# Index

abstention buying, 107n.8, 109-10 micro-particularism and, 105 Aceh (Indonesia) club goods allocation in, 141 coercive politics in, 218 gender and politics in, 219, 221 insurgencies in, 219-21 patronage politics in, 217-21 political party affiliation in, 183-86 ad hoc teams cross-national comparisons of, 246 electoral mobilization and, 13-19, 70, 75 in Indonesia, 11, 71, 84–91, 96–98 programmatic hijacking in Indonesia and, 159 in Southeast Asia, 73-77 aggregation, level of, in electoral mobilization networks, cross-national comparisons, 70-71 Ahmad Zamri Asa'ad Khuzaimi, 183 Alliance coalition (Malaysia), 41-42, 57-61, 82-83. See also Barisan Nasional (National Front) ethnic and religious identity politics and, 180-83 Anderson, Benedict, 36-39, 45-48, 53-54 Anwar Ibrahim, 231-32 Aquino, Benigno S. III, 55-56 Aquino, Benigno S. Jr., 55-56 Aquino, Corazon, 55-56 Argentina gender disparities and clientelism in, 188-89 voter targeting in, 109

Arroyo, Gloria Macapagal, 213, 247-48 Aspinall, Edward, 49-50, 128, 200-1 aspiration funds (dana aspirasi) (Indonesia), 133-34, 171-73 associational life, Indonesia and fragmentation of, 49 authoritarianism Indonesian patronage politics and, 16-17, 21-23, 27 ballot secrecy, voter monitoring and, 113-16 Bangsamoro Autonomous Region (BARMM) (Muslim Mindanao, Philippines), 212-24 Bantuam Sara Hidup, Cost of Living Aid (Malaysia), 164-67 Bantuan Rakyat 1 Malaysia (1 Malaysia People's Aid), 81, 164-67 barangay leaders club goods as contingent patronage and, 140 credit-claiming by, 162-63 networks of benefit and, 146-47 Philippine local politics and, 18-19 Philippine vote brokers as, 93 voter targeting and, 107-8 Barisan Nasional (National Front) (Malaysia). See also Alliance bureaucracy, 63-66 cash-transfer scheme of, 81, 164-67 colonial era and, 60 ethnic and religious identity politics and, 180-83 inter-party competition and, 57, 60-61 macro-particularism and, 10-13

#### 298

# Index

Barisan Nasional (National Front) (Malaysia). (cont.) Malaysian party organization and, 16n. 7 patronage networks in, 82 in Sabah & Sarawak, 221–26 state power and, 62-66 benefits distribution credit-claiming and, 154-55 meso-particularism and, 28-29, 126-28 Berenschot, Ward, 49-50, 145-46, 210-11 Bjarnegård, Elin, 188–89 bonding appeals, identity politics and, 177-78, 180 bottom-up perspective, patronage politics and, 17-19 Bowo Sidik Pangarso, 247-48 brand building patronage and, 13, 19-20 in Southeast Asia, 118 bridging appeals, identity politics and, 177-78, т8о British East India Company, 40 British government, Malaysia colonization and, 40 British North Borneo Company, 40 brokerage structures. See also vote-brokering broker risk and monitoring, 110-13 class-based targeting and, 198-202 electoral mobilization and, 71-73 gender and, 189-202 mechanics of, 101-4 in Papua (Indonesia), 220 surveys of, 262-64 Brooke, James, 40 Brown, Colin, 46 Bumiputera Indigenous groups, Malaysian party politics and, 57-62, 180-83, 225-26, 250 bupati (Indonesian regent), 232 bureaucracy in colonial Indonesia, 36-37 in colonial Malaysia, 39–42 in colonial Philippines, 37-39 Indonesian authoritarian rule and consolidation of, 32-33, 45-48 Indonesian micro-patronage politics and, 16-17 Malaysian party politics and, 61-62 as Malaysian patronage conduit, 32-33 national party influence in, 81 patronage politics and coherence of, 34-36

Philippine political development in advance of, 32-33 political parties and, 65-66 public policy hijacking and role of, 152-53 cacique democracy, Philippines as example of, 53-54 cadre-based movement, in Philippines, 57 Camerino, Dominador, 52 campaign coordination. See electoral mobilization networks and regimes electoral mobilization and, 71-73 in Indonesia, 87–91 Malaysian party machines and, 82 patronage networks and, 72 in Philippines, 93-95 voter targeting classification schemes, 106-9 candidates cash handouts by, 28, 100-7, 162-63 class-based targeting by, 198-202 clentilism practices of, 19-20 club goods distribution by, 28-29 coercive practices used by, 213-14, 217-21 community ties of, 2 constituency services obligations, 99-100 contingent club goods allocation by, 139-43 credibility-buying by, 119-20 defection of voters from, 118-19 electoral clientelism and, 104–17 ethnic and identity networks and, 179-88 hijacking patterns, cross-national comparisons of, 156-60 local political machines and, 70 meso-particularism by, 128-35 micro-particularism and, 101-4 mobilization networks of, 71-77 networks of benefit and, 143-48 non-contingent club goods allocations by, 135-39 patronage distribution strategies of, 239 patronage networks of, 1-3, 13, 69 political ethnography of, 24 surveys of, 25-26 turf-protection by, 120-23 voters' relationship with, 32 women candidates and matronage politics, 188-97 cartel arrangements, in Indonesia, 48-49 cash-transfer programs class-based strategies, 209-10 credit-claiming and, 161-62 in Indonesia, 163-64

# Index

299

in Malaysia, 81, 164-67 in Philippines, 162-63 in Sabah & Sarawak, 223–26 centralized patronage party, macroparticularism and, 16-19 Chandra, Kanchan, 179-80 Chinese minority in Malaysia, 61, 82-83 ethnic identity politics and, 180-83 networks of affect and, 141-42 party politics and, 59-60 violence against, 2211.12 Christianity, Philippine ethnic and religious identity politics and, 186-87 civil service in colonial Malaysia, 40-41 in colonial Philippines, 38-39 Malaysian UMNO control of, 59-60 pollitical patronage and, 35 civil society organizations escape from patronage politics and, 229-31 in Indonesia, 206–30 in Malaysia, 231 in Mindanao (Philippines), 213-14 subnational patronage politics and, 206-7 clan coalitions (Philippines), 57, 213-14 class-based mobilization strategies clientelist politics and, 198-202 inequalities, clientelist reinforcement of, 248-49 post-clientelist initiatives and, 199-202 Singapore politics and, 243-44 subnational variations in, 210-11 clientelism. See also electoral clientelism brand building and, 13, 19-20, 118 class divisions and, 198-202, 248-49 club goods as contingent patronage, 139-43 contingency and, 13, 15-19, 105, 109 credibility buying and, 105, 119-20, 123 defined, 7 ethnic and religious identity politics, 179-80 gender and, 190 micro-particularism and, 101 modernization paradigm concerning, 205-6 party-patronage connections and, 81-82 patronage politics and, 3-10, 19-20, 22-23, 32 personalistic power relationships and, 7 in Philippines, 75-77, 92 pillared clientelism (Indonesia), 46, 49 political parties and, 22 in postcolonial Indonesia, 46 poverty and, 208-11

self-enforcing clientelism, 147-48 subnational variations in, 210-11 turf protection and, 120-23 voter defections and, 122-23 voter targeting and, 109 women-centered networks, 188-97 club goods classification of, 127n.4 as contingent patronage, 139-43 Indonesian meso-particularism and, 133-34 lack of monitoring and enforcement, 136 legitimacy of, 137-39 meso-particularism and, 7-8, 126-28 networks of benefit and distribution of, 143-48 as non-contingent allocations, 135-39 Philippine local political machines and, 131 Sabah and Sarawak, distribution in, 221-26 coercion absence in Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia), 222 local control over, 206 in Papua and Aceh (Indonesia), 218-20 patronage combined with, 30 Philippine patronage and, 52, 214–17 Cold War, post-colonialism in Southeast Asia and, 33-34 collective goods. See also club goods meso-particularism and, 126-28 as non-contingent allocations, 135-39 colonialism in Indonesia, 36-37 in Malaysia, 39-42 Philippine political violence and coercion and, 214–17 in Philippines, 27, 37-38 in Southeast Asia, 33-34 Commission on Appointments (Philippines), 53-54 Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), 55-56 community organizations clientelism and autonomy of, 206-7 electoral success linked to, 2 networks of benefit and mediation and, 143-48 comparative politics of patronage cross-national variation in, 32-33 in Southeast Asia, 22-23, 243-46 conditional loyalty, turf protection and, 120-21 constituency service facilitation and, 168

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-316-51380-4 — Mobilizing for Elections Edward Aspinall , Meredith L. Weiss , Allen Hicken , Paul D. Hutchcroft Index More Information

#### 300

# Index

constituency service (cont.) patronage and, 27, 31-36 turf-protection and, 120-23 contingency clientelism and, 13, 15-19, 105, 109 club goods as contingent patronage, 139-43 patronage and, 13 contracts, networks of benefit and, 147-48 cooperative campaigning, Philippine local machines and, 94-95 Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) (Indonesia), 247-48, 254 COVID-19 pandemic resources, politicians' divergence of, 246-50 Cox, Gary W., 155-56 Cramb, Rob, 224-25 credibility buying micro-particularism and, 105 patronage and, 13, 19-20 in Southeast Asia, 119-20, 123 credit-claiming cross-national comparisons, 161-67 electoral mobilization in Southeast Asia and, 10-13 in Indonesia, 163–64 macro-particularism and, 20, 29 in Malaysia, 164-67 by Malaysian political machines, 159 patronage and, 8 in Philippines, 162-63 programmatic hijacking and, 154-55 public policy hijacking and, 152-53 Cribb, Robert, 46 criminals, Philippines' candidates links to, 216 critical junctures, in political patronage, 32n.1 crony capitalism, Indonesian party politics and, 48 - 49cross-case and within-case comparisons of clientelism, 15-19 cross-national comparisons meso-particularism, 128-35 patronage politics and, 23-26, 30, 238 peripheral area patronage variations, 211-33 programmatic hijacking, 159-73 Crouch, Harold, 40-41 Daby, Mariela Szwarcberg, 188-89 Democratic Action Party (DAP) (Malaysia), 60-63,84 Democratic Alliance (Philippines), 51 democratic governance challenges to resilience of, 256

electoral system reform impact on, 254-56 illiberal Philippine democracy, 56-57 Indonesian transition to, 48-49, 85 patronage politics and, 21-23, 246-50 demographics, ethnic and religious identity politics and, 180-81 Development Unity Party (PPP) (Indonesia), 47 Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR) (Indonesia), 72-73, 87 Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto, 109, 120-21 Dunning, Thad, 120–21 Duterte, Rodrigo, 3, 56-57, 235-36, 249-50 economic conditions clientelism and role of, 205-6 levels of economic development and, 206 in Philippine peripheral regions, 212-24 Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia) patronage politics and, 224-25 in Southeast Asia, 21-23 economic resources, concentration of control over, 30, 206 education programs clientelism and, 205-6 facilitation of and access to, 167-70 election-related violence Indonesian state monopoly on, 217-21 in Philippines, 213-14 voter monitoring and, 115n.17 elections, cross-national research in patronage politics and, 23-26 electoral clientelism, 105, 113-16, 121-22 brand building and, 118 credibility-buying, 119 micro-particularism and, 105 monitoring and enforcement, 109-10 in Philippines, 52-53, 75-77, 106 turf protection, 119 voter monitoring, 113–16 electoral mobilization networks and regimes broker risk and monitoring, 110-13 characteristics of, 4-5 class-based strategies, 209–10 classification of, in Southeast Asia, 73-77 club goods allocations and, 137 development of, 11-13, 19 governing rules of, 31-32 historical and institutional contexts for, 31-33 Indonesia, 18, 84–91 in Malaysia, 18, 67–68 patronage patterns and, 71-73

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-316-51380-4 — Mobilizing for Elections Edward Aspinall , Meredith L. Weiss , Allen Hicken , Paul D. Hutchcroft Index More Information

# Index

301

patterns and variation in, 13-19, 236-37 Philippine oligarchic impact on, 17-18 political parties and, 69-70 postcolonial changes to, 42-44, 65 programmatic hijacking and, 156-60 in Southeast Asia, 10–13, 69–73 women's role in, 195–97 electoral systems in Indonesia, 49-50 in Malaysia, 58-59 mobilization and selection of, 31-32 political parties and, 42-44 in postcolonial Philippines, 53-56 post-independence changes to, 42-44, 65 reform prospects for, 251-56 elites Indonesian elections and, 85-86 intra-elite disputes in Philippines, 52 Malaysian party politics and, 61-62 Philippine local machines and, 91-92 Philippine patronage politics and, 16, 32-33, 38 endogeneity of partisan loyalty, turf protection and, 120-21 enforcement, non-contingent club goods allocations, 136 Estévez, Federico, 109, 120-21 ethnic identity identity politics and, 179-88 Indonesian politics and patronage and, 183-86 Malaysian politics and patronage and, 41-42, 57-62, 180-83 in Papua (Indonesia), 220–21 political parties and, 43-44 Singapore politics and, 243-44 ethnographic research, on patronage politics, 24 externally mobilized political parties, 34-35 in Indonesia, 36-37 facilitation in Indonesia, 169–70 macro-particularism and, 20, 29 in Malaysia, 159, 168–69 patronage and, 8 programmatic hijacking and, 155, 167-70 family dynasties Indonesian politics and, 218n.11

Philippine politics and, 17–18, 52–53, 92, 194–95, 214–17 in Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia), 221–26 women candidates and, 190–91

Fatayat (Indonesia),192. See also Nahdlatul Ulama (Indonesian traditional Islamist party) Federated Malay States, 40 Federation of Malaya, 40 fictive kinship, electoral success and, 2 Finan, Frederico, 106 firearms Indonesian state control of, 217-21 proliferation in Philippines of, 217-21 Gabriela Women's Party (Philippines), 195, 201 Gabungan Bersatu Sabah (Sabah United Alliance, GBS), 222-23 gender. See also women patronage politics and, 188-97 Golkar (Indonesia), 47-49 government-linked companies (GLCs), meso-particularism in Malaysia and, 131-33 grants (hibah), Indonesian meso-particularism and, 133-34 Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, Japanese imposition of, 33-34 group brokers, club goods and, 139-43 group politics club goods as contingent patronage, 139-43 club goods as non-contingent patronage, 135-39 identity politics and, 177-78 patronage politics and, 20, 125-28 Guatemala, Mi Familia Progresa scheme in, 161-62 guerrilla forces in Philippines, 52 Guided Democracy (Indonesia), 45-47 Gusmão, Xanana, 77 healthcare programs, facilitation and access to, 167-70 historical-institutional context electoral mobilization and, 32 patronage politics and, 27, 239-41 post-independence parties and electoral systems, 42-44 historical sequencing bureaucratic development and electoral mobilization, 34-36 patronage politics and, 16-19 Philippine patronage politics and, 16

horizontal solidarity patterns, networks of benefit and, 143–48

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-316-51380-4 — Mobilizing for Elections Edward Aspinall , Meredith L. Weiss , Allen Hicken , Paul D. Hutchcroft Index More Information

#### 302

### Index

Horowitz, Donald, 58-59, 182 Hugpong ng pagbabago (Contingent for Change) (Philippines), 57 Hukbalahap guerrilla army (Philippines), 39, 51 Hutchcroft, Paul D., 99-100 identity politics in Aceh and Papua (Indonesia), 219-21 ethnic and religious identity networks and, 179-88 matronage politics, 188-97 patronage and, 20, 29, 176-203 Philippine politics and patronage and, 186-87 in Southeast Asia, 177-79 Iglesia ni Cristo (INC) (Philippines), 141 Indian minority in Malaysia, party politics and, 59-60 Indigenous communities as networks of affect, 140-43 Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia) patronage politics and, 225-26 Indonesia. See also Aceh and Papua access to state resources in, 157-58 ad hoc patronage networks in, 11, 27-28, 70-71, 75, 84-91, 96-98 authoritarianism and political patronage in, 27, 49-50 brokerage structures in, 189-202 broker risk and monitoring in, 110-13 bupati (regents) in, 232 candidate-centered elections in, 42-44, 49-50, 86-87 candidate-party linkages in, 11, 16-17 candidates' patronage patterns in, 10-11, 68-69 civil society organizations in, 206-30 class-based mobilization in, 199-202, 250 club goods as electoral strategy in, 137-39 colonial legacy in, 36-37 corruption and patronage in, 246-50 credibility buying in, 119-20, 123 credit-claiming in, 163-64 current political upheavals in, 235-36 decline in party affiliation in, 50-51 democratic transition in, 48-49, 85 electoral mobilization in, 10-11, 18, 94-95 electoral system reform in, 254-56 ethnic and religious identity politics in, 180-81, 183-86 facilitation in, 169-70

fragmentation of social order in, 17 gender disparities and clientelism in, 189-90 gender politics in, 192–93, 195–97 group targeting in, 125-28 independence transition in, 37, 85 local government independence in, 80-81 local voter and broker surveys in, 262-63 macro-particularism in, 29 marginalization of parties in, 49-50 meso-particularism in, 72-73, 129-30, 133-34 micro-particularism in, 16-17, 28, 72-73, 99-100 morselization in, 171-73 national survey data for, 257-58 networks of affect in, 142-43 networks of benefit in, 144-45 non-contingent club goods allocations in, 136-37 open-tier list proportional representation election system, 49-50, 183-86 Papua and Aceh, patronage patterns in, 217-21 patronage networks in, 11-13, 68-69 patronage patterns in, 4 pillared clientelism in, 46, 49 polarization of politics in, 50-51 political contracts in, 147-48, 199-202 political economy of, 22-23 postcolonial political history in, 45-51, 64-65 poverty and patronage in, 208-11 in regional context, 33-34 religious networks and patronage in, 141 subnational patronage variation in, 205, 207, 210-11, 265-68 Timor-Leste comparisons with, 244-45 trade union mobilization in, 199–202 turf protection in, 120-23 urban centers as islands of exception in, 227-29 villages and neighborhoods and politics in, 18-19 vote brokering in, 18–19, 93–94, 96–98, 100-3 voter monitoring in, 113-16 voter reciprocity in, 116-17 voter targeting criteria in, 106-9 women's political involvement in, 192-93, 195-97 Indonesian Democracy Party (PDI), 47 Indonesian Socialist Party, 46-47

# Index

## 303

infrastructure development, morselization and, 170-71 Inpres (Instruksi Presiden) revenue-sharing initiatives (Indonesia), 47 intergenerational poverty alleviation, cashtransfer programs and, 161-62 internally mobilized political parties, 34-35 Internal Security Act (ISA) (Malaysia), 222 Islam in Indonesia, 45n.10 Indonesian politics and, 36-37, 47 Indonesian politics and patronage and, 183-86 Malaysian party politics and, 57-62 moderation discourse in Malaysia for, 83 Philippine ethnic and religious identity politics and, 186-87 strength in Sabah and Sarawak of, 222-24 islands of exception leadership role in, 231-32 in Philippines, 205 post-clientelist initiatives and, 232-33 programmatic politics in, 227-33 sustainability of, 233 urban centers as, 227-29 Jalinan Rakyat (People's Network, JR) (Malaysia), 78-79 Japanese electoral reform, 252-53 Japanese Occupation Indonesian politics and, 36-37 legacy in Southeast Asia of, 36-37 Malaysia under, 60 Philippines under, 39, 52 Jesudason, James V., 59-60 Johari Abdul Ghani, 183 Joko Widodo (Jokowi), 50-51, 206-30 kabupaten (rural districts) (Indonesia), 265-68 Kamil, Ridwan, 227-29 kasal, binyag and libing (weddings, baptisms and funerals (KBL)) (Philippines), 2, 54, 107-8 Kaum Ibu (UMNO women's section) (Malaysia), 193-94 Kawanaka, Takeshi, 230 Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) (New Society Movement) (Philippines) activities involving, 2, 54-55 voter targeting and, 107-8 Kilusang Pagbabago (Movement for Change) (Philippines), 57

Kurniawan, Nanang Indra, 232 Landé, Carl, 22, 52–53, 92 landlord-tenant relationship in Southeast Asia, 144-45 Latiph, Acram, 213–14 leadership, islands of exception and role of, 231-32 Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) (Japan), 252-53 Liberal Party (Philippines), 52-53 liders (Filipino vote brokers), 1-3, 107-8, 110-13 Lipset, Seymour Martin, 43 local elections ground wars of, 9-10 in Indonesia, 18-19 Malaysian abolition of, 18-19, 42, 80-81 in Philippines, 18-19 Local Government Code (Philippines), 268-70 local organizations clientelism and autonomy of, 206-7 patronage politics and, 18-19 local political machines credit-claiming and cash-transfer programs in Philippines and, 162-63 discretion over Philippine government spending and, 157 electoral mobilization and, 13-19, 70, 75 in Indonesia, credit-claiming by, 163-64 islands of exception and, 231-32 loose affiliation with national parties, 2 meso-particularism in Philippines and, 131 networks of benefit and, 146-47 Philippine ethnic and religious identity politics and, 186-87 in Philippine peripheral regions, 212-24 in Philippines, 11-13, 16, 27-28, 32-33, 54-55, 70, 73 programmatic hijacking in Philippines and, 159 in Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia), 221-26 in Southeast Asia, 73-77 voter targeting and, 107-8 lovalty gender patterns in, 195-97 voter targeting and, 109 macro-particularism

Kitschelt, Herbert, 135, 140-43, 158

Kramon, Eric, 119-20

national party electoral mobilization and, 75 patronage and, 8, 20

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-316-51380-4 — Mobilizing for Elections Edward Aspinall , Meredith L. Weiss , Allen Hicken , Paul D. Hutchcroft Index More Information

#### 304

# Index

macro-particularism (cont.) politics and patronage merger in, 29 sequencing and, 16-19 mafia timber mafia, 224-25 mafia coalitions in Indonesian peripheral regions, 218 in Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia), 224-25 Magaloni, Beatriz, 109, 120-21 Maguindanao Massacre (Philippines), 214n.8, 216n.9 Mahathir, Mohamad, 62-63, 182 Mahsun, Muhammad, 232 Malay Administrative Service (MAS), 40-41 Malayan Civil Service (MCS), 40-41 Malayan Communist Party (MCP), 60, 222 Malayan Emergency (1948-60), 41-42, 60 Malaysia. See also Sabah and Sarawak access to state resources in, 158 aggregation of electoral mobilization networks in, 70–71 broker risk and monitoring in, 110 bureaucracy as patronage conduit in, 32-33 campaign coordination and patronage networks, 72 candidates' electoral strategies in, 63, 67-68 cash-transfer programs in, 164-67 civil society organizations in, 231 class-based targeting in, 199, 210 colonial era in, 39-42 corruption and patronage in, 247-48 credit-claiming in, 164-67 current political upheavals in, 235-36 democratic governance and patronage in, 250 electoral mobilization regimes in, 13-19 electoral system in, 44 ethnic and religious cleavages and party system in, 43-44 ethnic and religious identity politics in, 180-83 facilitation in, 168–69 gender disparities and clientelism in, 189-90 gender politics in, 192-94 group targeting in, 125-28 legitimacy of club goods in, 137-39 local service centers (pusat khidmat), party operation of, 79-80 macro-particularism in, 10-13, 16-19 meso-particularism in, 131-33 micro-particularism in, 28 monopoly of state resources in, 35

morselization in, 173 national party institutionalization and permanence in, 71, 77-84 national political parties and coalitions and political machines in, 11, 70 networks of affect in, 140-43 networks of benefit in, 143-48 non-contingent club goods allocations in, 137 party-based machines in, 11-13, 27-28, 77-84, 159 patronage politics in, 4 political economy of, 22-23 post-clientelist politics in, 201-2 postcolonial politics in, 57-65 programmatic hijacking in, 159 in regional context, 33-34 relational clientelism in, 81-82 Singapore patronage politics compared with, 243-44 state-party fusion in, 72 subnational patronage variations in, 205, 207, 211, 270-72 UMNO candidate selection in, 82 urban centers as islands of exception in, 227-29 villages and neighborhoods and politics in, 18-19 vote brokering in, 100–1, 102n.4, 103–4 Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), 16n.7, 41-42, 57, 82-83, 166, 180-83 Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), 16n.7, 41-42, 57, 82-83 credit-claiming and cash transfers and, 166 Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement (ABIM), 231-32 Malay supremacy ideology, 180-83 Malay unity coalition, 62-63 Marcos, Ferdinand, 17-18, 54-55, 92-93 Mas'udi, Wawan, 232 Masyumi (Indonesian Islamist party), 45-47 matronage politics, 188-97 Mayhew, David R., 154-55 McCubbins, Mathew D., 155-56 mediation, networks of benefit as tool for, 143-48 Megawati Soekarnoputri, 48-49 meso-particularism comparative analysis of, 75-77 cross-country comparisons of, 128-35 electoral cycle prevalence of, 130-31 group targeting and, 126-28 in Indonesia, 11-13

# Index

Malaysian party machine regime and, 81-82 national party electoral mobilization and, 75 patronage and, 7–8, 20 Southeast Asian patronage politics and, 28-29 microfoundations, patronage politics and, 15-19 micro-particularism absence in Malaysia of, 79 brand building, credibility-buying and turfprotection, 118-19 characteristics and contours of, 104-17 clientelism and, 101 comparative analysis of, 75-77 electoral clientelism and, 105 in Indonesia, 11–13 in Malaysia, 10–19 national party electoral mobilization and, 75 patronage and, 7, 20 in Philippines, 11-13 in Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia), 224-26 in Southeast Asia, 100-1 Southeast Asian patronage politics and, 28 vote-brokering and, 101-4 Mi Familia Progresa scheme (Guatemala), 161-62 military rule Indonesian patronage distribution and, 47 in Papua and Aceh regions (Indonesia), 211, 217-21 patronage politics and, 21-23 in postcolonial Indonesia, 46-47 Milne, R. S., 223-26 Mindanao/Sulu archipelago cash handouts in, 119-20 coercive tactics in, 30, 207, 212-24 constituency services obligations in, 107-8 credit-claiming by candidates in, 162-63 electoral fraud in, 213 local networks in, 213-14 patronage politics in, 212-24 poverty in, 212-13 religious/ethnic identity politics in, 17-18, 140-43, 176-77, 186-87 minimal winning coalition ethnic and religious identity politics and, 179-80 women candidates and, 191 money politics club goods legitimacy and, 137-39 hostility toward democracy and, 249-50 in Indonesia, 250

in Philippines, 1-3 poverty and patronage and, 208-11 in Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia), 224-26 monitoring broker monitoring, 110–13 meso-particularism and, 28-29 non-contingent club goods allocations, 136 voter monitoring, 106, 113-16 morselization in Indonesia, 171–73 macro-particularism and, 20 in Malaysia, 173 patronage and, 8 in Philippines, 157, 163, 171 political parties and, 29 programmatic hijacking and, 155-56, 170-73 Muhammadiyah (Indonesian Islamist organization), 183-86, 208 Muhtadi, Burhanuddin, 122–23, 189–202 Muhyiddin Yassin, Muhyiddin, 62-63 multi-member plurality system (MPS), Philippine elections and, 55-56 Muñoz, Paula, 119-20 Muslimat (Malaysia), 78n.9, 192, 196n.20. See also Parti Islam SeMalaysia Nacionalista Party (Philippines), 34-35, 38, 52-53,92 Nahdlatul Ulama (NU, Indonesian traditionalist Islamic organization), 45, 47, 50-51, 142-43, 183-86 Najib Razak, 62, 150, 182-83, 247-48 National Congress for Timorese Reconstruction (CNRT), 77 national parties and coalitions electoral mobilization regimes and, 13-19, 70,75 institutionalization and permanence of, 71 in Malaysia, 11, 77-84 in Singapore, 84 in Timor-Leste, 70, 77, 84 neighborhood associations (Indonesia), women's role in, 192-93 Netherlands East Indies, 36-37 networks of affect club goods as contingent patronage and, 140-43 gender politics and, 191-92 identity politics and, 178 meso-particularism and, 128

305

#### 306

# Index

networks of benefit club goods as contingent patronage and, 140-43 interest alignment and community mediation and, 143-48 meso-particularism and, 128 New Economic Policy (Malaysia), 61, 77-79 New Order (Indonesia) authoritarianism in, 45 micro-patronage politics and, 16-17 political parties and, 46-48, 85-86 social-movement politics in, 17 Nichter, Simeon, 121–22 Noble, Gregory, 9, 253 noken voting system (Papua, Indonesia), 220 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) Indonesian political reform and, 206-30 Philippines corruption scandal involving, 163, 247-48 open-tier list proportional representation system (Indonesia), 49–50, 183–86 gender politics and, 192-93 Orang Asal/Asli (Malaysian Indigenous communities), 140-43, 224n.13 Osmeña, Tomas, 230n.17 outcomes of political patronage, 26 paguyuban (Indonesian self-help groups), 140-43 Pakatan Harapan (Alliance of Hope, PH) (Malaysia) collapse of, 62-63 credit-claiming and cash-transfer scheme under, 164-67 ethnic and religious identity politics and, 180-83 inter-party competition and, 57, 59 reform efforts of, 233 in Sabah and Sarawak, 222-23 Pakatan Rakyat coalition, 84, 164-67, 183 pangulitaw (courtship) (Philippines), clientelism as, 121–22 Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps, Bridging Program for the Filipino Family), 162-63 Papua (Indonesia) coercive politics in, 218 insurgencies in, 220-21 local political networks in, 211, 220-21 noken voting system in, 220 patronage politics in, 217-21

Papua New Guinea, 246 parliamentary systems fragility in Indonesia of, 46 patronage politics and, 21-23 Partai Aceh (Indonesia), 219-20 Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) (Indonesia), 183-86 Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan (Indonesian Democracy Party-Struggle, PDI-P), 48-51, 183-86 Partai Demokrat (Indonesia), 48-49, 193 Partai Gerindra (Greater Indonesia Movement Party), 68-69 Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party, PKS) (Indonesia), 90-91 Partai Kebangkitan Bangasa (PKB, National Awakening Party) (Indonesia), 183-86 Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), 36-37, 47 Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI), 36-37, 45-46 Parti Amanah Negara (National Trust Party, Amanah) (Malaysia), 62-63 particularism, patronage and, 6-10 Parti Islam SeMalaysia (Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party, PAS), 60-61, 78-79, 83, 164-67, 183, 196n.20. See Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS) Parti Keadilan Rakyat (People's Justice Party) (Malaysia), 62-63, 84 Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB, United Bumiputera Heritage Party) (Malaysia), 223 Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (Malaysian United Indigenous Party, Bersatu), 62-63, 182, 227-29 Parti Sosialis Malaysia (PSM), 201-2 Parti Warisan Sabah (Sabah Heritage Party) (Malaysia), 222-23 party list system (Philippines) legislative elections and, 55-56 post-clientelist politics and, 201 women candidates and, 194-95 party machines electoral mobilization and, 73-77 in Malaysia, 77-84, 221-26 Malaysian cash-transfer programs and, 164-67 meso-particularism in Malaysia and, 131-33 patterns and variation in, 236-37 in Philippines, 34-35, 38, 52-53, 92 programmatic hijacking and, 158 Singapore patronage politics and, 243-44 in Thailand, 245

# Index

patronage politics bottom-up perspective on, 17-19 bureaucratic coherence vs. logic of, 34-36 candidates' engagement and, 239 class divisions and, 198-202 clientelism vs., 3-10, 19-20, 22-23, 32 core issues in, 3-6 cross-case and within-case variations in, 15-19 cross-national research in, 23-26, 30, 238 defined. 6 democratic governance and, 21-23, 246-50 electoral mobilization and, 11-13, 19, 71-77, 239-41 ethnic and religious identity politics and, 179-88 historical-institutional origins of, 27 identity politics and, 20, 29, 176-203 Indonesian New Order and growth of, 46-48 Indonesian open-tier list proportional election system impact on, 49-50 Indonesian success teams (tim sukses) and, 84-91 intra-country variation in Southeast Asia of, 204-8 islands of exception to, 227-33 levels of government and, 9-10 macro-particularism and, 8 Malaysian political parties and, 57-62, 77-84 Marcos's centralization in Philippines of, 54-55 meso-particularism and, 7-8 micro-particularism and, 7 network development and, 11-13, 27-28 peripheral areas, cross-national comparisons of, 211-33 in Philippines, 1-3, 52-53, 95-98 political parties and, 63-66, 239-41 politicians' access to patronage and, 71-73 poverty and, 208-11 public policy hijacking and, 150-75 reform prospects for, 251-56 social groups and, 242-43 societal framework for, 20 in Southeast Asia, 3–6, 21–23, 69, 236–37 subnational variations in, 30 top-down perspective on, 16-17 turf protection and, 121–22 US influence in Philippines on, 37-38 PDP-LABAN party, 56-57

307

Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK, Family Welfare Movement) (Indonesia), 192-93 Pemuda UMNO, 77-79 People's Action Party (PAP, Singapore), 60-61, 80-81, 84, 243-44 meso-particularism and, 132n.9 People's Anti-Japanese Army (Philippines), 39 Pepinsky, Thomas A., 211 Perikatan Nasional (National Alliance, PN) (Malaysia), 222–23 peripheral areas, patronage politics in cross-national comparisons, 211-33 Mindanao/Sulu archipelago patterns (Philippines), 212-24 Papua and Aceh patterns (Indonesia), 217-21 Sarawak and Sabah patterns (Malaysia), 206-7 Peru, credibility buying in, 119-20 Philippines. See also Mindanao/Sulu archipelago access to government resources in, 157 aggregation of electoral mobilization networks in, 70-71 brokerage structures in, 189-202 broker risk and monitoring in, 110-13 bureaucracy in colonial era in, 38-39 candidate-patronage links in, 18-19, 28 civil society organizations and patronage politics in, 229-31 clan politics in, 207 class politics in, 210, 249-50 clientelism in, 75–77, 92 club goods as electoral strategy in, 137-39 coercion and patronage in, 52, 56-57, 205, 207, 212-24 colonialism and political patronage in, 27, 37-38 communist movement in, 17n.8, 55-56 constituency services in, 168 cooperative vs. adversarial campaigning in, 94-95 corruption and patronage in, 246-50 credibility buying in, 119-20, 123 credit-claiming and cash-transfer programs in, 162-63 current political upheavals in, 235-36 electoral clientelism in, 52-53, 75-77, 106 electoral system in, 44 ethnic and religious identity politics in, 180-81, 186-87 facilitation in, 168

#### 308

## Index

Philippines. (cont.) family dynasties' power in, 17-18, 191 fragmentation of patronage in, 35 gender disparities and clientelism in, 189-90, 194-95 identity and patronage in, 176-77 independence of political machines in, 17-18, 80-81 institutionalization and permanence of local machines in, 71, 96-98 Islamic population in, 212–24 islands of exception in, 231-32 legitimacy of club goods in, 137-39 local political machines in, 11-13, 16, 27-28, 32-33, 70, 72 local voter and broker surveys in, 264 Marcos regime in, 54-55 martial law imposed in, 54 meso-particularism in, 10-13, 15 micro-particularism in, 10-13, 28 Mindanao/Sulu archipelago patronage patterns, 212-24 morselization in, 29, 171 Nacionalista Party in, 34-35 national oligarchy impact on political mobilization in, 17-18 national survey data for, 258 networks of affect in, 140-43 networks of benefit in, 143-48 non-contingent club goods allocations in, 136-37 patronage and political machines in, 1-3, 52-53 patronage for party coordination in, 72-73 political economy of, 22-23 post-clientelist politics in, 201 postcolonial political history in, 51-57 in regional context, 33-34 relational clientelism in, 91-92, 96-98, 109 religious networks and patronage in, 141 state-owned bank in, 38-39 subnational patronage variation in, 205, 207, 210-11, 268-70 Thailand patronage politics compared with, 245 trade unions and politics in, 199-202 turf protection in, 120-23 urban centers as islands of exception in, 227-29 villages and neighborhoods, politics in, 18-19

violence in regional patronage politics in, 213-14 vote-brokerage in, 1–3, 93–98, 101–4 voter monitoring in, 113-16 voter reciprocity in, 116-17 voter registration increase in, 51 voter targeting criteria in, 106-9 weapons proliferation in, 52, 216n.9 women as candidates in, 191 pillared clientelism, in postcolonial Indonesia, 46 political discretion, programmatic hijacking and, 156-60 political parties. See also party machines bureaucracy and, 65-66 in colonial Malaysia, 41–42 electoral mobilization networks and, 69-70 ethnic and religious cleavages and, 43-44 European parties, 43 external vs. internal mobilization of, 34-35 historical evolution of, 42-44 independence of Philippine political machines from, 2, 17-18 Indonesian authoritarianism and undermining of, 32-33 Indonesian ethnic and religious identity politics and, 183-86 Indonesian patronage distribution and, 47, 85-86 Malaysian social networks and, 18 meso-particularism in Malaysia and, 131-33 patronage politics and, 63-66 in Philippines, 34-35, 38, 52-53, 92 in postcolonial Indonesia, 45 in postcolonial Malaysia, 57-63 in postcolonial Philippines, 51-57 post-independence changes to, 42-44 in postindependence Philippines, 51-57 resources of, 26 pork-barrel corruption in Indonesia, 246–50 in Philippines, 130–31, 157n.4, 246–50 post-clientelist initiatives cross-national comparisons of, 199–202 islands of exception and, 232-33 post-colonial era divergence in Southeast Asia in impact of, 33-34 Indonesian politics in, 45-51 Malaysian politics in, 51-57 Philippine politics in, 50–51 Southeast Asian parties and electoral systems and, 42-44

### Index

### 309

poverty patronage politics and, 208-11 in Philippine peripheral regions, 212-24 power structures clientelism and, 207, 210 Philippine family dynasties and, 17-18, 191 state power in Malaysia and, 62–66 Prabowo, Subianto, 50-51, 141 Prajak Kongkirati, 245 preman (Indonesian local gangs), 207, 217-21 presidentialist parties (Indonesia), 48-49 presidential systems, patronage politics and, 21-23 Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) scandal (Philippines), 163, 247-48 problem-solving mediators, networks of benefit and, 145-46 programmatic hijacking credit-claiming and, 154-55, 161-67 cross-national comparisons of, 159-73 ethnic and religious identity politics in Malaysia and, 183 facilitation and, 155, 167-70 logic of, 151-53 mobilization and, 156-60, 170-73 morselization and, 155-56 types of, 153-56 project brokers (makelar proyek), Indonesian morselization and, 171-73 Projek Perumahan Rakyat (People's Housing Project, PPR) (Malaysia), 150 proportional representation, Indonesian openlist election system vs., 49-50, 252-53 public financing of elections, 253 public goods, meso-particularism and, 7-8 public policy hijacking. See also programmatic hijacking cash-transfer programs and, 161-62 logic of, 151-53 patronage and, 150–75 politicians' divergence of assistance resources, 246-50 Purnama, Basuki Tjahaja (Ahok), 206-30 Puteri UMNO (Malaysia), 78n.9 Quezon, Manuel, 39, 51

Ravanilla, Nico, 55–56, 268–70 reciprocity, club goods as contingent patronage and, 140 regional elections (*bilkada*). Indonesia politics

regional elections *(pilkada)*, Indonesia politics and, 86–87, 183–86, 265–68 regional government, in Indonesia, 133-34, 265-68 regions of exception. See also islands of exception Indonesian patronage networks in, 219-21 relational clientelism local machines and, 91-92, 96-98 in Malaysia, 81-82 party politics and, 81-82 in Philippines, 91-92, 96-98, 109 turf protection and, 121-22 voter targeting and, 109 religion Indonesian political parties and, 47 Malaysian ethnicity and, 57-62 Malaysian parties and, 43 political parties and, 43-44 religious networks contingent patronage and, 140-43 identity politics and, 179-88 Indonesian politics and patronage and, 183-86 Malaysian politics and patronage and, 180-83 Philippine politics and patronage and, 186-87 women's role in, 192-93 rent-seeking, in Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia), 221-26 resource constraints meso-particularism and, 28-29 non-contingent club goods allocations and, 136-37 political parties, 26 Rismaharini, Tri (Risma), 227-29 Robredo, Jesse, 229-33 Robredo, Leni, 227 Rokkan, Stein, 43 rural districts (kabupaten) (Indonesia), 265-68 Sabah (Malaysia) Bumiputera support in, 62-63 colonialism in, 40 electoral mobilization in, 67-68, 79, 204 local party strength in, 222-24 patronage networks in, 82, 207, 221-26 postcolonial politics in, 57

Sarawak (Malaysia) Bumiputera support in, 62–63 electoral mobilization in, 67–68, 79, 204 group targeting in, 125–28 local party strength in, 222–24

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-316-51380-4 — Mobilizing for Elections Edward Aspinall , Meredith L. Weiss , Allen Hicken , Paul D. Hutchcroft Index More Information

#### 310

### Index

Sarawak (Malaysia) (cont.) patronage networks in, 82, 207, 221-26 postcolonial politics in, 79 Savirani, Amalinda, 200-1 Schaffer, Frederic, 249-50 Schechter, Laura, 106 Scott, James, 22-23, 208 self-enforcing clientelism, 147-48 Shantz, Arthur Alan, 54 Shefter, Martin, 6, 31-36, 43, 64, 239-41 Sidel, John T., 214–17 Silent Riot (Sabah, Malaysia), 2211.12 Singapore facilitation and programmatic hijacking in, 155n.3 Malaysian colonization and, 40 meso-particularism in, 132n.9 national parties in, 70, 84 networks of benefit in, 147n.20 party machine regime in, 80-81 patronage politics in, 21-23, 243-44 single-member district plurality (SMDP), Philippine electoral system and, 53-54 single nontransferable vote (SNTV) (Japan), 252-53 Slater, Dan, 48-49 social assistance Indonesian meso-particularism and, 133-34 politicians' diverting of, 246-50 social desirability bias, vote brokering and, 102-3 social networks autonomy and egalitarianism of, 30 class divisions and, 198-202 club goods as contingent patronage, 139-43 Indonesian political parties and, 50-51 Malaysian party affiliations and, 18 patronage politics and, 20, 242-43 of political parties, 42-44 Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia) patronage politics and, 225-26 vote brokering and, 106 social stigma, meso-particularism and avoidance of, 28-29 Solomon Islands, 246 Southeast Asia comparative politics of patronage in, 22-23, 243-46 credit-claiming patterns in, 161-67 current political upheavals in, 235-36 electoral mobilization regimes in, 10-13, 73-77

identity politics in, 177-79 intra-country variation in patronage politics in, 204-8 micro-particularism in, 100-1 mobilization networks in, 69-73 opposition parties mobilization in, 83 patronage politics in, 3-6, 21-23, 236-37 peripheral areas and patronage politics in, 211-33 postcolonial parties and electoral systems in, 42-44 state assistance and welfare programs in, 145-46 South Seas Communist Party, 60 state-building clientelism and strength of, 206 networks of benefit and, 145-46 party and political institutional development and. 19 programmatic hijacking and, 156-60 state resources capacity levels of, 30 electoral mobilization and access to, 10-11 Indonesian authoritarian rule and consolidation of, 32-33 Indonesian politicians' access to, 157-58 macro-particularism and access to, 29 Malaysian centralization of, 167 Malaysian politicans' access to, 158 Malaysian UMNO access to, 59-60, 80-81, 83 party distribution in Malaysia of, 81-82 patronage distribution and access to, 72, 239-41 Philippine politicians access to, 157 political party control of, 34-35, 80-81 politicians' divergence of, 246-50 Stokes, Susan, 109, 120-21, 170 Straits Settlements, 40 subnational patronage politics in Indonesia, 205, 207, 210–11, 265–68 in Malaysia, 42, 205, 207, 211, 270–72 in Philippines, 205, 207, 210–11, 268–70 survey research on, 265–72 variations in Southeast Asia of, 30, 204-8 subnational regionals clientelism and, 207-8 Indonesia, Malaysia, and Philippines in, 33-34 patronage variations in, 210-11 success teams (tim sukses) candidate development of, 70-71

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-316-51380-4 — Mobilizing for Elections Edward Aspinall , Meredith L. Weiss , Allen Hicken , Paul D. Hutchcroft Index More Information

# Index

## 311

electoral mobilization and, 84-91 ephemeral nature of, 72 local networks and, 11, 68-69 regional elections and, 88-89 success teams (tim sukses) (Indonesia), campaign coordination and, 87-91 suffrage restrictions, Philippine patronage politics and, 16, 38 Suharto, 16-17, 32-33, 45-48 Sukarno, 45-47 survey research electoral politics, 25-26 local voter and broker surveys, 262-64 national surveys, 257-62 on patronage politics, 24-25 subnational government and electoral systems, 265-72 Taft, William Howard, 37-38 Taib Mahmud, 223-25 Tans, Ryan, 206-30 tarekat (Sufi religious orders), 141 targeting. See also micro-particularism of beneficiaries, 7-8 class divisions and, 198-202 credibility-buying and turf-protection and, 119 criteria for voter selection, 106-9 group targeting, patterns in Southeast Asia of, 125-28 of individuals and resources, 11-13, 99-100 monitoring and enforcement of voters and, 109-10 non-contingent club goods allocation, 135-39 term limits, in Philippine elections, 55–56 Thailand class politics in, 249 coup of 2014 in, 235-36 gender disparities and clientelism in, 188-89 national parties in, 70 patronage politics in, 21-23, 245 political economy of, 22-23 political violence in, 214 Thompson, Mark, 249-50 timber mafia, 224-25 timing of elections, party coordination and, 44n.8 Timor-Leste national parties in, 70, 77, 84 patronage politics in, 21-23, 244-45 top-down perspective, patronage politics and, 16-17

trade unions, post-clientelist initiatives and targeting of, 199-202 tribal leaders, Papua (Indonesia) patronage politics and, 220-21 trust clientelism and, 139-46 ethnic and religious identity politics and, 179-80 turf protection meso-particularism and, 28-29, 126-35 micro-particularism and, 105 patronage and, 13, 19-20 strategies for, 120-23 turnout buying micro-particularism and, 105 monitoring and enforcement, 109-10 Ufen, Andreas, 48-49 Unfederated Malay States, 40 United Malays National Organization (UMNO). See also Wanita UMNO bureaucratic ties with, 57-62 colonial Malaysia and, 41-42 democratic governance and patronage and, 250 dominance of, 57-62, 77-79 electoral mobilization strategy of, 78-79 ethnic and religious identity politics and, 180-83 Malaysian party organization and, 16n.7 national party dominance of, 77-79 strength in Sabah of, 222-24 women's wing of, 67-68, 193-94 United States, Philippine colonization and, 37-38 urban centers in Indonesia, 265-68 as islands of exception, 227-29 political restructuring in, 207-8 violence absence in Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia) of, 221-26 in Aceh, 219–20 Indonesian state monopoly on, 217-21 in Philippine peripheral regions, 213-17 Volksraad (Indonesia), 36-37 von Luebke, Christian, 231-32 vote-buying/vote-brokering broker risk and monitoring, 110-13 cash distributions in, 100-7 class divisions amd, 198-202, 209

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-316-51380-4 — Mobilizing for Elections Edward Aspinall , Meredith L. Weiss , Allen Hicken , Paul D. Hutchcroft Index More Information

### 312

# Index

vote-buying/vote-brokering (cont.) electoral mobilization and, 71-73 failures in reform of, 255-56 gender patterns in, 190, 195-97 in Indonesia, 96–98, 102–3 in Malaysia, 100–1, 102n.4, 103–4 mechanics of, 101-4 micro-particularism and, 28, 105 in Mindanao (Philippines), 213–14 monitoring and enforcement of, 109-10 national surveys of, 262-64 patronage networks and, 71-73 in Philippines, 1–3, 93–95, 102–3 in Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia), 221-26, 228 in Southeast Asia, 21 voter monitoring and, 113-16 voter defections, politicians' fear of, 122–23 voter monitoring difficulties of, 106 Indonesian-Philippine comparisons of, 113-16 voter reciprocity, 116-17

Wanita UMNO, 67-68, 78-79, 193-94 weapons Indonesian state control of, 217-21 proliferation in Philippines of, 52, 216n.9 Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca, 154-55 Wilkinson, Steven L., 135, 140-43, 152-53 within-case patronage politics variations, 15-19 women as candidates, 190-91 electoral mobilization and role of, 67-68 Indonesian politics and role of, 68-69, 192-93 Malaysian politics and role of, 192-94 Philippine politics and role of, 194-95 UMNO electoral mobilization and role of, 78-79 vote-brokering targeting, 190

```
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang,
48–49, 169–70
```