

Voting Behavior in Indonesia since Democratization

Indonesia is the world's third largest democracy (after India and the USA) and the only fully democratic Muslim democracy, yet it remains little known in the comparative politics literature. This book aspires to do for Indonesian political studies what *The American Voter* did for American political science. It contributes a major new case, the world's largest Muslim democracy, to the latest research in cross-national voting behavior, making the unique argument that Indonesian voters, like voters in many developing and developed democracies, are "critical citizens" or critical democrats. The analysis is based on original opinion surveys conducted after every national-level democratic election in Indonesia from 1999 to the present by the respected Indonesian Survey Institute and Saiful Mujani Research & Consulting.

Saiful Mujani, Associate Professor of Political Science at the Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, is the intellectual and creative founder of the most respected political research firm in Indonesia today – Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC). A leading pioneer of survey research in Indonesia, Professor Mujani also founded the Indonesian Survey Institute, serving as its director from 2004 to 2009. In addition to being the former director of research and development for Metro TV (the first and still most highly regarded Indonesian news channel), Mujani regularly appears on Metro TV as well as TVOne and SCTV. He also writes for the top national newsweekly *Tempo* and newspapers including *Kompas*, *Media Indonesia*, and *Koran Tempo*. His academic publications include articles in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Asian Survey*, and *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, and he (along with coauthors Dr. Liddle and Thomas Pepinsky) was awarded best paper by the American Political Science Association for its 2009 Annual Conference.

R. William Liddle, now Professor Emeritus at Ohio State University, has devoted his entire academic career to research, observation, and analysis of the politics of Indonesia as the country transitioned from a dictatorship to the established democracy it is today. Recognized for his expertise in the field, Professor Liddle has long served as a source,

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Saiful Mujani, R. William Liddle, Kuskridho Ambardi

Frontmatter

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across the globe, for understanding the politics of Indonesia – writing for the international and Indonesian media (including *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the Jakarta daily *Kompas*, and Indonesian newsweekly *Tempo*), appearing on television and radio programs in the US (*PBS News Hour*), Europe, Australia, and Indonesia, and consulting for US government agencies. He is especially proud of the 2008 publication of a book of essays in his honor: *Dari Columbus untuk Indonesia: 70 Tahun Profesor Bill Liddle dari Murid dan Sahabat* (“From Columbus for Indonesia: 70 Years of Professor Bill Liddle from Students and Friends”).

Kuskridho Ambardi is Senior Lecturer at Universitas Gadjah Mada and current Executive Director of the Indonesia Survey Institute (Lembaga Survei Indonesia). Recognized as an outstanding scholar, Ambardi has published numerous scholarly articles including “Indonesia’s New Democracy: Who Controls Political Parties?” in *Journal of Asia, Korea*. He has also presented papers and participated in many seminars and workshops, including at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore, 2010), the Association for Asian Studies (Hawaii, 2011), and the Centre for Democratic Institutions, Australian National University (Canberra, Australia, 2011). Ambardi is a member of the Indonesian National Research Council (Dewan Riset Nasional, 2015–2018). As a public intellectual, he also writes influential columns for the Jakarta daily *Kompas* and newsweekly *Tempo* and appears regularly as a resource person on Indonesian national television channels.

Voting Behavior in Indonesia since Democratization

Critical Democrats

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We dedicate this book to our wives:

Baikuniyah

Wanda Carter

Santi Kusumasari

and our children:

Putri Matahari, Berlian Khatulistiwa, and Jagad Alit

Dallas, Craig, Caitlin, and Adam

Marsa Daniswara and Hafid Sasayuda

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> viii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
1 Introduction: Indonesia and Critical Democracy	I
2 The Emergence of Critical Democrats: Support for Democracy and Criticism of Its Performance	8
3 Participation and Choice	25
4 Sociological and Demographic Factors	75
5 Rational Voters	149
6 Party Identity and Political Leaders	182
7 Conclusion	230
<i>Appendix</i>	244
<i>Glossary</i>	248
<i>References</i>	252
<i>Name Index</i>	261
<i>Subject Index</i>	264

Figures

2.1	Democracy is the best form of government for Indonesia (%)	<i>page</i> 10
2.2	Satisfied or not satisfied with the implementation of democracy in Indonesia (%)	13
3.1	Voter turnout (%)	27
3.2	Ever participated in campaign activities before the parliamentary or presidential elections (%)	30
4.1	Regular fasting and praying among Indonesian Muslims (%)	78
4.2	Voting according to income level (%)	115
5.1	Perception of present national economic condition compared with last year, 1999–2014 (%)	160
6.1	Party ID trends (feeling close to a particular party) among Indonesian voters, 1999–2014 (%)	188
6.2	There is a preferred national figure (%)	216

Tables

2.1	Descriptive statistics of evaluation of democracy and its practice (score 1–10), 2006 & 2014b	<i>page</i> 11
2.2	Correlations (Pearson’s <i>r</i>) of several factors with commitment to democracy and democratic performance, 2009a & 2014a	16
2.3	Regression of commitment to democracy, 2009a & 2014a	17
2.4	Democratic performance regressions, 2009a & 2014a	19
3.1	Votes won by parties in democratic elections in Indonesia, 1955, 1999–2014 (%)	35
3.2	Presidential/vice presidential pairs and their supporting parties, 2004, 2009, and 2014	57
4.1	Logistic regression of voter turnout in parliamentary and presidential elections	114
4.2	Political participation regression	133
4.3	Effect of religion on political choice in parliamentary elections, 1999–2014 (change in predicted probability)	135
4.4	Effect of religion on political choice in presidential elections, 2004–2014 (change in predicted probability)	138
4.5	Effect of ethnic background on political choice in parliamentary and presidential elections, 1999–2014 (change in predicted probability)	142
4.6	Effect of education on political choice in parliamentary and presidential elections, 1999–2014 (change in predicted probability)	145
5.1	Reasons for not voting in parliamentary and presidential elections (%)	151

x	<i>List of Tables</i>	
5.2	Economic growth, inflation, and unemployment, 1996–2014 (%)	161
5.3	Association between assessment of national economic condition and voting for party (%)	166
5.4	Association between national economic condition and voting for president (%)	168
5.5	Political economy effect on partisan and presidential choice, 2009 & 2014 (difference in predicted probability)	175
6.1	The effect of party identity on turnout in parliamentary and presidential elections (logistic coefficient <i>b</i> , and standard error)	191
6.2	Multivariate analysis of political participation for parliamentary elections	196
6.3	Multivariate analysis of political participation in the presidential elections	198
6.4	The effect of party identity on choice of party and presidential candidate, 1999–2009 (difference in predicted probability)	202
6.5	Multivariate analysis (regression) of the effect of social identity on party identity	209
6.6	Multivariate analysis (regression) of party identity	214
6.7	The effect of leadership quality on choice of party and presidential candidates, 1999–2014 (difference in predicted probability)	218
6.8	Regression analysis of the effect of leadership quality on party identity (regression coefficient and standard error)	222
6.9	Multivariate analysis of the effect of advertising on affection for leader (regression coefficient with standard error)	225

Acknowledgments

This book is the product of nearly two decades of research conducted by the authors on Indonesian voting behavior since the restoration of democracy in 1999, after a hiatus of nearly half a century since the last democratic election in 1955. Our primary data come from eight national, individual-level, scientific surveys that we conducted ourselves: the first just after the first democratic parliamentary election in 1999 and the last after the most recent parliamentary and presidential elections in 2014.

An undertaking of this magnitude would not have been possible without the robust support, generous contributions, and enthusiastic participation of many others. We would like to begin by thanking Paul Beck and Ned Lebow, whose assistance was critical to the success of our first survey in 1999. At that time, none of us had any experience in conducting public opinion surveys and there were no country experts to whom we could turn, since Indonesia had been a dictatorship for more than three decades.

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Acknowledgments

xiii

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