See democratic backsliding
    congruence) · 150
                                                  durability · See democratic durability
                                                  erosion · See democratic backsliding
Chinese Indonesians · 86-89
civil freedoms · 3, 166
                                                  positive record in Indonesia · 20, 199
  restrictions to · 194
                                                  role of ordinary citizens · 23-24, 188,
civil Islam · 195
                                                    190-191
civil society · 39, 68, 82, 188, 194-195
                                                  satisfaction with · See satisfaction with
clientelism · 11, 20, 33, 38, 44, 153-154,
                                                    democracy
     188, 195, 197
                                                  support for \cdot See support for democracy
  and ideological representation · 153-154,
                                                  understanding · See understanding of
                                                    democracy
  incidence in Indonesia · 153
                                               democratic backsliding · 1, 3, 11-12, 20-23,
colonialism · 34, 37-38, 86-87, 124, 132
                                                    189-191
conception of democracy · See
                                                  and participation · 182
    understanding of democracy
                                                  and public opinion · 3, 12, 24, 190-191
congruence · See ideological congruence;
                                                  and social cleavages · 191
    representation, substantive
                                                  and social norms · 4
```



220 Index

```
democratic backsliding · (cont.)
                                               ethnonationalism · 117, 119, 179
  and understanding of democracy · 12, 24
                                               Europe · 29, 32-33, 46, 169
  and voting behavior \cdot 3, 12, 24
                                               executive aggrandizement · 21, 191
  perceptions · 3, 12
                                               experiment · See survey experiment
democratic durability · 10, 20, 27, 187-190
  and historical legacies · 189
                                               factor analysis · 97, 118, 175
democratic legitimacy · See legitimacy
                                               Feith, Herbert · 19
Democratic Party · See PD
                                               fiscal redistribution · See economic
                                                    redistribution
democratic performance · See government
    performance
democratic transition · See democratization
                                               Geertz, Clifford · 63
democratization · 1, 20, 23, 35, 78, 187
                                               gender differences
Demokrat · See PD
                                                  in descriptive representation · 77
districts, administrative · 47
                                                  in political ideology · 108
districts, electoral · 47
                                               Gerindra · 61-62, 114, 116, 148, 157, 159
                                               Golkar · 61, 77, 94, 114, 116, 148, 189
East Asia · 169
                                               government performance · 2, 128, 196
East Timor · 19
                                                  and satisfaction with democracy · 3, 5, 22
Eastern Europe · 46
                                                  and support for democracy · 5
                                                  in Indonesia · 3, 22
Eastern Indonesia · 51-52
Easton, David · 5, 25
                                                  inputs versus outputs · 6, 22, 27
economic growth · 3, 5, 8, 22, 27, 86, 101,
                                               Guided Democracy · 38, 93
     104, 128-129, 142, 196
                                               Habibie, B. J. · 20
economic redistribution \cdot 74, 83–84, 97, 99,
     101, 130, 140, 142, 149, 180, 192, 201
                                               Hanura · 94, 102, 116
  and meaning of left and right · 99
                                               Hatta, Mohammad · 34, 87
  and understanding of democracy · 180
education · 23, 176, 187
                                               identity politics · 200
  and inequalities in representation ·
                                               ideological competition · 9, 16, 30, 44-45,
                                                    73-75, 93-102, 138-163, 180, 189,
     144-145
  and participation · 41, 110, 145
                                                    193, 197
                                                  and polarization · 198
  and partisanship · 59
  and political Islam · 77, 110
                                               ideological congruence, · See also
  and political knowledge · 112
                                                    representation, substantive
                                                  and clientelism · 153-154
  and representation · 139
  and understanding of democracy · 173, 179
                                                  and political party features · 150-152
elections of 1955 · 40, 45, 50
                                                  conceptualization · 136
elections of 1999 · 35, 54-55, 57
                                                  economic issues · 142, 146, 149
electoral geography \cdot 45, 50-54
                                                  inequalities in · 142-146
                                                  measurement · 136–137
electoral intimidation · 41
electoral reform of 2009 35, 59
                                                  political Islam · 138-140, 142,
electoral turnout · See participation, formal
                                                     146-149
elite · See political elite
                                                  political parties · 146-154
elite survey · 75-77
                                                  variation across parties · 150-152
ethnic violence · 19, 87, 187
                                               ideological differentiation · See ideological
ethnocentrism · 86-89, 119, 121
                                                    competition
ethnolinguistic fractionalization
                                               ideological representation · See ideological
  and clientelism · 65
                                                    congruence; representation,
  and partisanship · 65-66
                                                    substantive
  and political behavior · 64
                                               ideology-based voting · 197 see also voting
  subnational variation · 64
                                                    behavior, and ideology
```



Index 221

left and right · 73-74, 97, 137 income · 77 and inequalities in representation • 144-145 left and right, meaning and political Islam · 110 in Indonesia · 98-99 and representation · 139 in new democracies · 74 income distribution · 91, 144 in Western democracies · 73-74 Indonesian Communist Party · See PKI legitimacy · 3-5, 26-27, 37, 42, 184, 189, Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle · See 192, 194-196, 200, See also PDI-P satisfaction with democracy Indonesian National Revolution · 19, 38, 46 LGBT rights · 21, 39 Indonesian Nationalist Party · See PNI Liberal Democracy · 19, 34, 38, 40, 46 liberal values · 2, 19, 23, 25, 91, 123, 167 inequality · 3, 39, 49, 74, 77, 91, 113, 129, trade-off with representation, 142-146, 180, 191, 201 infrastructure · 27, 129, 175 participation and accountability · 199, institutional performance · See government 201 performance Liddle, William R., 5, 104 interest in politics · See political interest Islamic bylaws · See perda agama mass organizations · 38, 82 Islamic populism · See populism, and Masyumi · 35, 38, 48, 50, 55-60, 63, 66, political Islam Islamic world · 105, 108 subnational variation in support · 52 Islamism · 4, 34, 37–39, 48, 55–60, 81, 105, meaning of democracy · See understanding 107, 116, 200, See also political Islam of democracy and economic redistribution · 201 Megawati · 35 marginalization of · 12, 53, 91, 93, 104, methodology · 13-15, 44-50, 75-77, 113, 133, 167, 194, 200 79-81, 97-98, 105-130, 136-137, repression of · 193, 197 168-170 Islamist resurgence · 4, 21, 39, 41, 44, Mietzner, Marcus · 11 67-72, 105, 167, 189-190, 192, 200 military · 10, 12, 20, 24, 35, 61, 78, and accountability · 198 187-189 and democratic backsliding · 11, 35 modernist Islam · See political Islam, and democratic consolidation · 199 modernist and participation · 67-72 Muhammadiyah · 34, 38-39, 78, 83 and representation · 12, 68 Mujani, Saiful · 5, 104 and satisfaction with democracy · 5, 12 multi-level governance · See decentralization positive implications · 5, 12, 68, 189 issue salience · See policy priorities Nahdlatul Ulama · See NU NasDem · 61, 94-95, 116, 147 Japanese Occupation · 38 NasDem Party · See NasDem Java · 34, 48–54, 63–64, 67, 70, 76–77, National Awakening Party · See PKB national identity · 117 109, 132 Jokowi · 21, 151, 157, 159, 193 and understanding of democracy · 179 attachment to · 121 Kalimantan · 52, 64, 69 dimensions · 118-120 ethnic versus civic · 117, 119 Kalla, Jusuf · 112 King, Dwight · 35, 44 measurement · 118 knowledge about politics · See political structure · 118-120 knowledge National Mandate Party · See PAN Kohn, Hans · 117 nationalist movement · 34, 37, 117, 188 Natsir, Mohammad · 34 labor movement · 39 New Order · 19, 35, 38, 40, 46, 74, 78, 93, Latin America · 169 187-188



222 Index

```
NU · 34, 38–39, 48, 50, 53, 55–60, 63, 66,
                                               PDI-P · 35, 48, 53, 55-60, 66, 71, 77,
                                                    94-95, 101, 114, 116, 148, 150-151,
  subnational variation in support · 51
                                                    157, 159
                                               Pepinsky, Thomas · 11
oligarchy · 6, 20, 182, 192
                                               perda agama (perda Islam) · 156
opposition · See political opposition
                                               performance · See government performance
organicism · 93
                                               PII · See Political Islam Index
                                               Pitkin, Hanna · 27
                                               PKB · 48, 71, 94-95, 114, 148, 151
Paloh, Surya · 61
PAN · 48, 95
                                               PKI · 34, 38, 46, 50, 63, 74
Pancasila · 97, 101
                                                  subnational variation in support · 63
Papua · 19, 195
                                               PKS · 48, 71, 94-95, 116, 148, 151
participation · 110-111, 182,
                                               pluralism · 4, 34, 46, 48, 55-60, 65, 70-71,
    191-195
                                                    81, 107, 188, 200-201
  and democratic backsliding · 182
                                                  and satisfaction with democracy · 201
  and democratic durability · 10, 39
                                                  and secularism · 108
  and legitimacy · 10
                                               PNI · 34, 38, 46, 48, 50, 53, 55-61, 63, 66
  and local politics · 69
                                                  subnational variation in support · 51
  and representation · 191–195
                                               polarization · 4, 11-12, 31, 41, 44, 163,
  during Liberal Democracy · 38
                                                    189, 191, 193, 195
  during the New Order · 38
                                                  and accountability · 198
  electoral · See participation, formal
                                                  and democratic backsliding · 31, 198
  formal · 10, 40, 67-72, 194
                                                  and ideological competition · 198
  in Indonesia · 9, 37-42
                                                  and participation · 195
  informal · 10, 40, 112, 194-195
                                                  and perceptions of representation · 31
                                                  and satisfaction with democracy · 4, 12
  restrictions to · 194
                                                  in Indonesian public opinion · 11, 198
  subnational variation · 69
  variation over time · 40, 67-72, 195
                                                  positive implications · 12, 31
partisan affiliations · See partisanship
                                               policy priorities · 85, 129
                                               political culture · 2, 19, 23, 187, See also
partisan dealignment · See dealignment
partisan erosion · See dealignment
                                                    liberal values
partisan identities · See partisanship
                                               political elite · 77-93, See also oligarchy
partisan polarization · See polarization
                                                  assessment of party position · 96
partisan realignment · See partisanship,
                                                  civic engagement · 78
    resurgence of
                                                  connection to the New Order · 78
partisanship · 46, 191
                                                  democratic attitudes · 89-93
  and electoral participation · 68
                                                  demographic profile · 77
  and ideology · 159-161, 163
                                                  economic policy preferences · 83-85
                                                  economic policy priorities · 85
  intergenerational continuity · 46
                                                  ethnocentrism · 86-89
  nonpartisan voters · 161
  partisan cues · 156, 159-163
                                                  fragmentation · 188
  resurgence of · 59, 68
                                                  ideological groups · 81
party families · 43, 48, 57, 70
                                                  perceptions of political parties · 93-94
party system · 11, 30-31, 33, 75, 134, 147,
                                                  perceptions of voting behavior · 95
    153, 198
                                                  satisfaction with democracy · 90
  in the 1950s · 53
                                                  support for democracy · 90
  polarization · 99
                                                  support for liberal values · 91
  stabilization · 31, 199
                                                  views of Chinese Indonesians · 86-89
patronage · See clientelism
                                                  views of political Islam · 80
PBB · 48
                                                  views of representation · 89
PD · 61, 94, 102, 116, 148, 150
                                               political interest · 111
```



Index 223

political Islam · 10, 74, 146-147, 189 and anti-Sinicism · 88 and attachment to nation · 121 and clientelism \cdot 71, See also clientelism, and ideological representation and conception of national identity · 120 and decentralization · 132-134 and democratic attitudes · 11, 122-123, 167 and democratic durability · 14 and economic evaluations · 128 and economic policy preferences · 85, 105, 128-132, 193 and ethnocentrism · 11, 88 and gender · 99, 108 and identity politics · 200 and legitimacy · 10-11 and liberal values · 92, 168 and meaning of left and right · 98-99 and national identity · 11, 117-122 and nationalist movement · 117 and participation · 4, 10, 39, 67-72, 110-113, 195 and partisanship · 11, 159-161, 163 and party choice · 113-117 and perceptions of representation · 167 and policy preferences · 11, 122-134 and policy priorities · 129 and political interest · 111 and populism · 124-128 and religious denomination · 81 and religious fractionalization · 60 and satisfaction with democracy · 9, 90-91, 167 and support for democracy · 90, 122 and traditionalism · 98 and understanding of democracy · 123, 168, 176-181 and voting behavior · 11, 37, 104, 113-117 as a social cleavage · 36 concept · 9, 11 during Liberal Democracy · 34 during the nationalist movement · 34 during the New Order · 35 historical development in Indonesia · 9, 34-35, 54 ideological groups · 107 measurement · 37, 79-81, 97, See also Political Islam Index modernist · 34-35, 48, 53, 55-60, 65-66, 70

party positions · 43, 96-102 political parties · 146-149 public opinion · 105, 107-110, 117-134 sociodemographic profile · 108 substantive representation · 4, 11, 34, 37, T 28-T40 traditional · See political Islam, traditionalist traditionalist · 34-35, 48, 53, 55-60, 65-66 political Islam cleavage · See political Islam Political Islam Index · 79-81, 107 political knowledge · 111 political opposition · 198 political parties · 20, 43, 74, 77, 93, 113-117, 146-154, 188, 194, 198 candidates · 95, 116 coalitions · 94 cohesion · See political parties, ideological cohesion competence · 95 core constituencies · 71 drivers of party choice · 116 electoral strategies · 94 features · 150-151 ideological cohesion · 101, 150 ideology · 93-102, 150 internal cohesion · See political parties, ideological cohesion leadership · 95-96, 116 manifestoes · 96 mobilization · See political parties, electoral strategies organization · 94, 150 perceptions · 93-96 policy-based appeals · 95, 116 positions on economic issues · 99, 101 positions on political Islam · 96-102 religion-based appeals · 95, 116 size · 150 political sophistication · See political knowledge populism · 21, 32, 41, 124-128, 180, 200 and democratic backsliding · 32 and perceptions of representation · 32 and political Islam · 124, 126 and satisfaction with democracy · 126 and understanding of democracy · 180 concept · 124 measurement · 125 positive implications · 32



> Index 224

poverty alleviation · 22, 85, 129, 175 PPP · 48, 94-95, 101-102, 147, 150-151 Prabowo · 21, 61-62, 124, 157, 159, 199 pribumi · 88, 118-119 programmatic politics · 49, 154 progressivism · 39, 97, 99, 108, 176 on fiscal issues · 142, 144, 149 Prosperous Justice Party · See PKS public opinion · 22, 44, 190-191 Purnama, Basuki Tjahaja · See Ahok radical Islam · See Islamism

realignment · See partisanship, resurgence of regional autonomy · See decentralization religious bylaws · See perda agama religious fractionalization · 60 religious tolerance · 189 representation · 4, 6, 9, 27-33, 138-163, 191-195 and accountability · 28

and clientelism · 29, 33 and democratic durability · 8, 10 and economic policy preferences · 145 and government performance \cdot 6 and ideological divisions · 29 and inequality · 142-146 and legitimacy · 8, 28 and modern democracy · 28 and participation \cdot 30-31, 145, 191-195

and polarization · 31-32 and political party features · 150-152 and populism · 32-33 and satisfaction with democracy \cdot 6, 8, 29, 190

and support for democracy · 8 concept · 27 descriptive · 28-30, 77, 140

economic issues · 142-146, 149, 192 functions · 28-29

inequalities in · 142-146 measurement · 136-137 perceptions · 7, 167

political Islam · 138-140, 142, 193 political parties · 146-154

substantive · 9, 28, 138-152, 191 variation across parties · 150-152 variation across policy areas · 138-152

variation over time · 192 responsiveness · 192

retrospective voting · 6, 16, 196-197

Sarekat Islam · 37 satisfaction with democracy · 90, 165-166, 184, See also legitimacy

santri · 63

and democratic backsliding · 4 and democratic durability · 26 and electoral participation · 41

and government performance · See government performance, and

satisfaction with democracy and populism · 126 and support for democracy · 25, 181

and understanding of democracy · 26

determinants · 24-27, 184 over time in Indonesia · 1, 21

secularism · 34 Slater, Dan · 188

social class · 29, 110, 145

and inequalities in representation · 144-145

social cleavages · 33, 36, 191 and democratic consolidation · 34

in Indonesia · 34

Lipset & Rokkan · 33

positive aspects for democracy · 200 social policy · See social security

social security · 74, 127-128, 141 sorting (into political parties) · 102,

146-147, 153, 155, 163-164, 197-198

state capacity · 188 statism · 74, 83, 85, 97, 99, 101, 130, 140

and meaning of left and right · 99

student movement · 39, 195 Subianto, Prabowo · See Prabowo

Suharto · 20, 39 Sukarno · 34, 87, 124

Sukarnoputri, Megawati · See Megawati

Sulawesi · 64, 69, 132

Sumatra · 34, 51-53, 63-64, 69, 76, 109,

support for democracy · 90, 165, 184 and satisfaction with democracy · 25

concept · 25 determinants · 24-27, 184

in Indonesia · 5

survey experiment · 155-163

traditional Islam · See political Islam, traditionalist

traditionalism · 97

traditionalist Islam \cdot See political Islam, traditionalist



Index 225

Tragedy of 1965–1966 · 35, 46 turnout · See participation, formal

understanding of democracy · 6, 26, 166 and economic redistribution · 180 and education · See education, and understanding of democracy and government performance · 6 and legitimacy · 9 and national identity · 179 and other democratic attitudes · 181 and participation · 9 and populism · 180 and satisfaction with democracy · 9, 182 and sociodemographic factors · 177 and support for democracy · 174, 184 complexity · 169, 173, 190 conceptualization · 169-170 deliberative · 26, 166, 170, 175 dimensions · 26, 166, 169-173, 190 dualistic structure · 175-176, 180 egalitarian · 27, 166, 170, 175, 179 electoral · 26, 166, 170 implications · 174, 181-184 instrumental · 27 intrinsic · 27 liberal · 26, 166, 170, 175, 179

measurement · 13, 169–170
minimalist · 26
participatory · 27, 166, 170, 175, 180
procedural · 173
social · See understanding of democracy,
egalitarian
structure · 174–176
substantive · 173
United Development Party · See PPP
United States · 32, 163
voting behavior · 5–6, 11, 13, 24, 33, 44,
46, 54, 61, 65, 68, 95–96, 104–105,
129, 134, 154–155, 195, 197
and ethnolinguistic fractionalization ·

oting behavior · 5–6, 11, 13, 24, 33, 44, 46, 54, 61, 65, 68, 95–96, 104–105, 129, 134, 154–155, 195, 197 and ethnolinguistic fractionalization · 65–66 and ideology · 43–44, 50, 196–197 and religious fractionalization · 60 complexity · 154, 195–199 historical continuities · 53–60 rationality · 200 subnational heterogeneity · 50–54

Widodo, Joko · See Jokowi women's rights · 39, 99, 156

Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang · 61, 151