

**Chapter 12. "Democratization and the Construction of Class Cleavages
in Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia, 1992-2019"**

Amory GETHIN, Thanasak JENMANA

Appendix D - Indonesia

Appendix D - Main figures and tables

Figure D1	Election results in Indonesia, 1971-2019
Figure D2	Vote for PDI-P/Nasdem by religion
Figure D3	Support for selected Indonesian political parties among practicing Muslims
Figure D4	Vote for PDI-P/Nasdem by income group
Figure D5	Support for selected Indonesian political parties among top-income voters
Table D1	The structure of political cleavages in Indonesia, 2014

Appendix DA - Composition of the electorate and election results

Figure DA1	Election results in Indonesia, 1971-2019
Figure DA2	Election results in Indonesia by group, 1971-2019
Figure DA3	Composition of the electorate by education level
Figure DA4	Composition of the electorate by age
Figure DA5	Composition of the electorate by religion
Figure DA6	Composition of the electorate by location
Figure DA7	Composition of income quintiles by religion, 1999
Figure DA8	Composition of income quintiles by religion, 2014
Figure DA9	Composition of income quintiles by education, 1999
Figure DA10	Composition of income quintiles by education, 2014
Figure DA11	Rural-urban composition of income deciles, 1999
Figure DA12	Rural-urban composition of income deciles, 2004
Figure DA13	Composition of income groups by ethnicity, 1999
Figure DA14	Composition of income groups by ethnicity, 2014
Figure DA15	Composition of ethnic groups by income, 1999
Figure DA16	Composition of ethnic groups by income, 2014

Appendix DB - Structure of the vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura

Figure DB1	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by education level
------------	--

Figure DB2	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among higher-educated voters
Figure DB3	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by income group
Figure DB4	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among top-income voters
Figure DB5	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by religion
Figure DB6	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among practicing Muslims
Figure DB7	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by age group
Figure DB8	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among young voters
Figure DB9	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by location
Figure DB10	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among urban voters
Figure DB11	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by ethnicity
Figure DB12	Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among Javanese voters

Appendix DC - Structure of the vote for PDI-P/NasDem

Figure DC1	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by education level
Figure DC2	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among higher-educated voters
Figure DC3	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by income group
Figure DC4	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among top-income voters
Figure DC5	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by religion
Figure DC6	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among practicing Muslims
Figure DC7	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by age group
Figure DC8	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among young voters
Figure DC9	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by location
Figure DC10	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among urban voters
Figure DC11	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by ethnicity
Figure DC12	Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among Javanese voters

Appendix DD - Structure of the vote for Islamic parties

Figure DD1	Vote for Islamic parties by education level
Figure DD2	Vote for Islamic parties among higher-educated voters
Figure DD3	Vote for Islamic parties by income group
Figure DD4	Vote for Islamic parties among top-income voters
Figure DD5	Vote for Islamic parties by religion
Figure DD6	Vote for Islamic parties among practicing Muslims
Figure DD7	Vote for Islamic parties by age group
Figure DD8	Vote for Islamic parties among young voters

Figure DD9	Vote for Islamic parties by location
Figure DD10	Vote for Islamic parties among urban voters
Figure DD11	Vote for Islamic parties by ethnicity
Figure DD12	Vote for Islamic parties among Javanese voters

Appendix DE - Structure of the vote for Partai Demokrat

Figure DE1	Vote for PD by education level
Figure DE2	Vote for PD among higher-educated voters
Figure DE3	Vote for PD by income group
Figure DE4	Vote for PD among top-income voters
Figure DE5	Vote for PD by religion
Figure DE6	Vote for PD among practicing Muslims
Figure DE7	Vote for PD by age group
Figure DE8	Vote for PD among young voters
Figure DE9	Vote for PD by location
Figure DE10	Vote for PD among urban voters
Figure DE11	Vote for PD by ethnicity
Figure DE12	Vote for PD among Javanese voters

Appendix DF - Structure of the vote for Gerindra

Figure DF1	Vote for Gerindra by education level
Figure DF2	Vote for Gerindra among higher-educated voters
Figure DF3	Vote for Gerindra by income group
Figure DF4	Vote for Gerindra among top-income voters
Figure DF5	Vote for Gerindra by religion
Figure DF6	Vote for Gerindra among practicing Muslims
Figure DF7	Vote for Gerindra by age group
Figure DF8	Vote for Gerindra among young voters
Figure DF9	Vote for Gerindra by location
Figure DF10	Vote for Gerindra among urban voters

Appendix DG - Structure of the vote for Hanura

Figure DG1	Vote for Hanura by education level
Figure DG2	Vote for Hanura among higher-educated voters
Figure DG3	Vote for Hanura by income group
Figure DG4	Vote for Hanura among top-income voters

Figure DG5	Vote for Hanura by religion
Figure DG6	Vote for Hanura among practicing Muslims
Figure DG7	Vote for Hanura by age group
Figure DG8	Vote for Hanura among young voters
Figure DG9	Vote for Hanura by location
Figure DG10	Vote for Hanura among urban voters

Appendix DH - Structure of the vote for Golkar

Figure DH1	Vote for Golkar by education level
Figure DH2	Vote for Golkar among higher-educated voters
Figure DH3	Vote for Golkar by income group
Figure DH4	Vote for Golkar among top-income voters
Figure DH5	Vote for Golkar by religion
Figure DH6	Vote for Golkar among practicing Muslims
Figure DH7	Vote for Golkar among young voters
Figure DH8	Vote for Golkar by location
Figure DH9	Vote for Golkar among urban voters
Figure DH10	Vote for Golkar by ethnicity
Figure DH11	Vote for Golkar among Javanese voters

Appendix DI - Structure of the vote for PDI-P

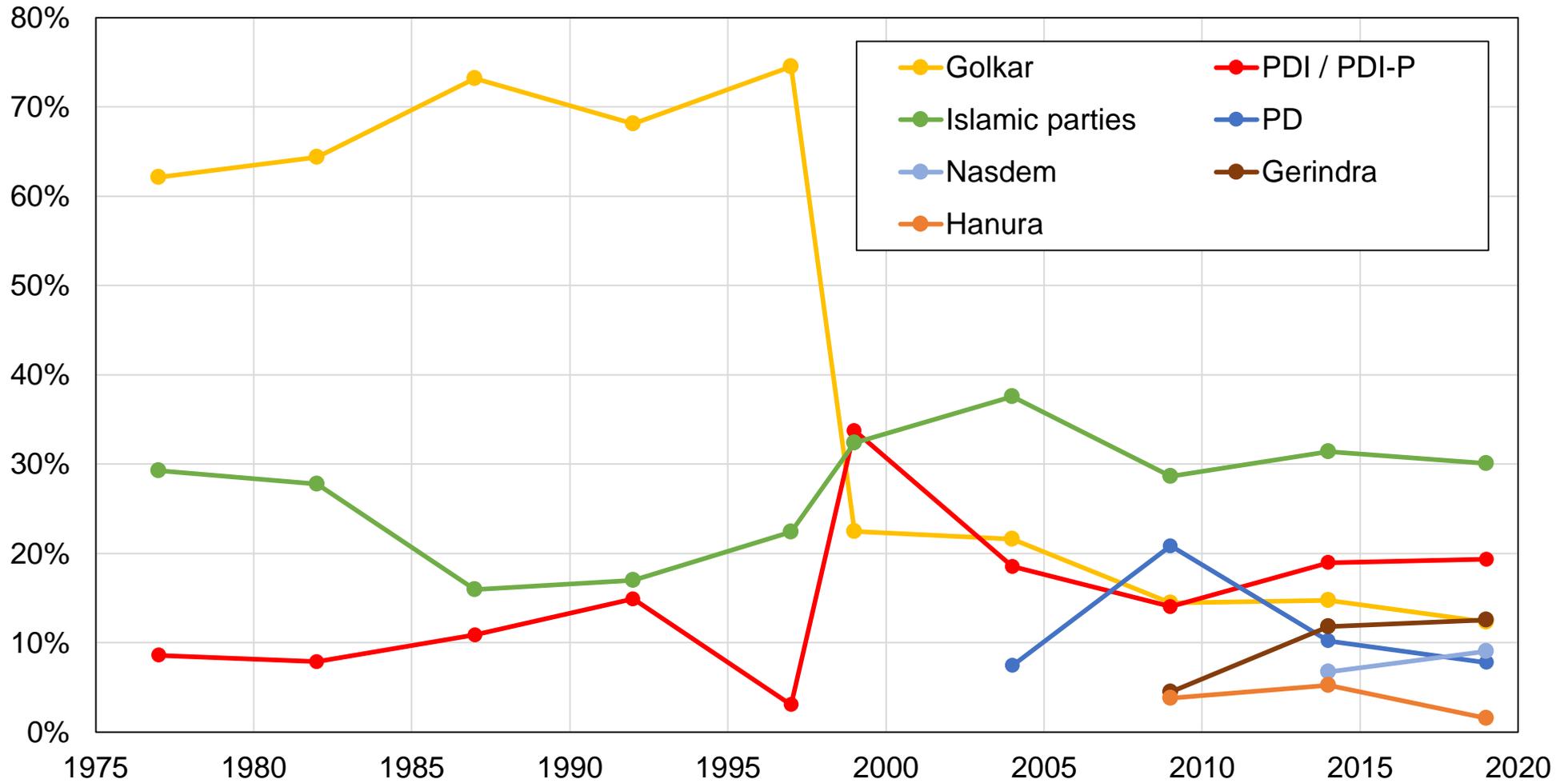
Figure DI1	Vote for PDI-P by education level
Figure DI2	Vote for PDI-P among higher-educated voters
Figure DI3	Vote for PDI-P by income group
Figure DI4	Vote for PDI-P among top-income voters
Figure DI5	Vote for PDI-P by religion
Figure DI6	Vote for PDI-P among practicing Muslims
Figure DI7	Vote for PDI-P by age group
Figure DI8	Vote for PDI-P among young voters
Figure DI9	Vote for PDI-P by location
Figure DI10	Vote for PDI-P among urban voters
Figure DI11	Vote for PDI-P by ethnicity
Figure DI12	Vote for PDI-P among Javanese voters

Appendix BD - Appendix tables

Table DA1	Survey data sources
-----------	---------------------

Table DA2 Complete descriptive statistics by year

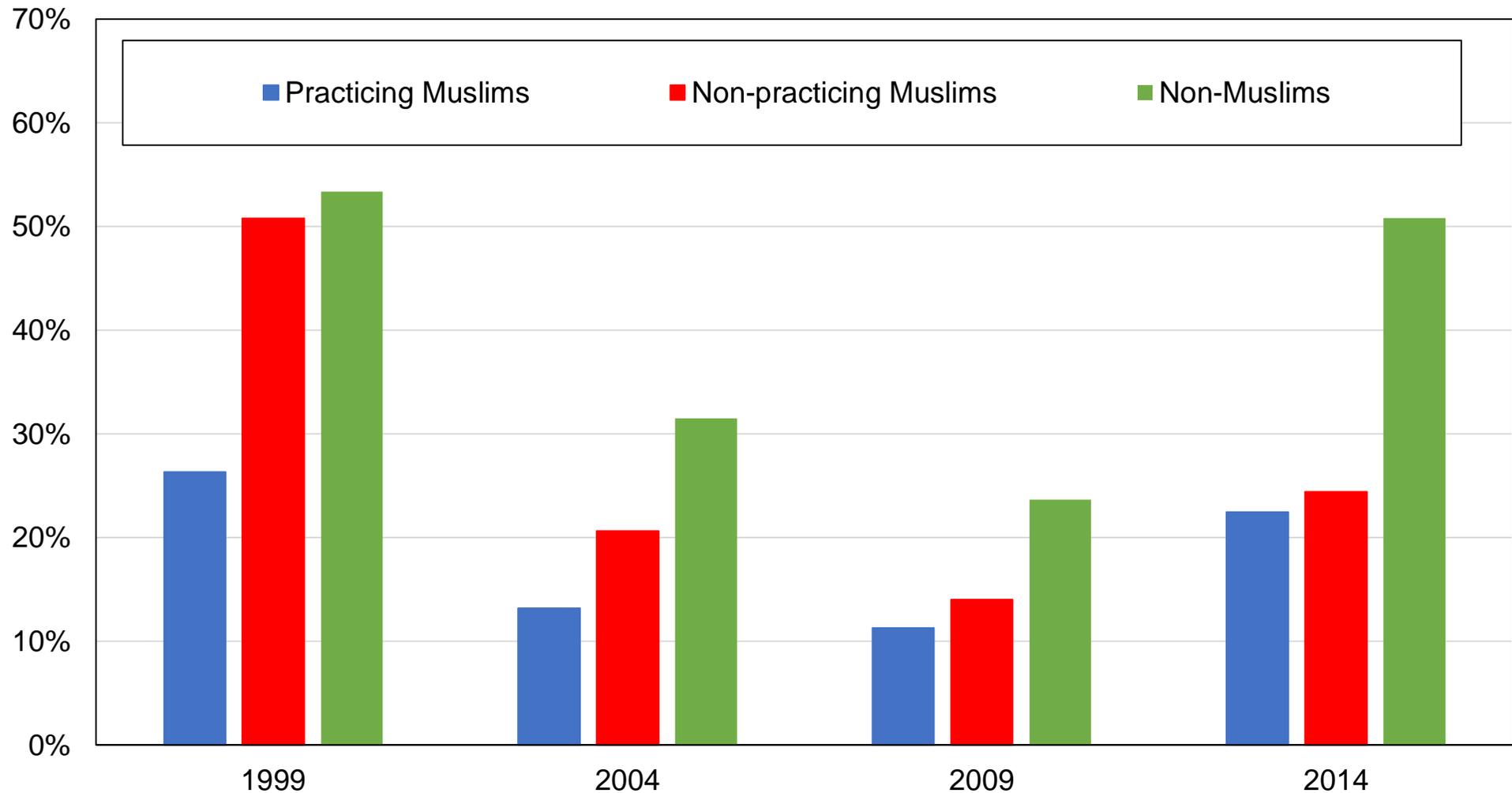
Figure D1 - Election results in Indonesia, 1971-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected Indonesian political parties or groups of parties in legislative elections between 1977 and 2019. Islamic parties include the PAN, PBB, PBR, PKB, PKNU, PKS, and PPP.

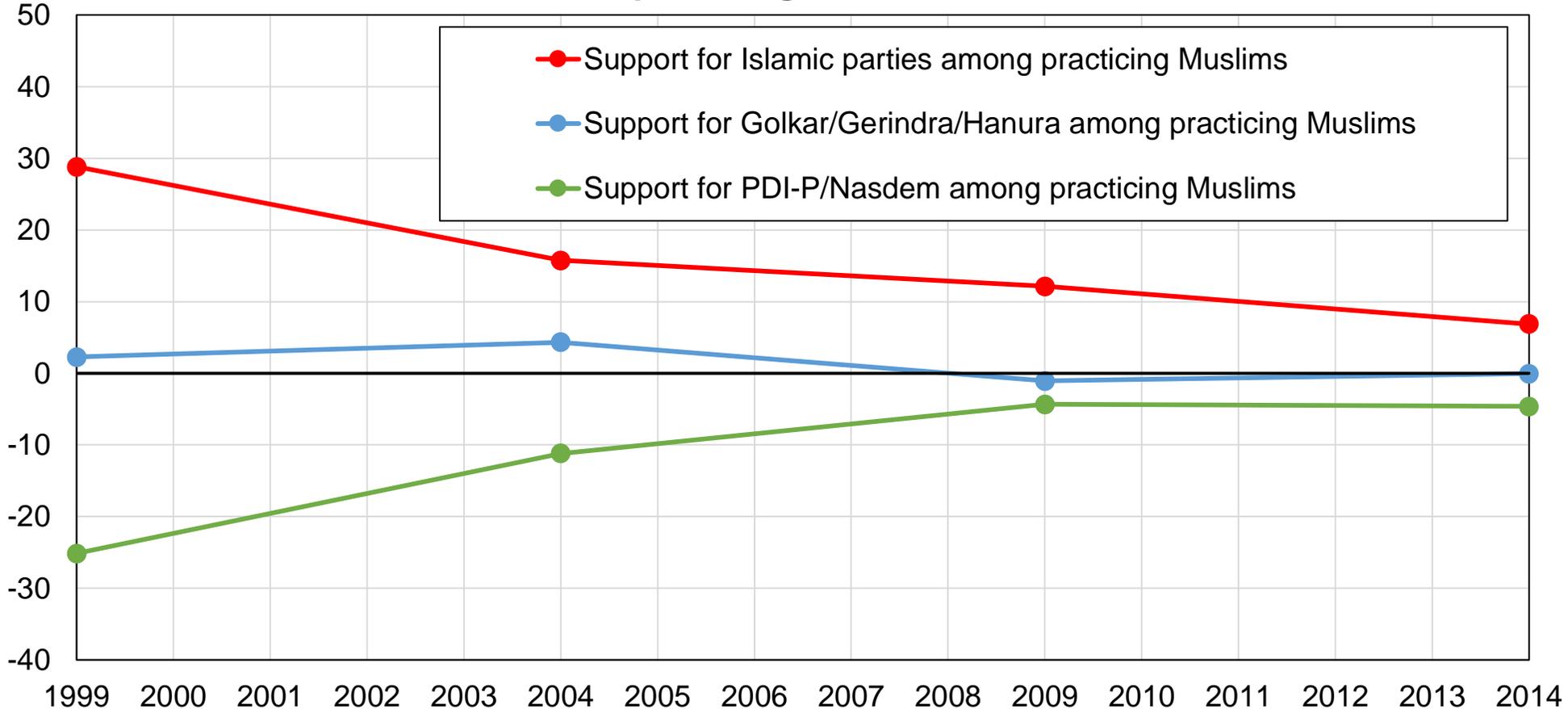
Figure D2 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P/NasDem by religious affiliation. Practicing Muslims corresponds to Muslims declaring participating "Often" or "Very often/Always" to collective prayers.

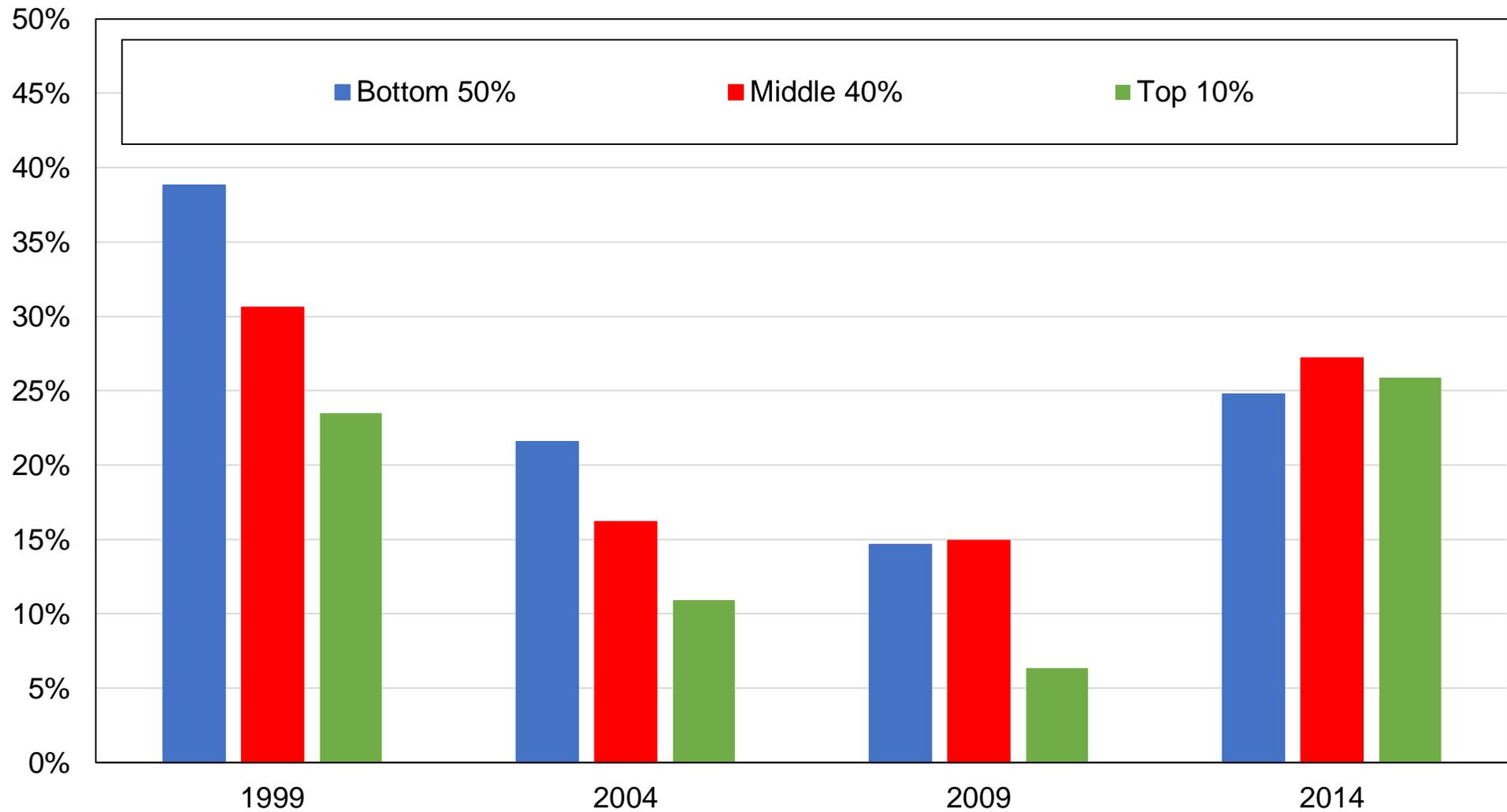
Figure D3 – Support for selected Indonesian political parties among practicing Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of practicing Muslims voting for Islamic parties and the share of non-practicing Muslims and non-Muslims voting for Islamic parties, and the same difference for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura and PDI-P/Nasdem, after controlling for income, education, rural-urban location, employment status, age, and gender.

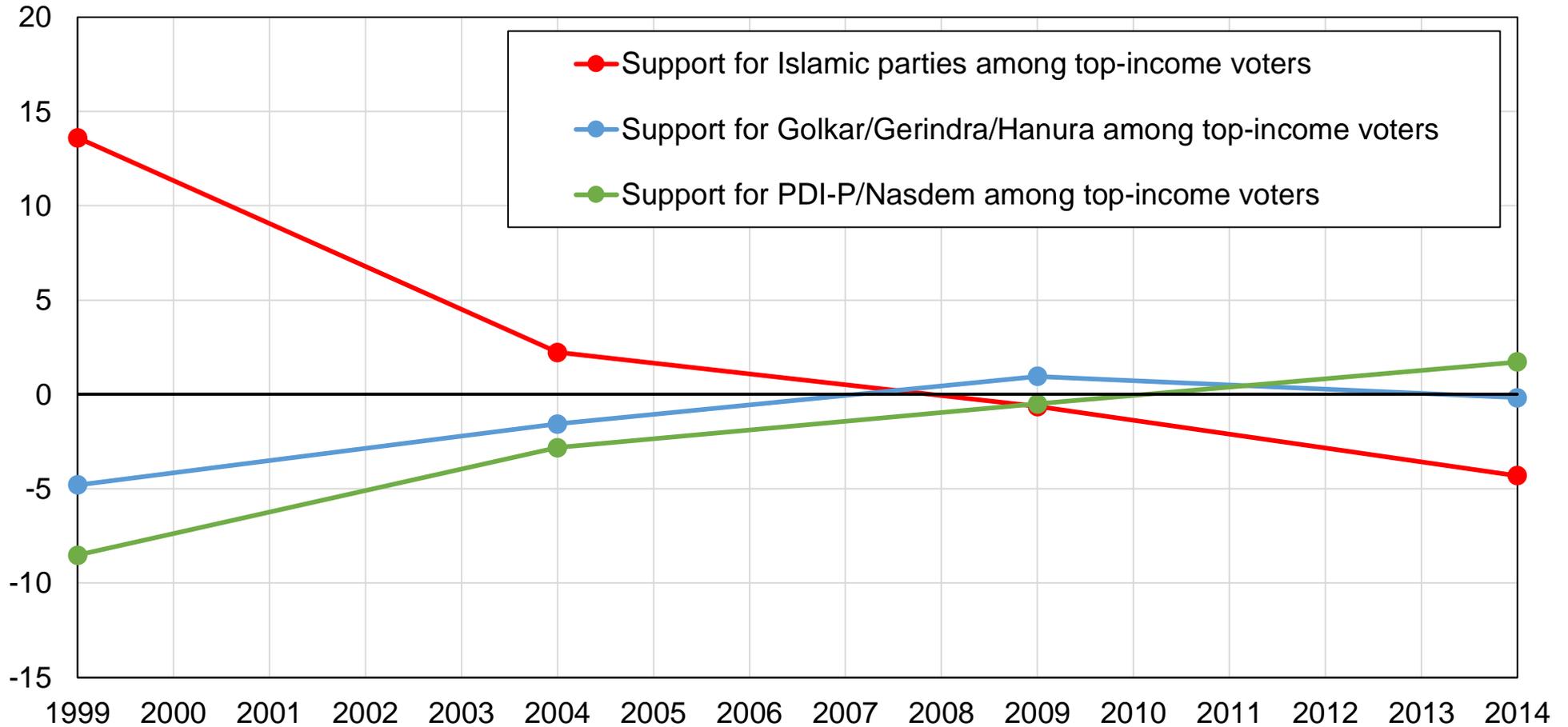
Figure D4 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P/NasDem by income group.

Figure D5 – Support for selected Indonesian political parties among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of bottom 90% earners voting for Islamic parties, and the same difference for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura and PDI-P/Nasdem, after controlling for religion, education, rural-urban location, employment status, age, and gender.

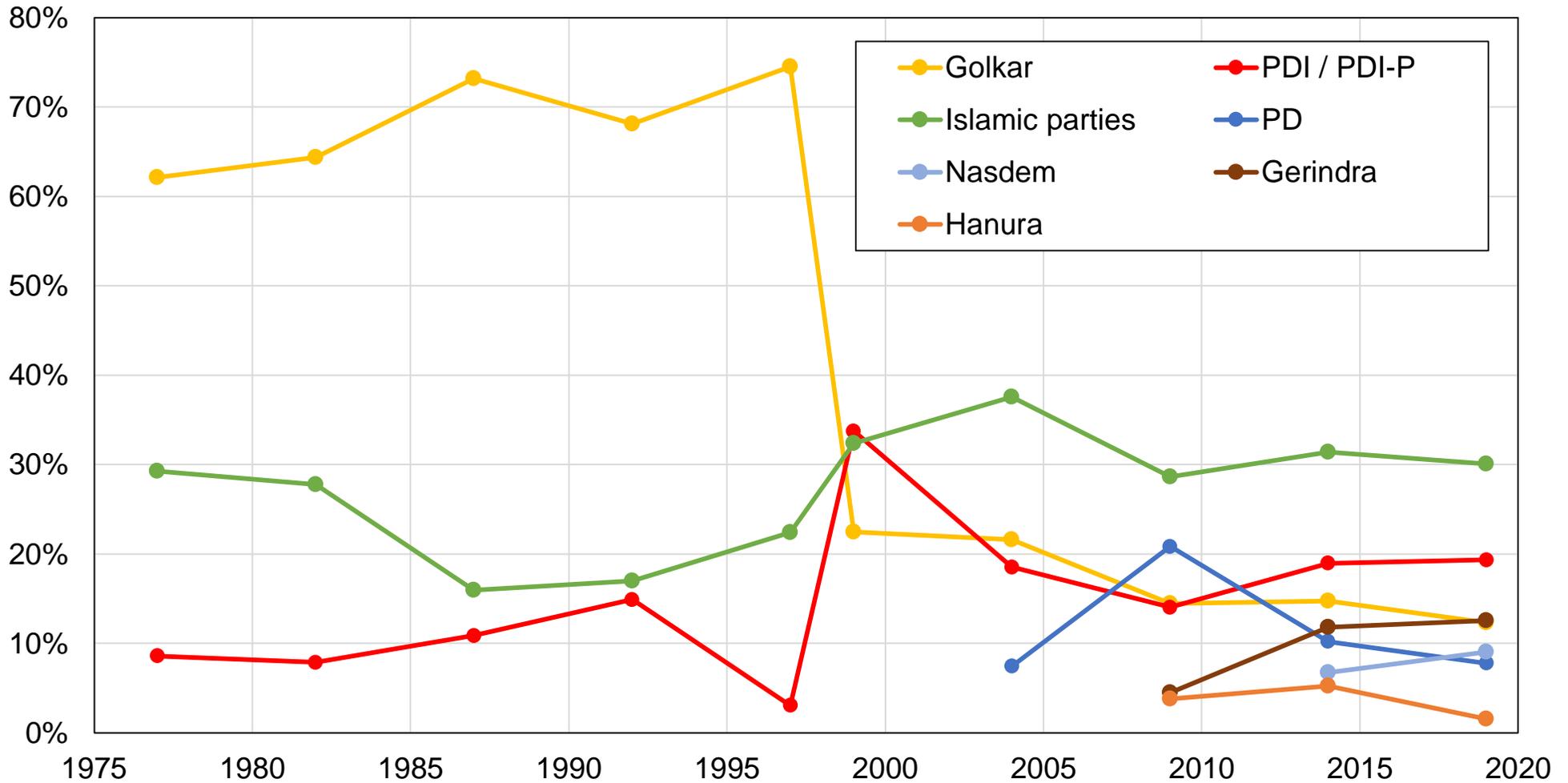
Table D1 - The structure of political cleavages in Indonesia, 2014

	PDI-P	PD	Golkar	Nasdem	Hanura	Gerindra	Islamic Parties
Overall vote share	18,95%	10,19%	14,75%	6,72%	5,26%	11,81%	31,41%
Education							
Primary or lower	17%	9%	18%	8%	5%	11%	31%
Secondary	21%	11%	12%	7%	5%	12%	32%
Tertiary	20%	13%	13%	2%	6%	14%	33%
Income							
Bottom 50%	17%	10%	16%	8%	5%	11%	33%
Middle 40%	21%	10%	14%	6%	6%	11%	30%
Top 10%	23%	12%	12%	3%	5%	15%	30%
Religion							
Practicing Muslims	16%	9%	15%	7%	5%	12%	35%
Non-practicing Muslims	19%	10%	14%	6%	7%	11%	32%
Non-Muslims	38%	13%	17%	13%	1%	10%	8%
Location							
Urban	23%	7%	13%	5%	5%	13%	34%
Rural	15%	13%	17%	9%	6%	11%	29%

Source: authors' computations using CNEP surveys.

Note: the table shows the detailed structure of the vote for Indonesian political parties in the 2014 legislative election. Islamic parties include the PAN, PBB, PBR, PKB, PKNU, PKS, and PPP.

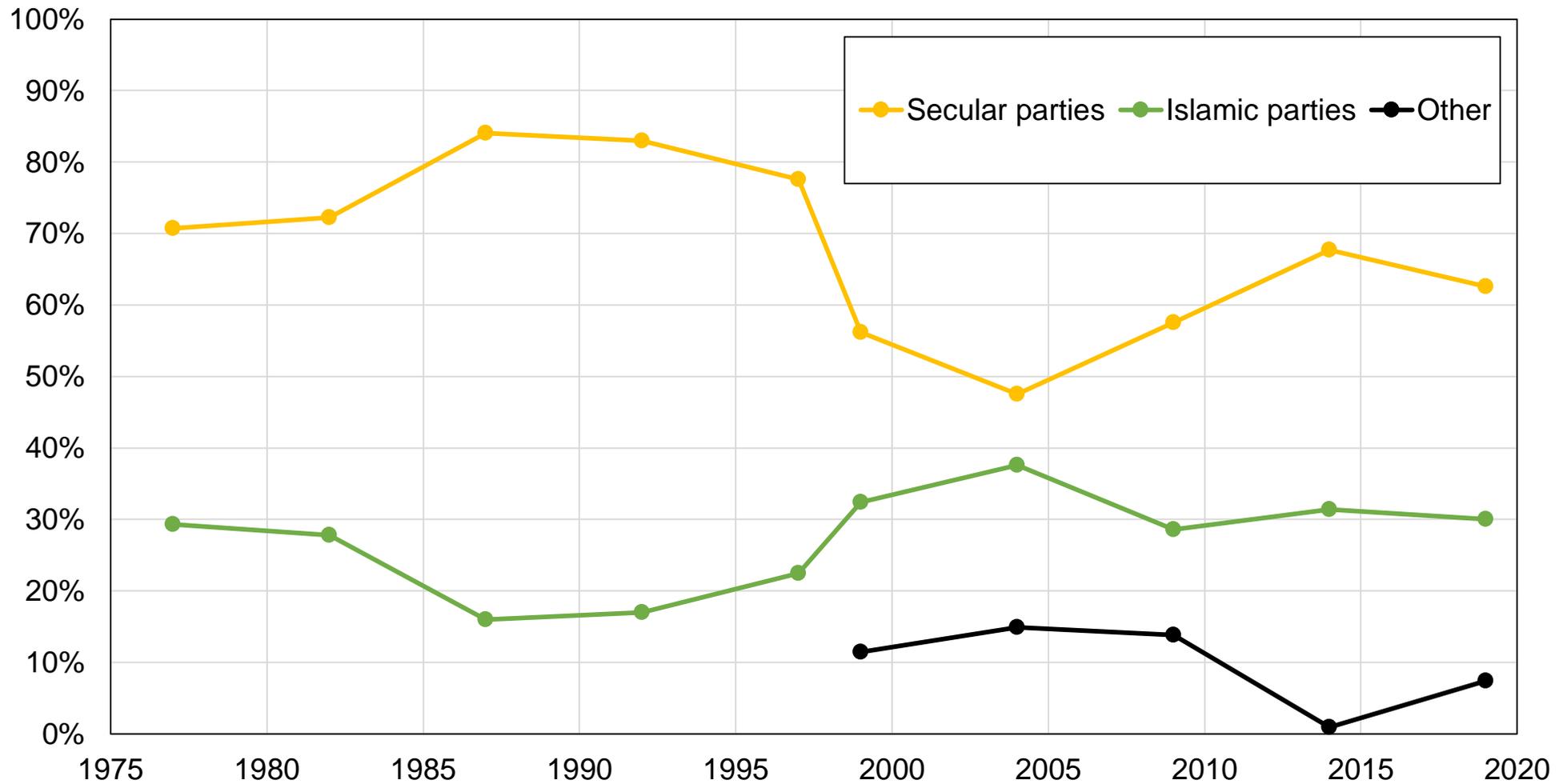
Figure DA1 - Election results in Indonesia, 1971-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected Indonesian political parties or groups of parties in legislative elections between 1977 and 2019. Islamic parties include the PAN, PBB, PBR, PKB, PKNU, PKS, and PPP.

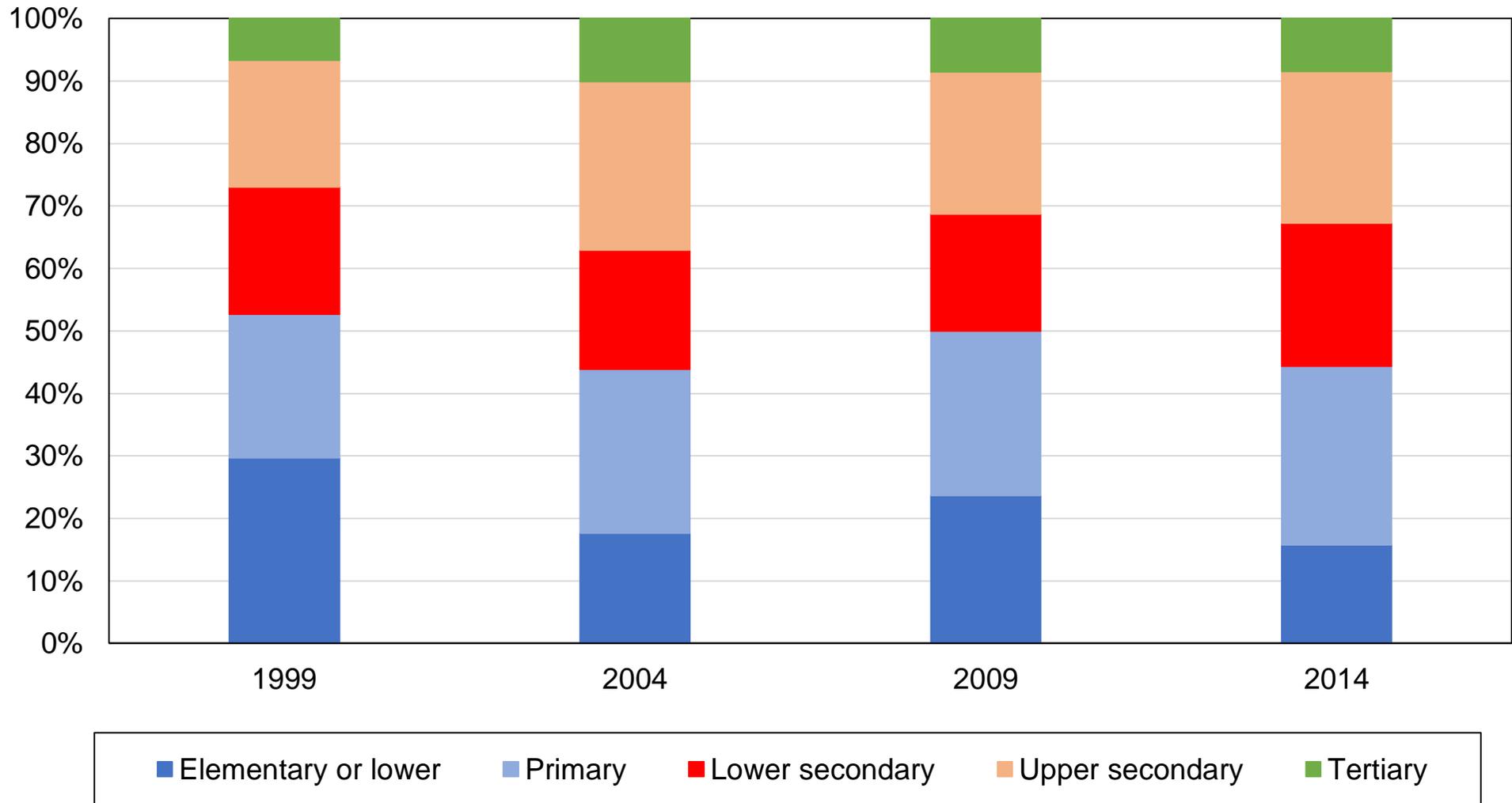
Figure DA2 - Election results in Indonesia by group, 1971-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

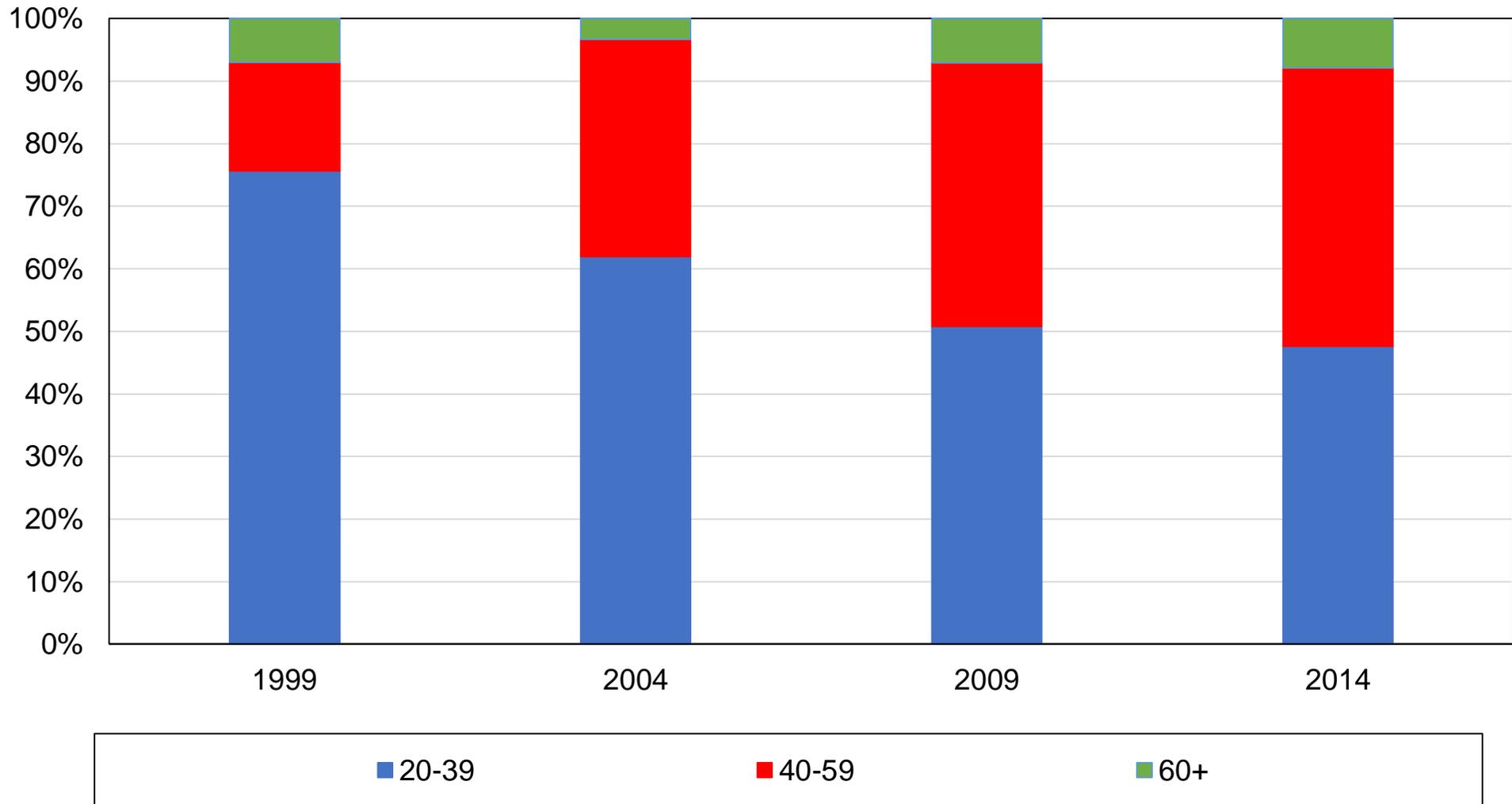
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected Indonesian political parties or groups of parties in legislative elections between 1977 and 2019. Islamic parties include the PAN, PBB, PBR, PKB, PKNU, PKS, and PPP.

Figure DA3 – Composition of the electorate by education level



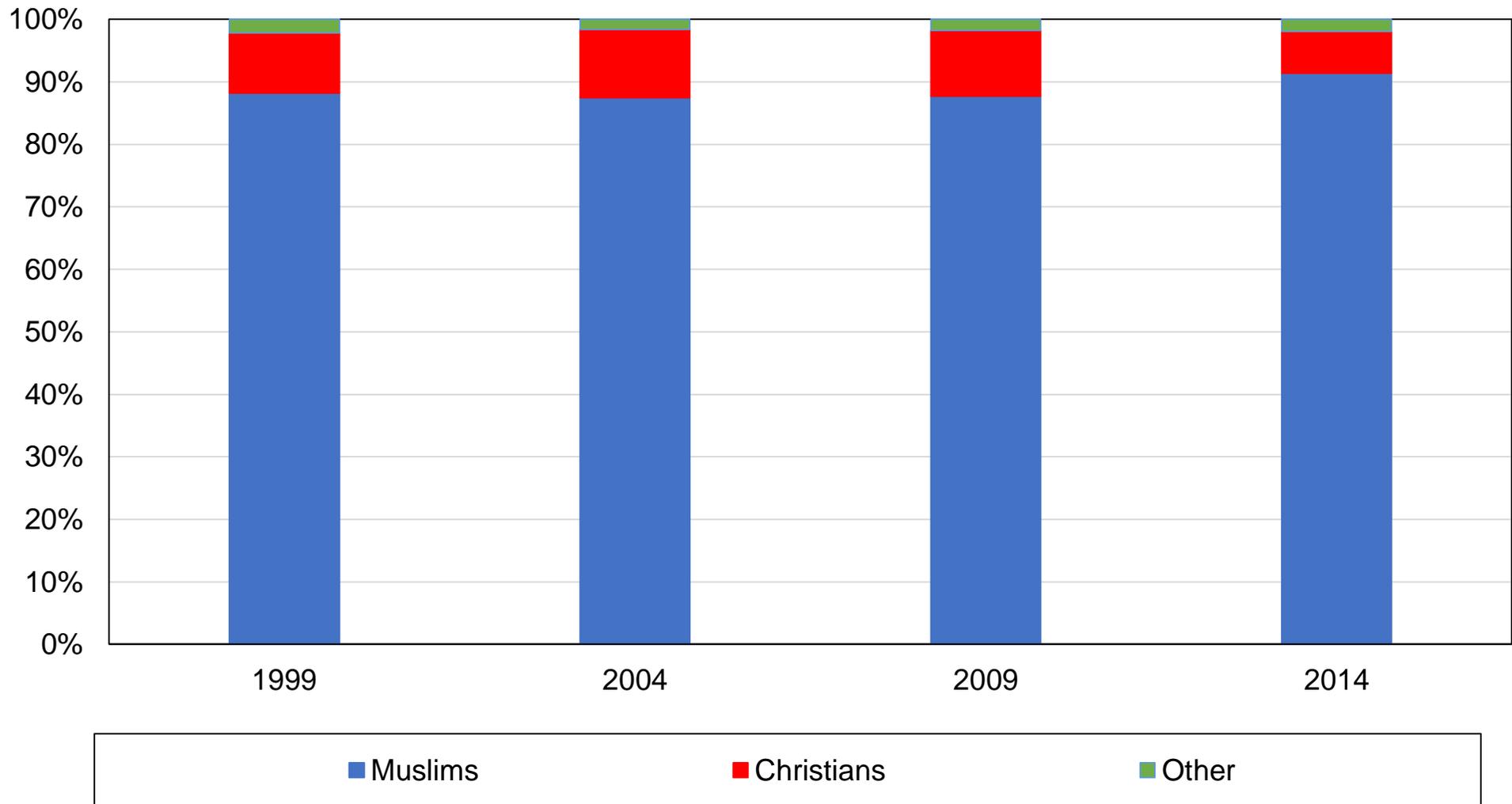
Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.

Figure DA4 – Composition of the electorate by age group



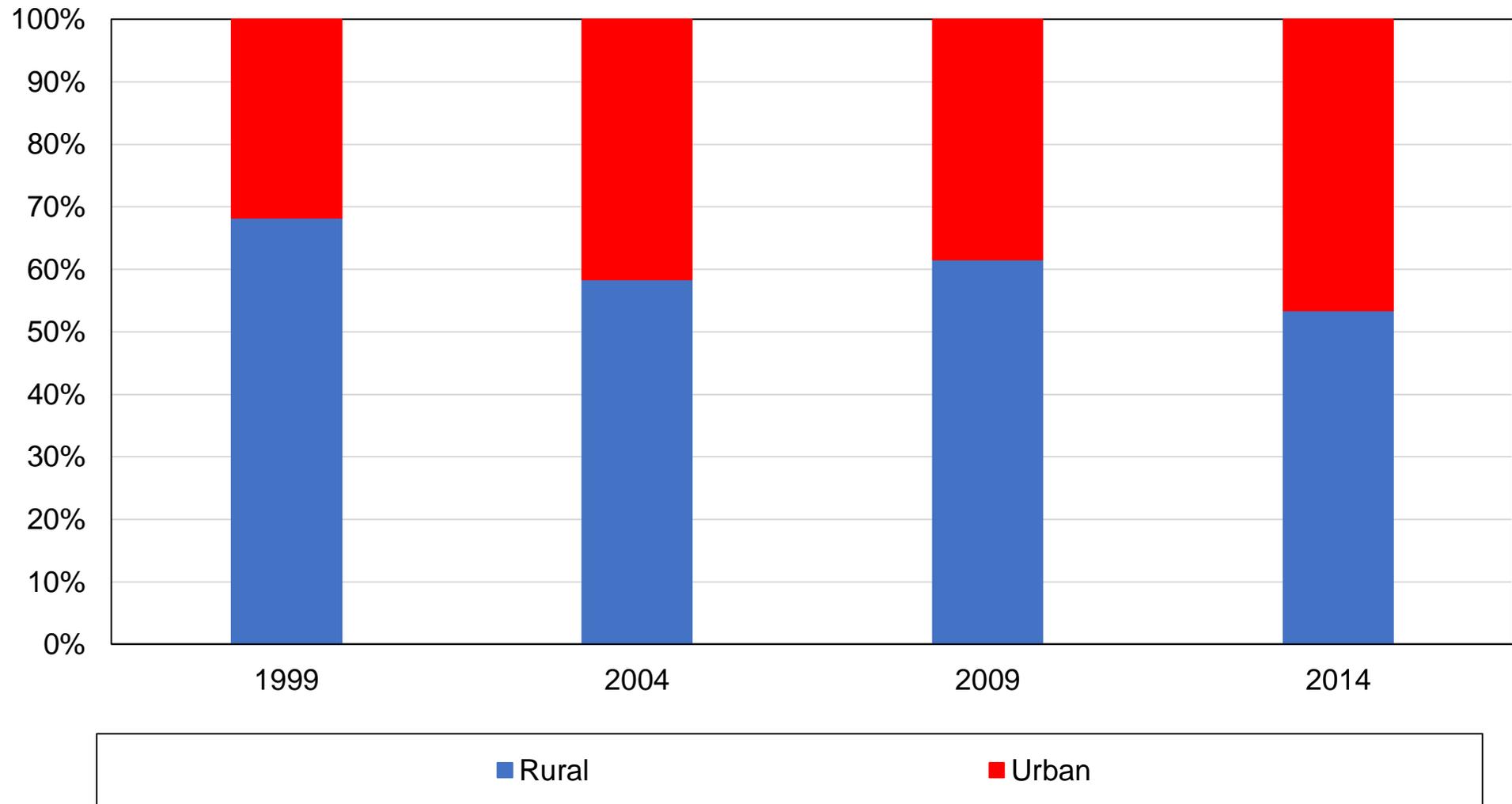
Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by age group.

Figure DA5 – Composition of the electorate by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by religious affiliation.

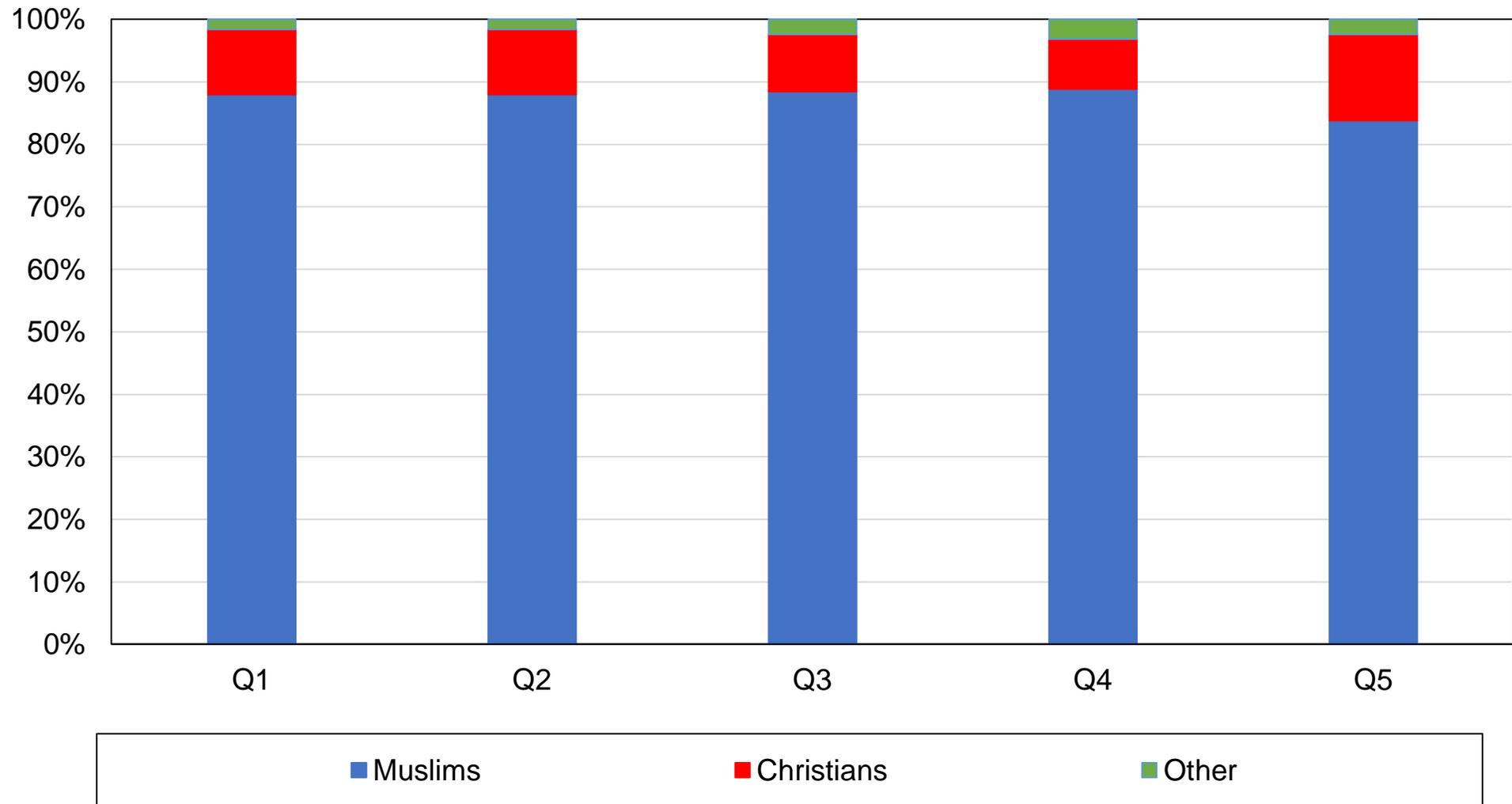
Figure DA6 – Composition of the electorate by rural-urban location



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by rural-urban location.

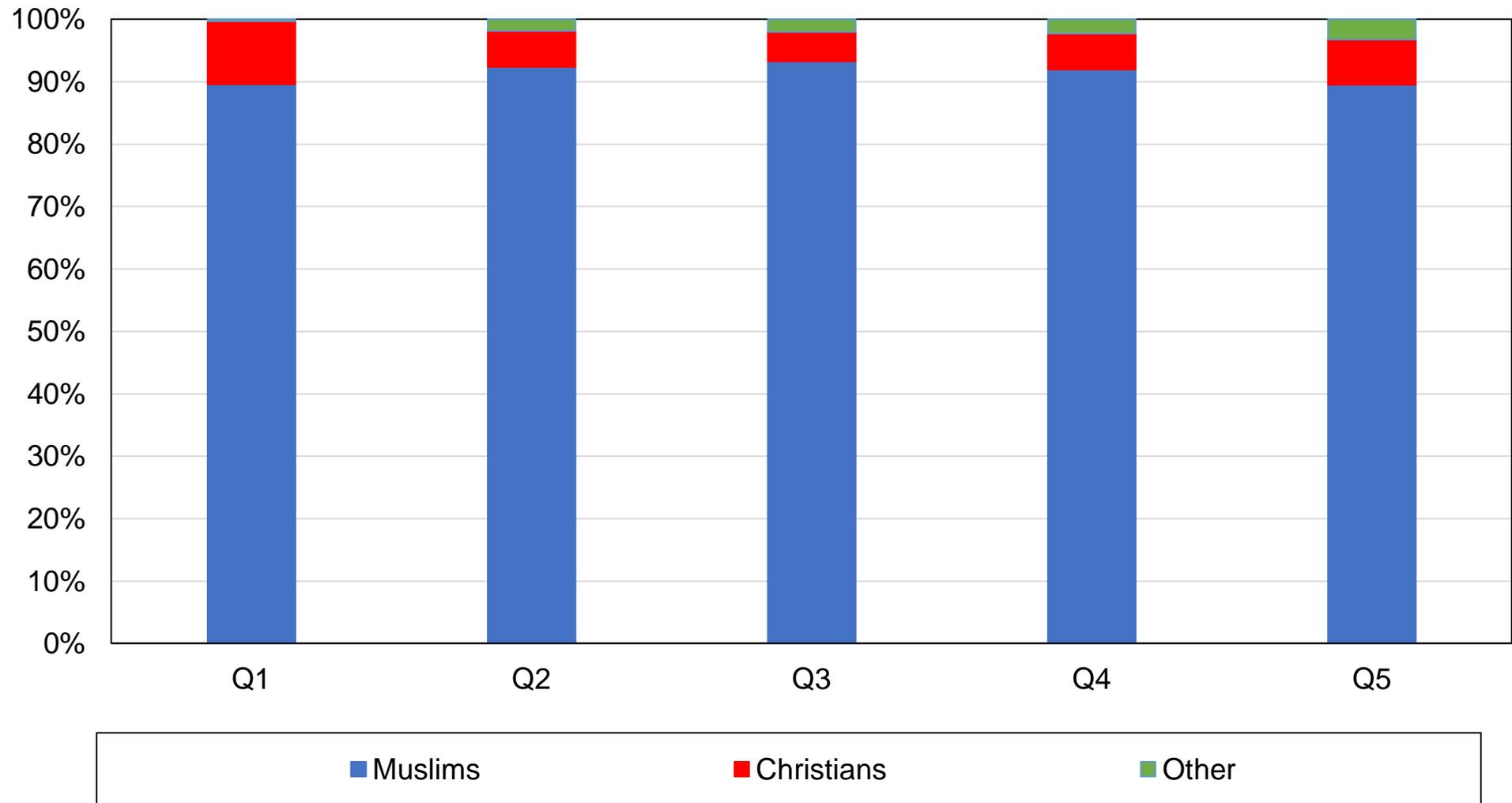
Figure DA7 – Composition of income quintiles by religion, 1999



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by religious affiliation in 1999.

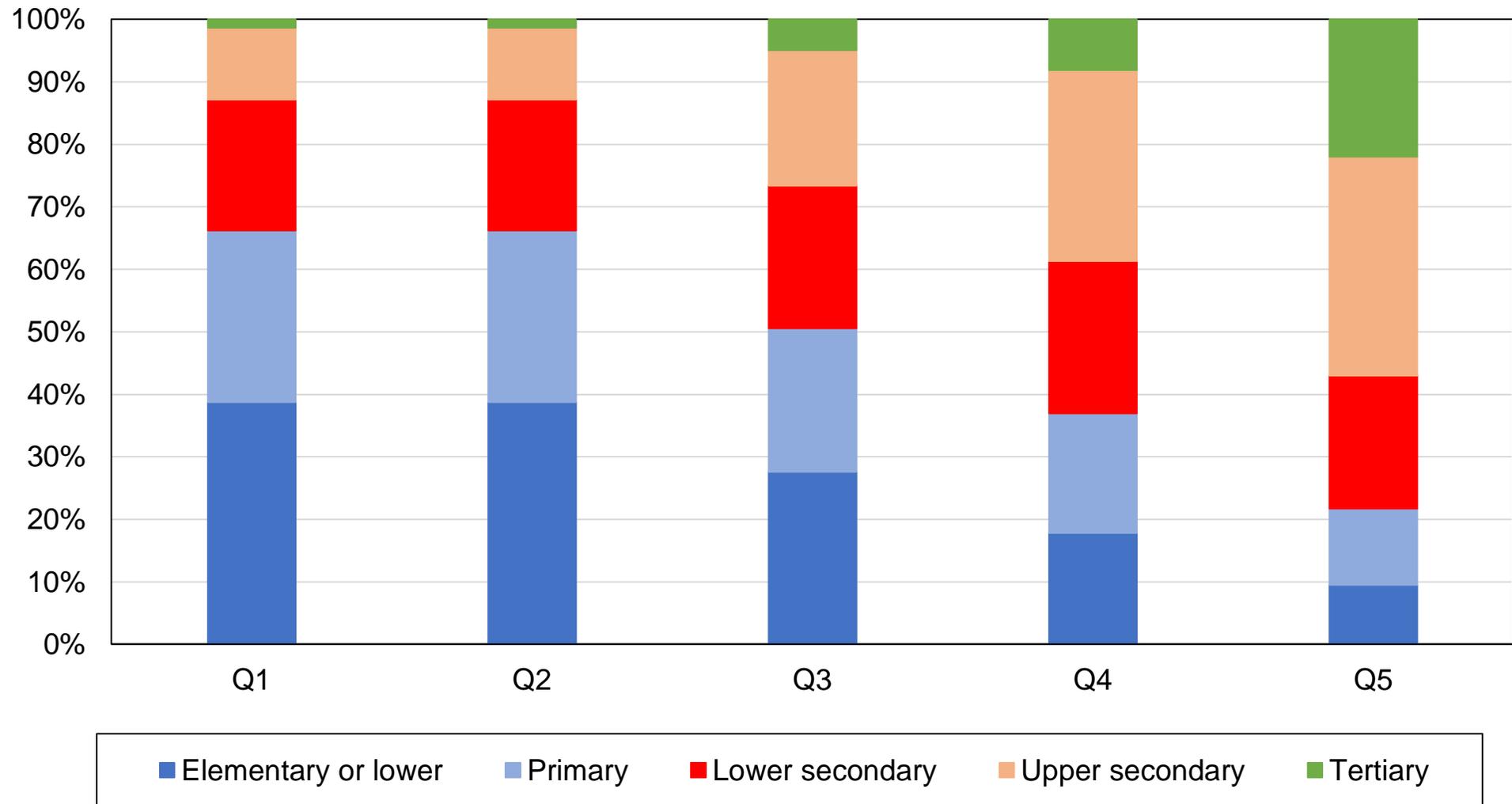
Figure DA8 – Composition of income quintiles by religion, 2014



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by religious affiliation in 2014.

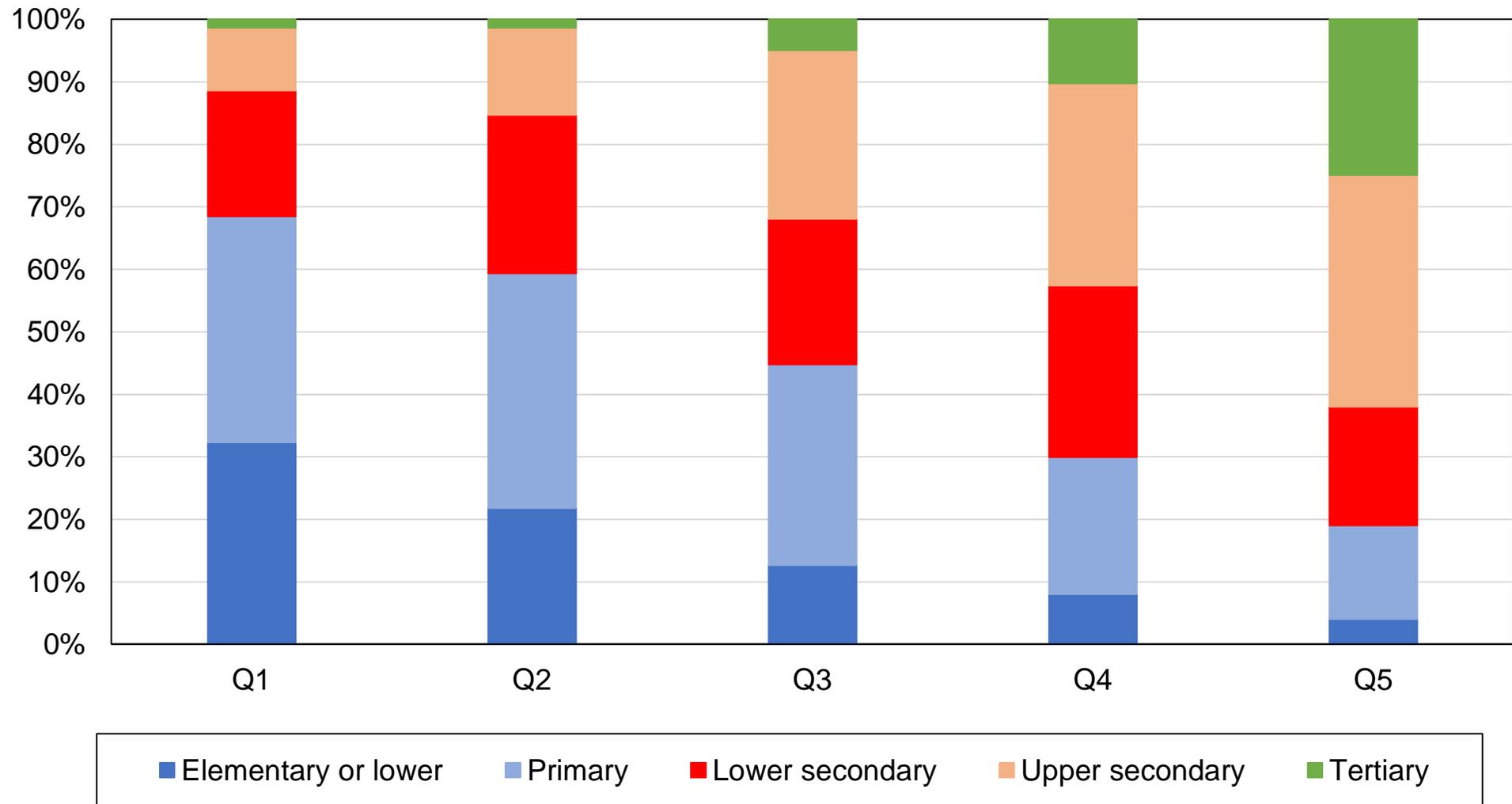
Figure DA9 – Composition of income quintiles by education, 1999



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in 1999.

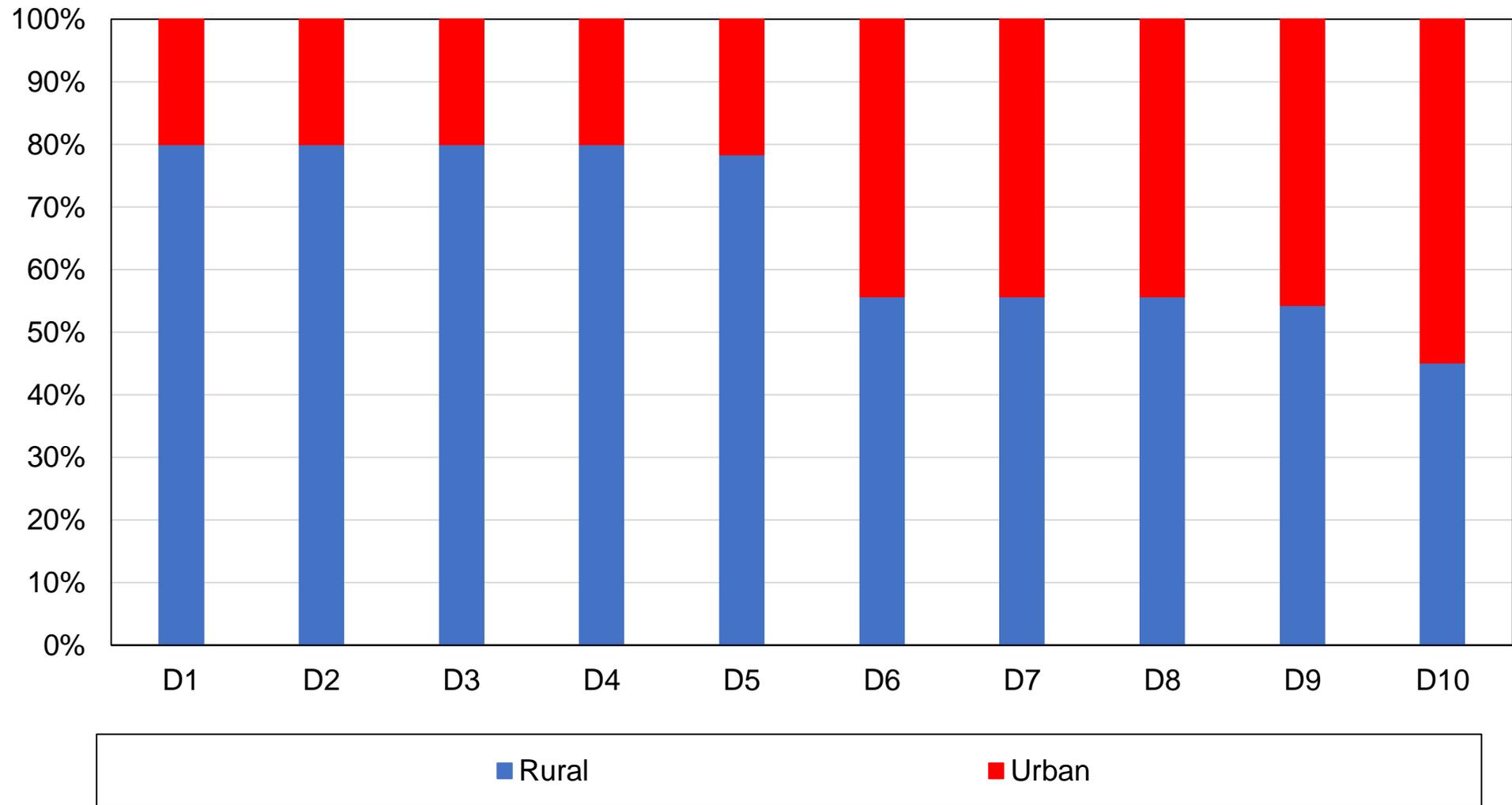
Figure DA10 – Composition of income quintiles by education, 2014



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in 2014.

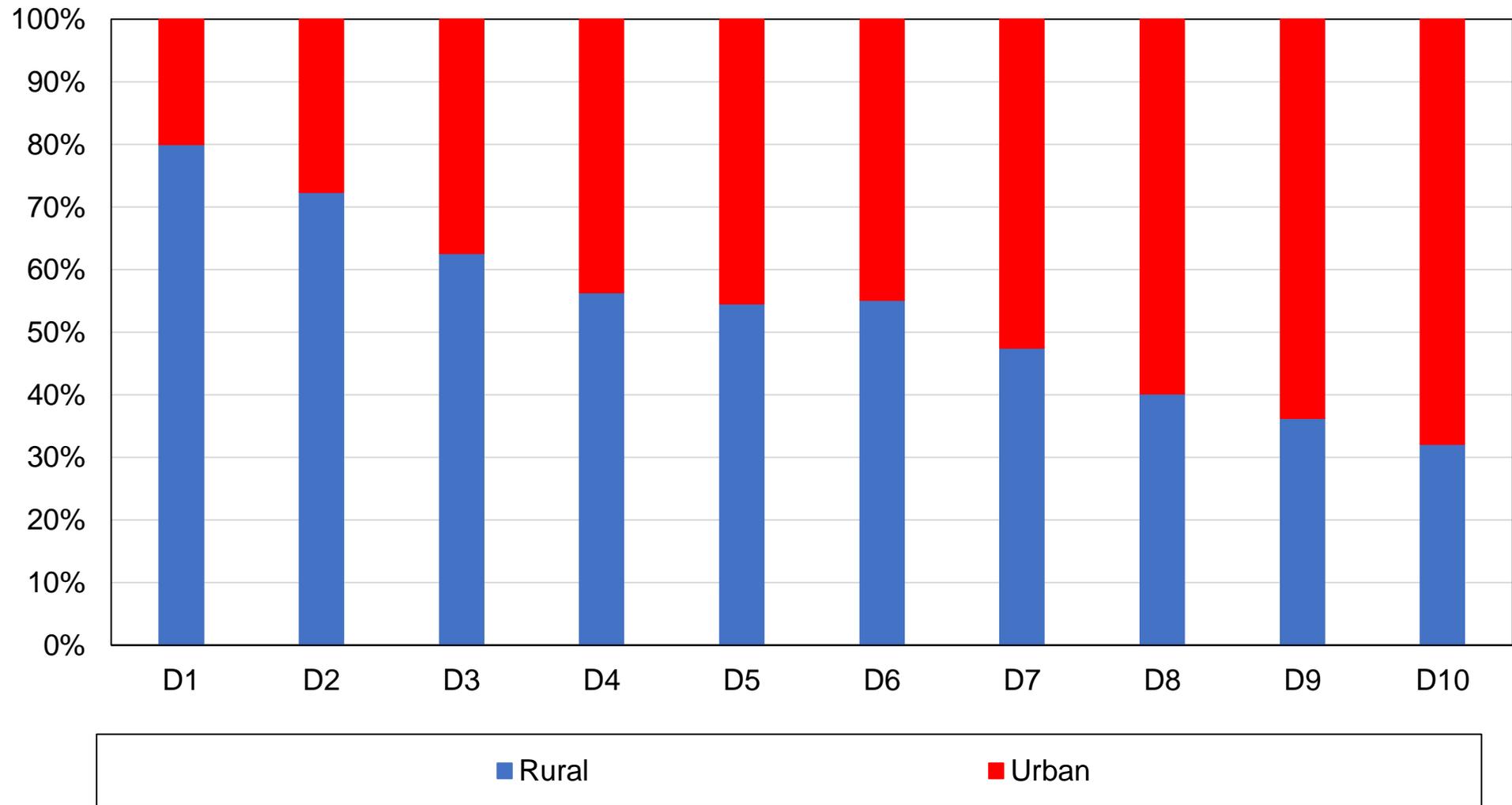
Figure DA11 – Rural-urban composition of income deciles, 1999



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income deciles by rural-urban location in 1999.

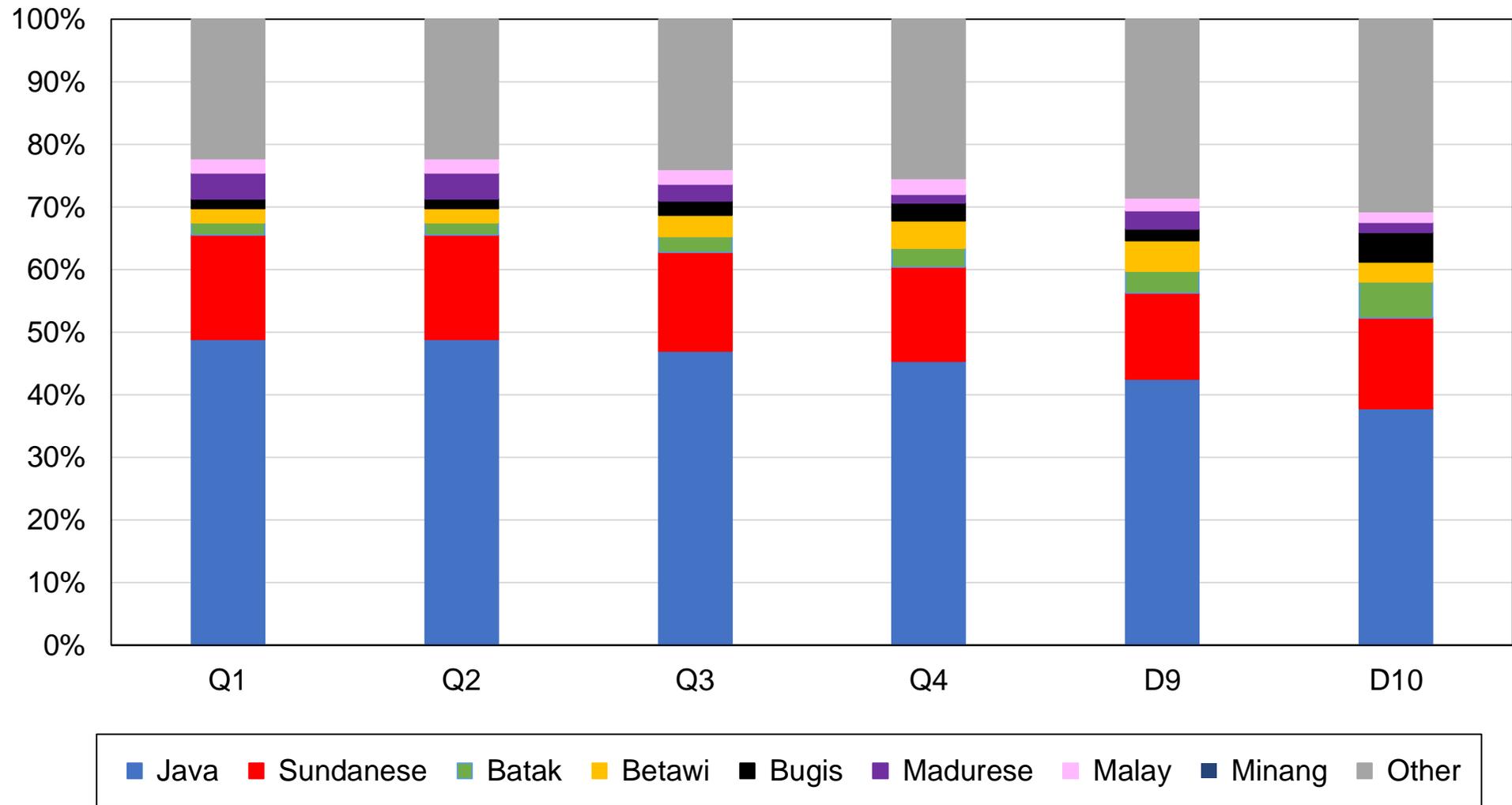
Figure DA12 – Rural-urban composition of income deciles, 2014



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income deciles by rural-urban location in 2014.

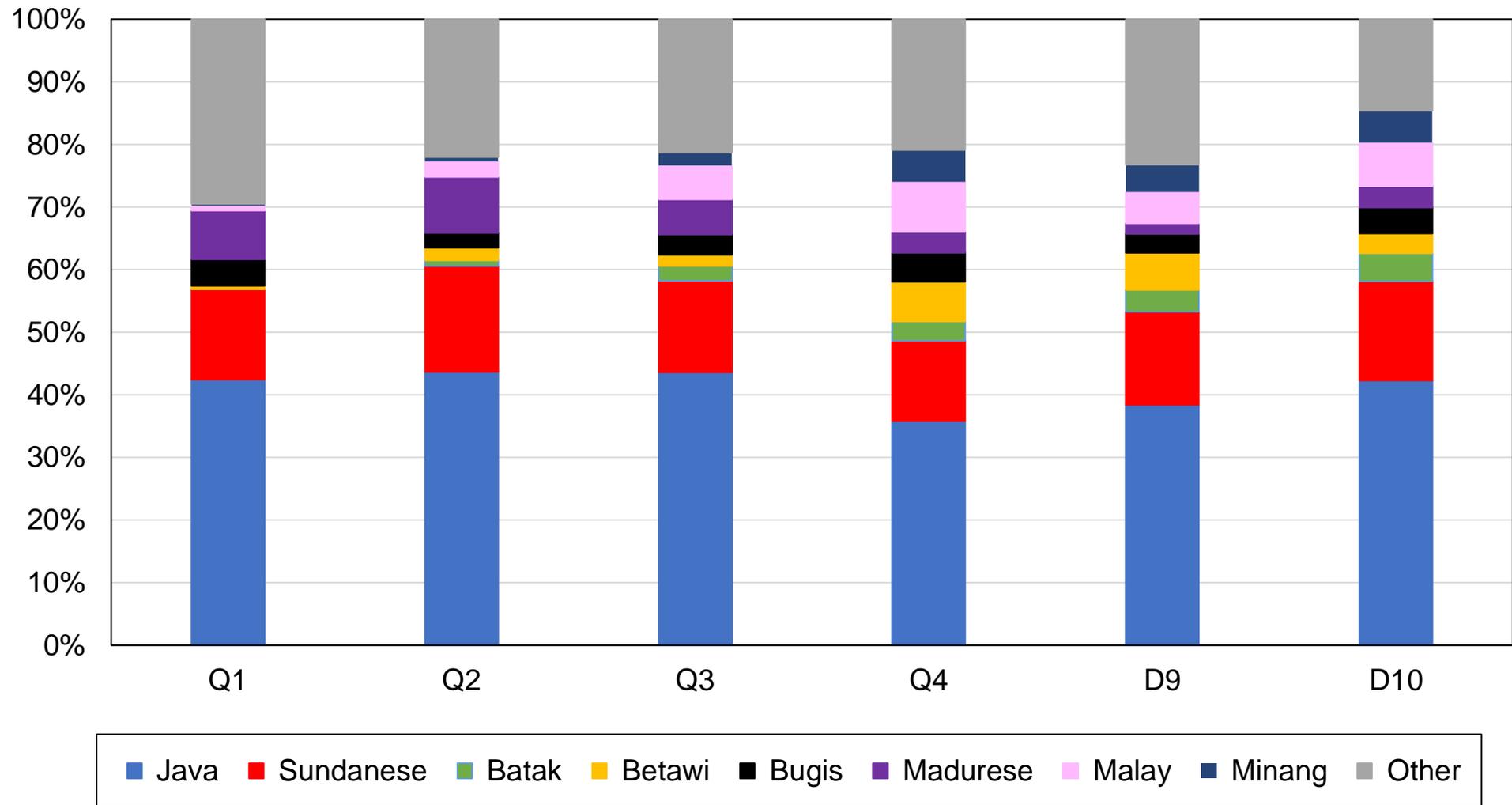
Figure DA13 - Composition of income groups by ethnicity, 1999



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by ethnic affiliation in 1999.

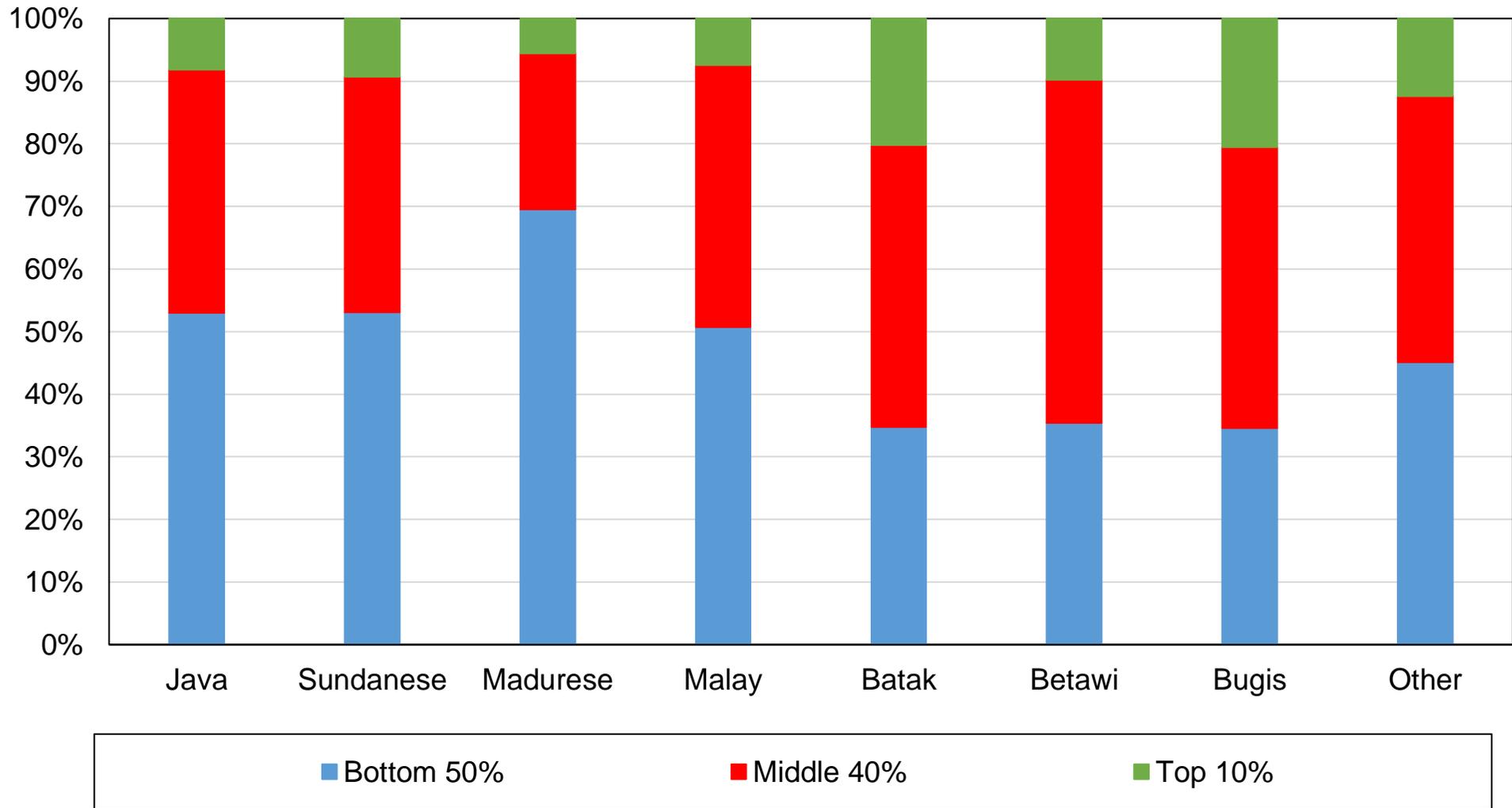
Figure DA14 - Composition of income groups by ethnicity, 2014



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by ethnic affiliation in 2014.

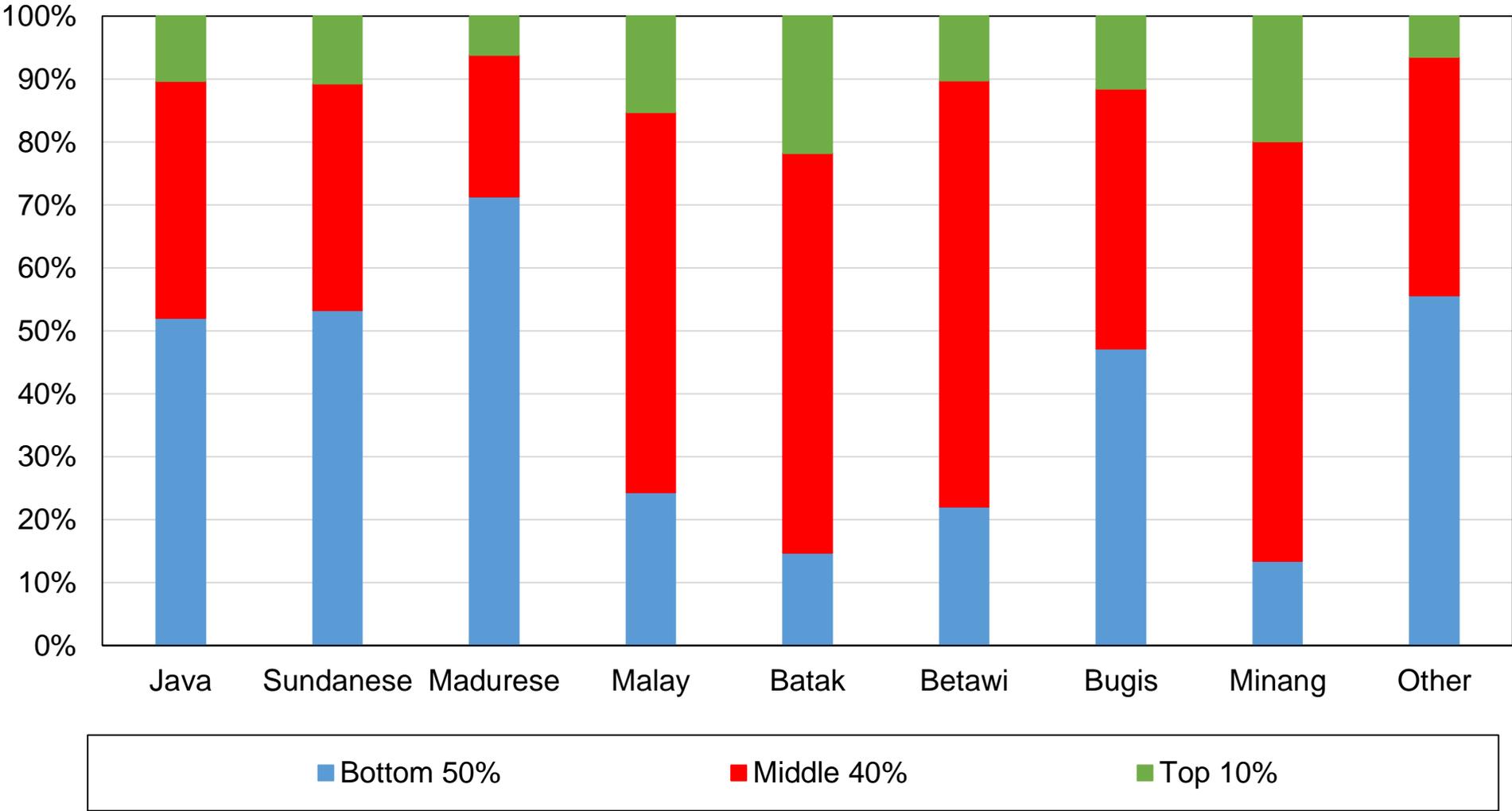
Figure DA15 - Composition of ethnic groups by income, 1999



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

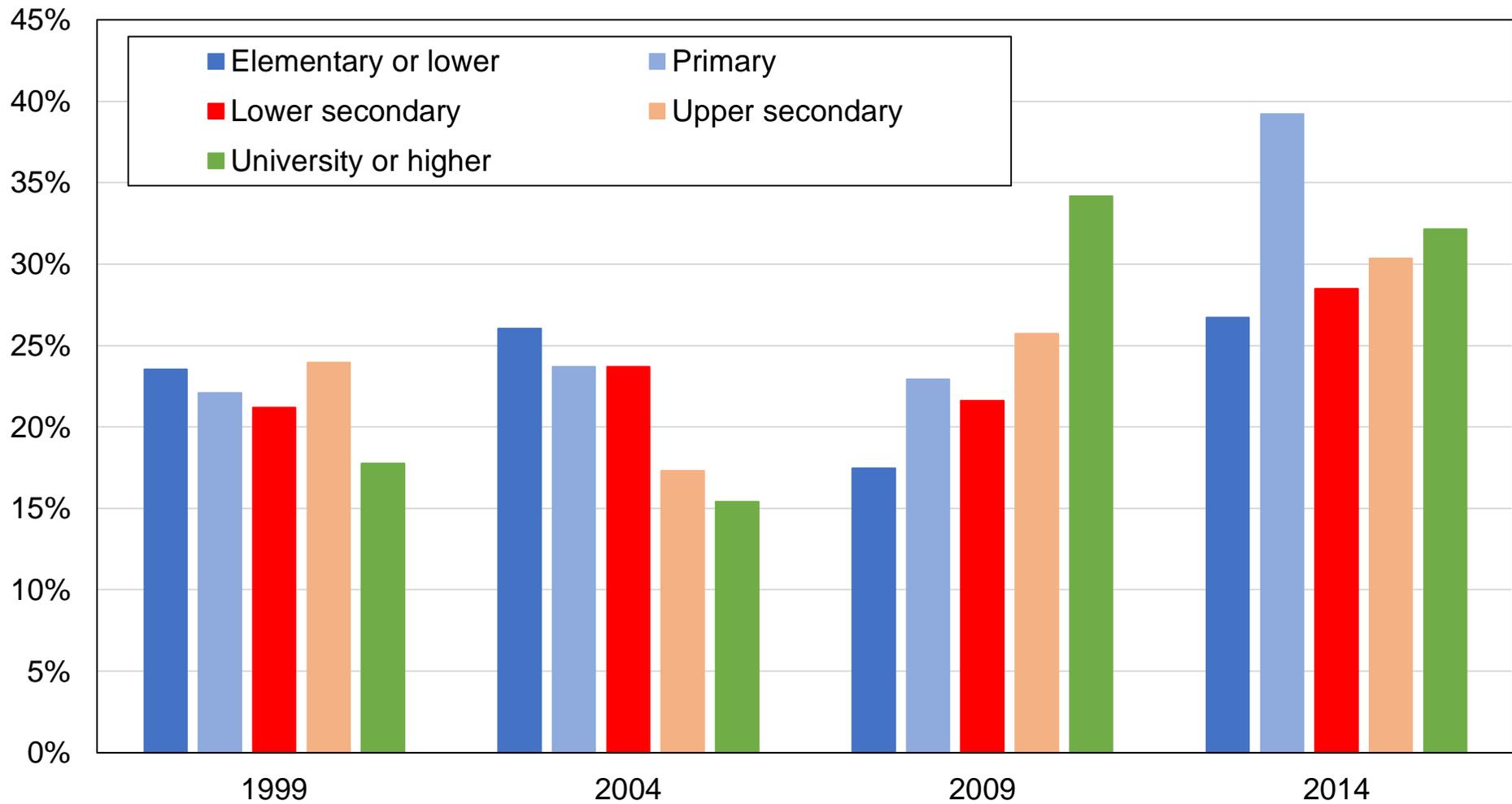
Note: the figure shows the composition of ethnic groups by income group in 1999.

Figure DA16 - Composition of ethnic groups by income, 2014



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of ethnic groups by income group in 2014.

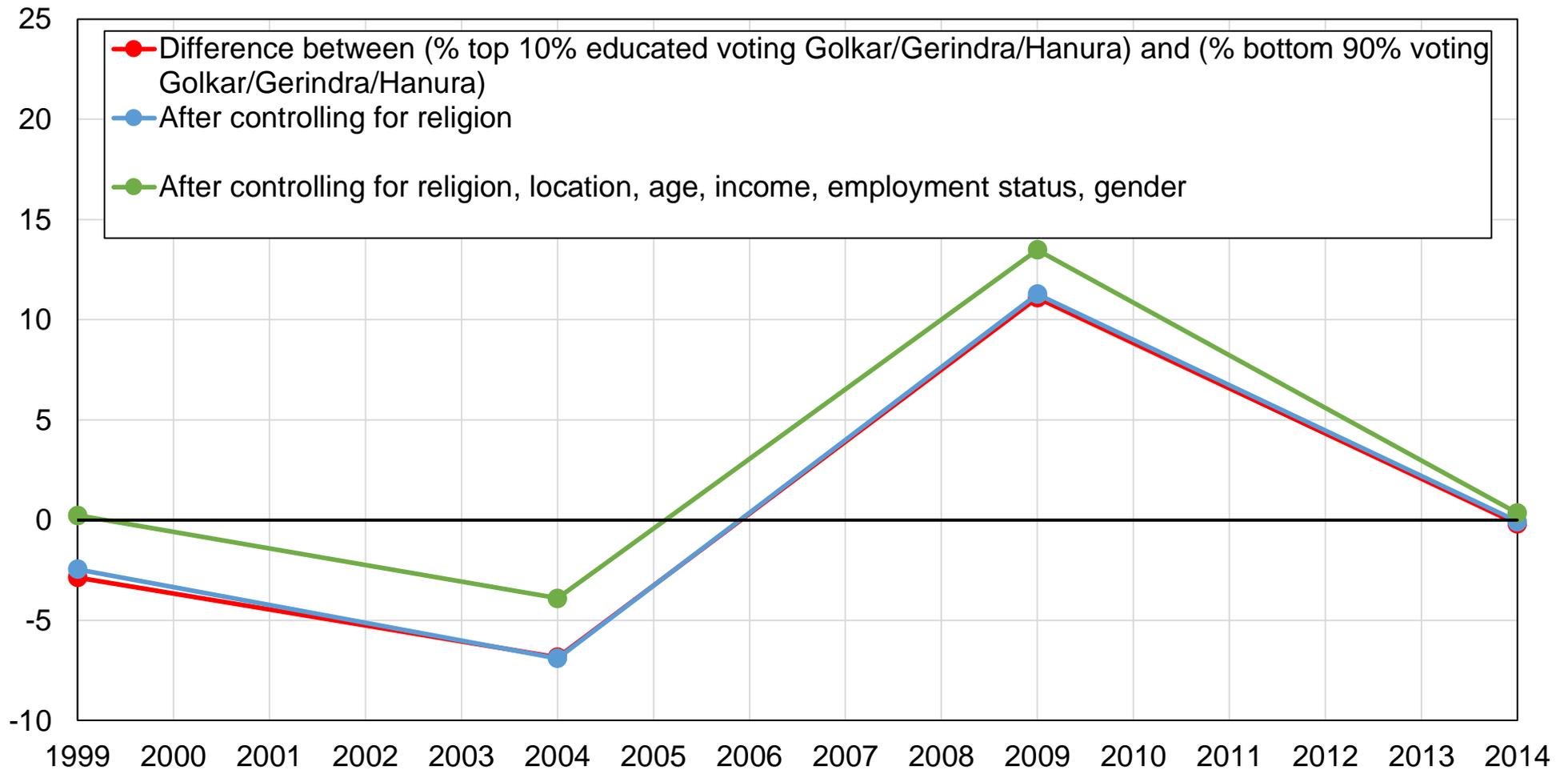
Figure DB1 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by education level



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by education level.

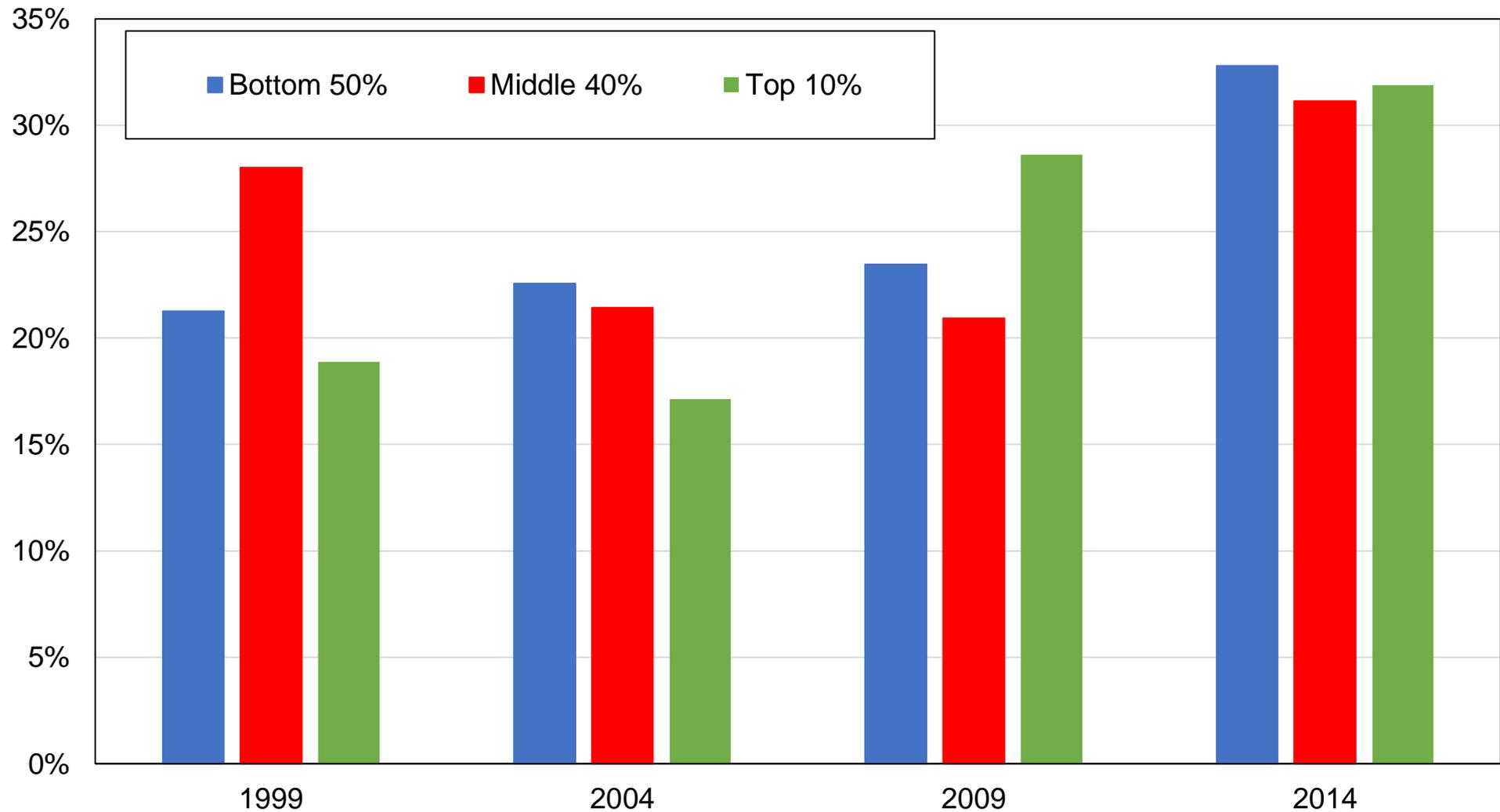
Figure DB2 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among higher-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters voting for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura and the share of other voters voting for these parties, before and after controls.

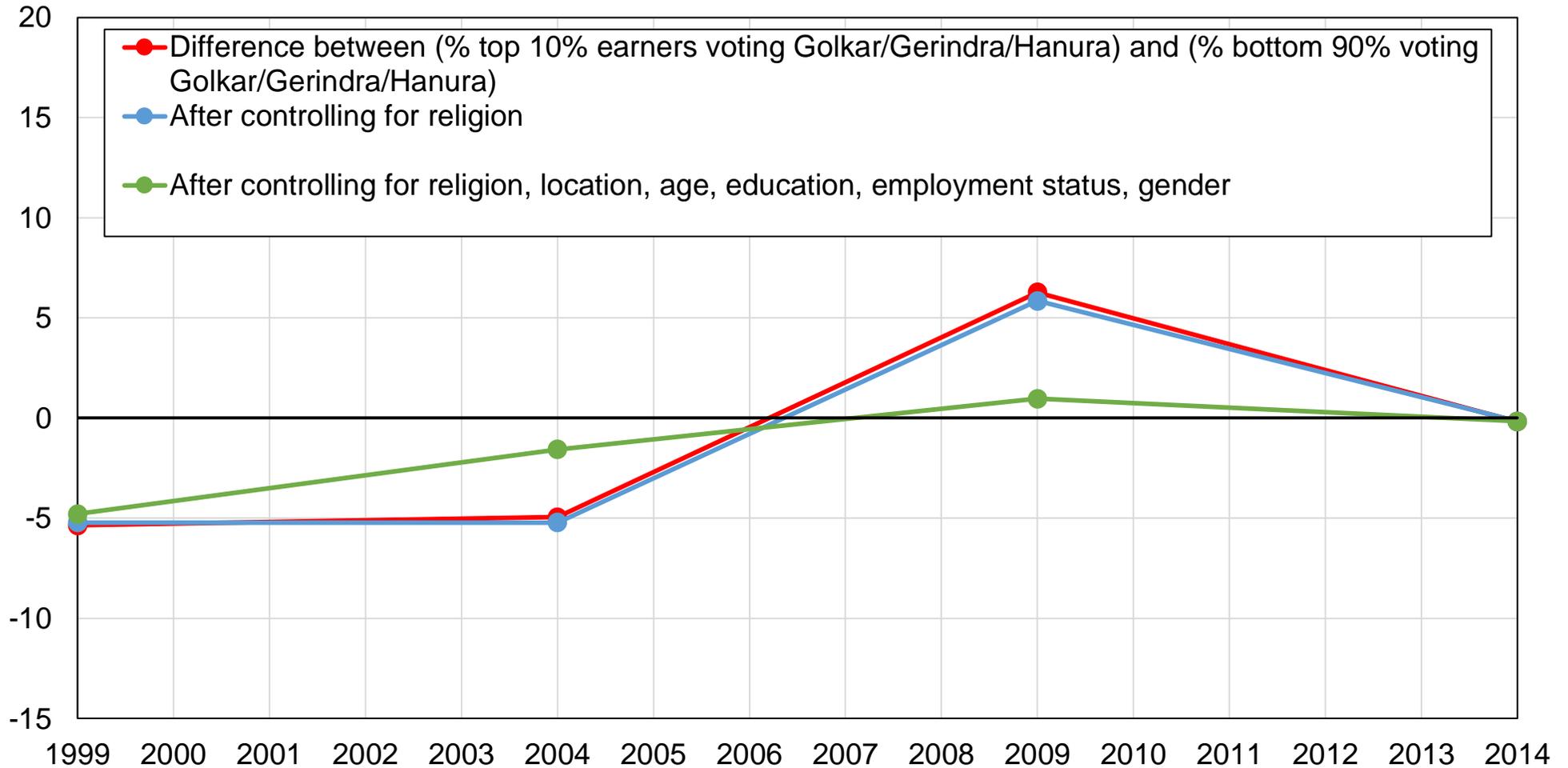
Figure DB3 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by income group.

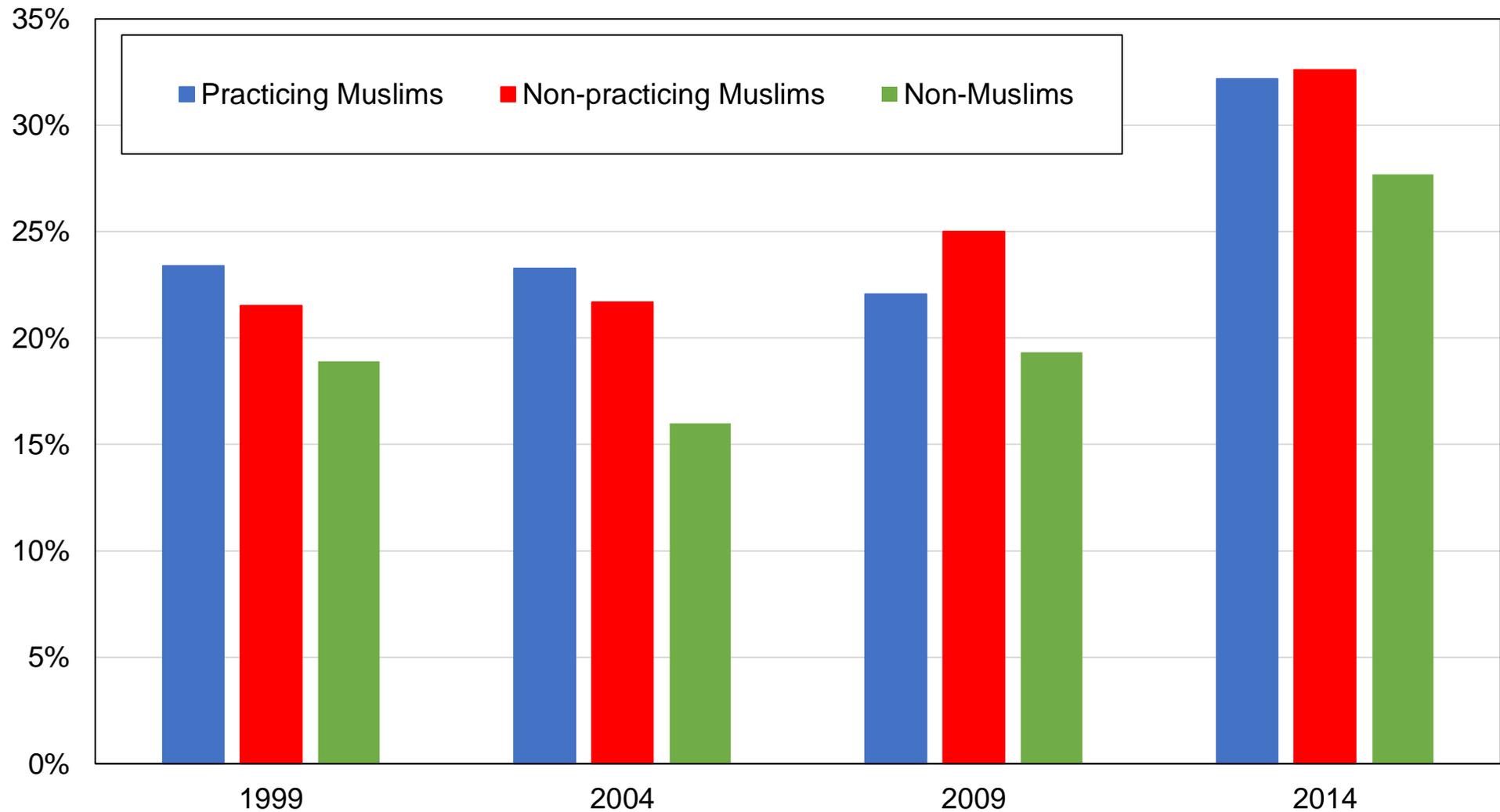
Figure DB4 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners voting for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura and the share of other voters voting for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura, before and after controls.

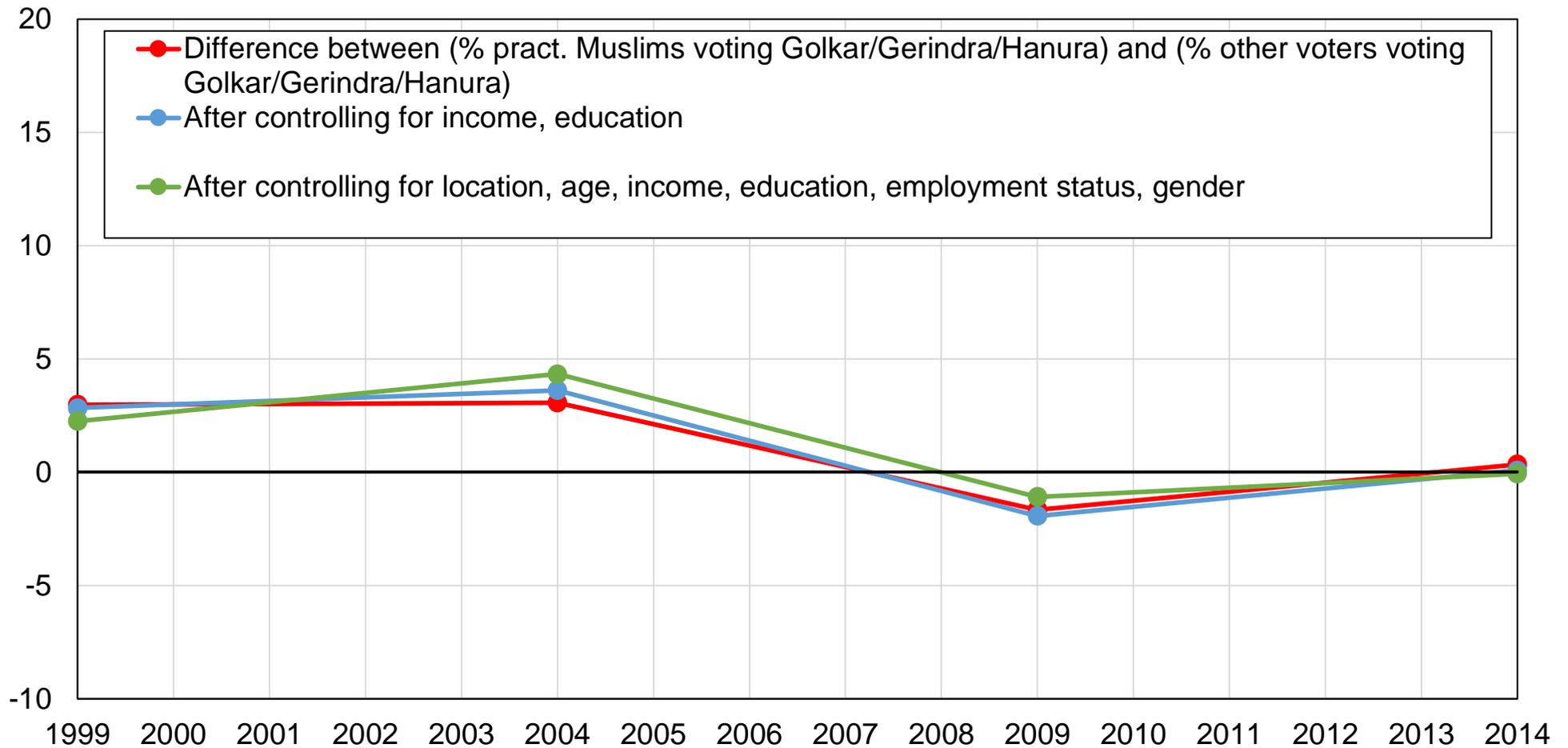
Figure DB5 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by religion.

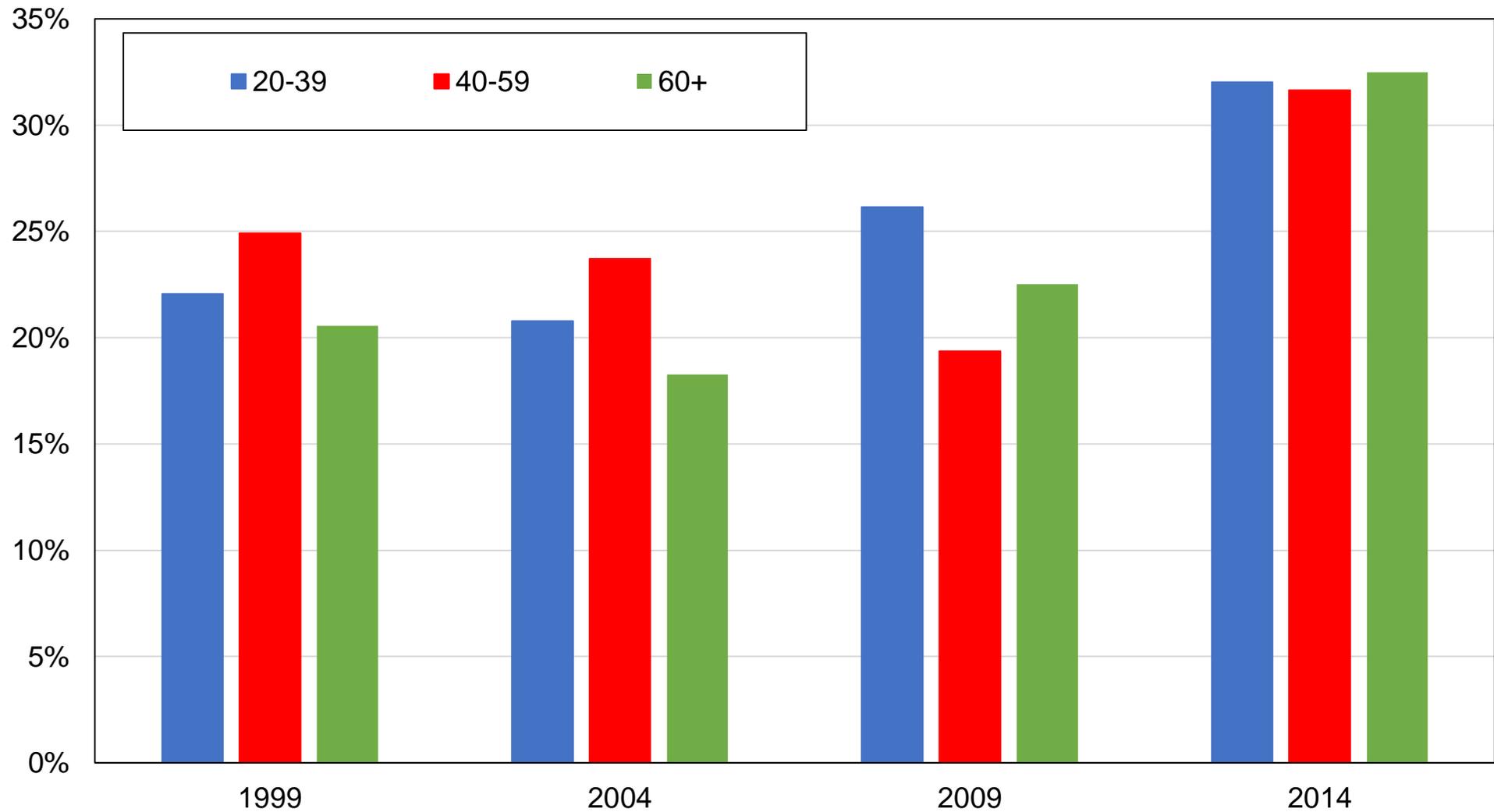
Figure DB6 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among practicing Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of practicing Muslims voting for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura and the share of other voters voting for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura, before and after controls.

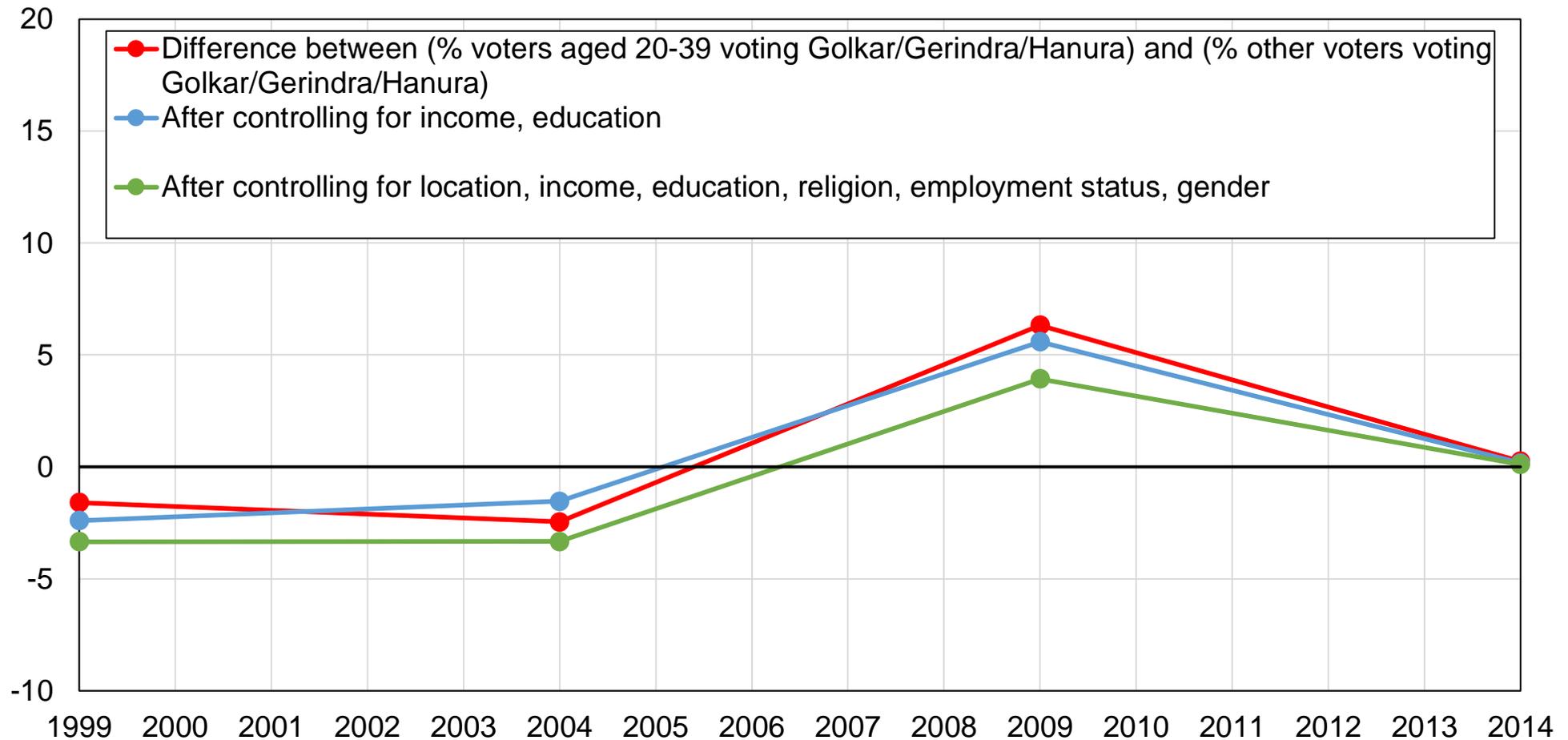
Figure DB7 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by age group.

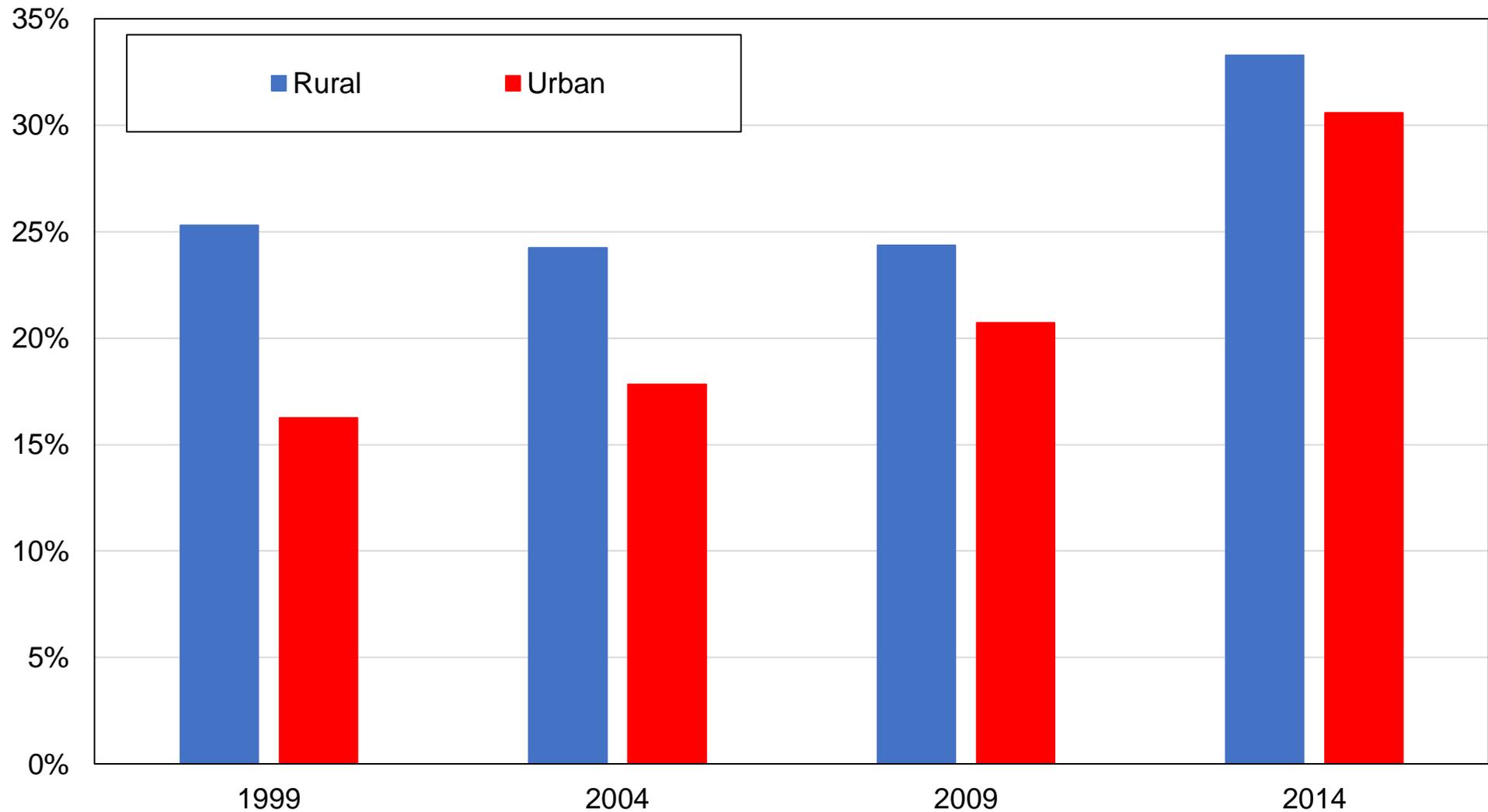
Figure DB8 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20 to 39 voting for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura and the share of other voters voting for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura, before and after controls.

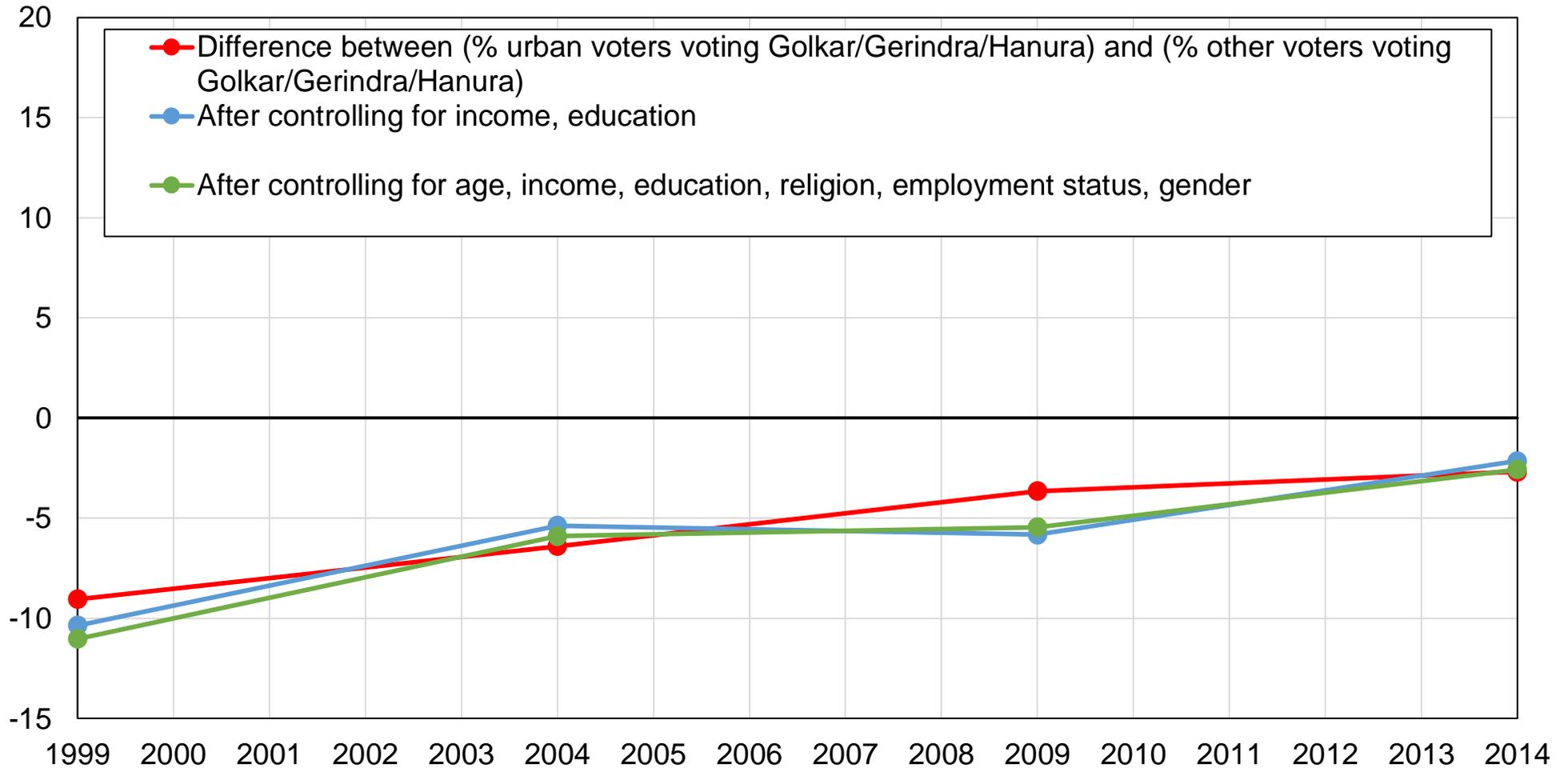
Figure DB9 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by rural-urban location



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by rural-urban location.

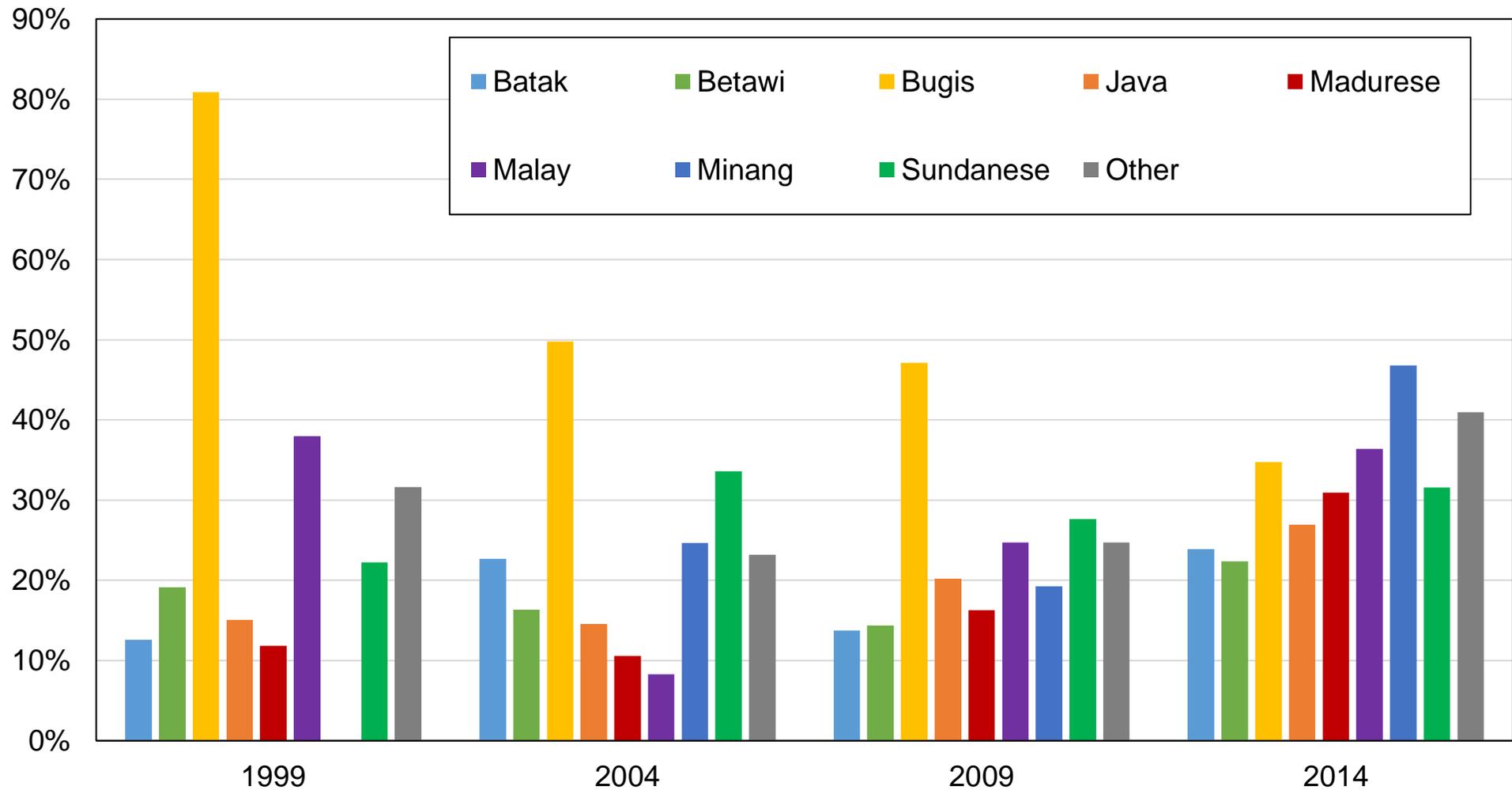
Figure DB10 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among urban voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of urban voters voting for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura and the share of other voters voting for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura, before and after controls.

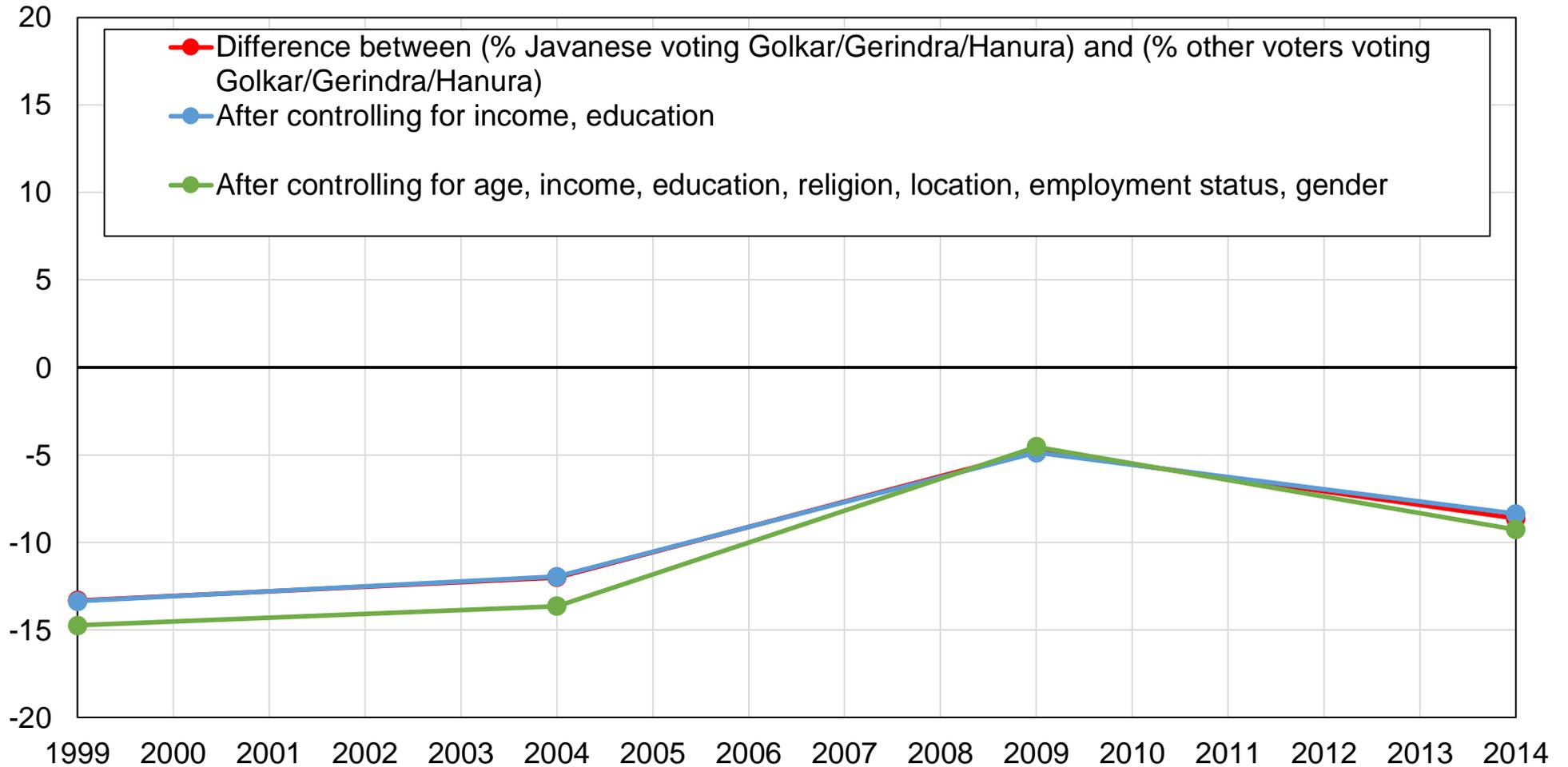
Figure DB11 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by ethnic affiliation.

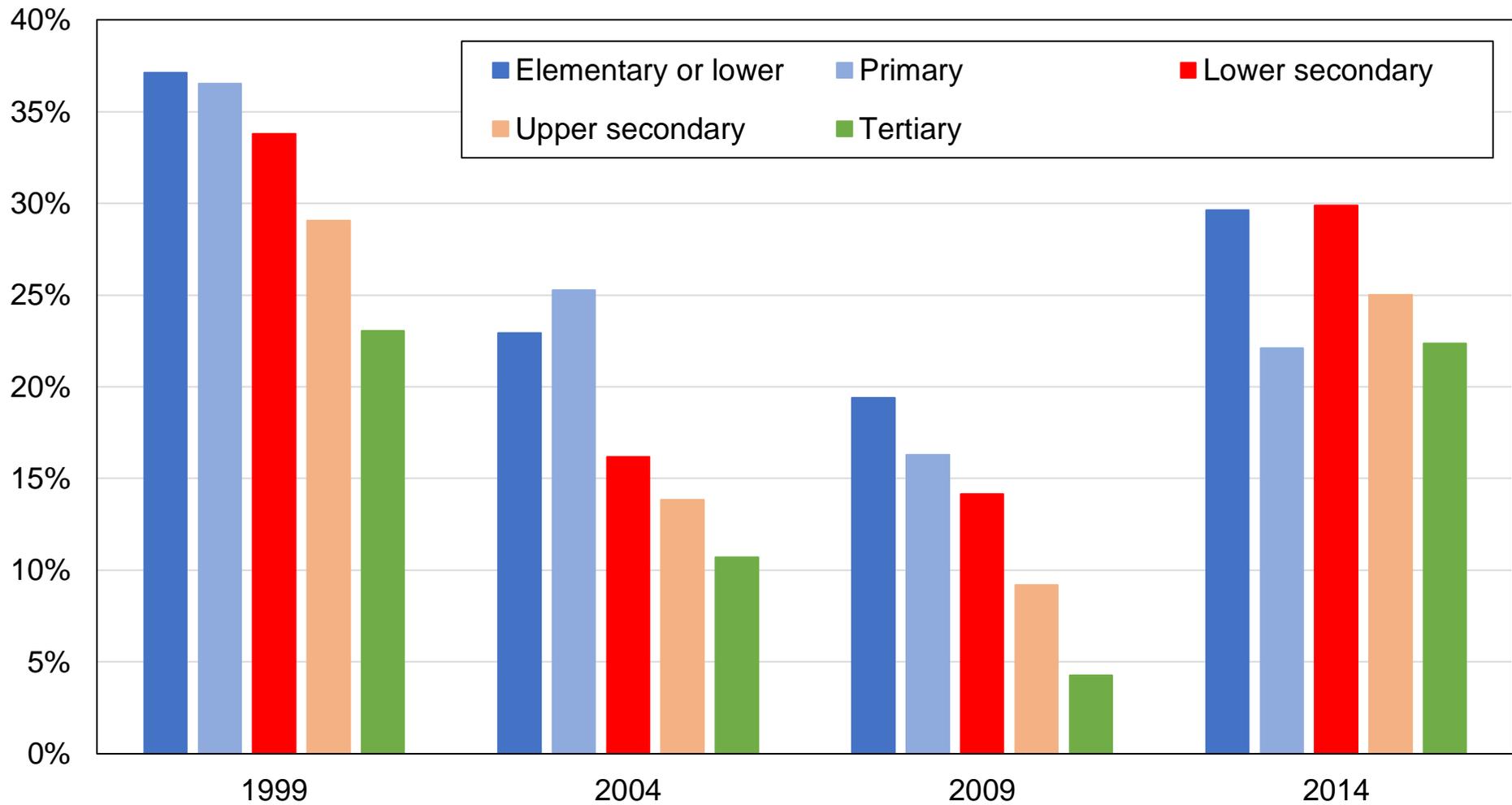
Figure DB12 – Vote for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura among Javanese voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Javanese voters voting for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura and the share of other voters voting for Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura, before and after controls.

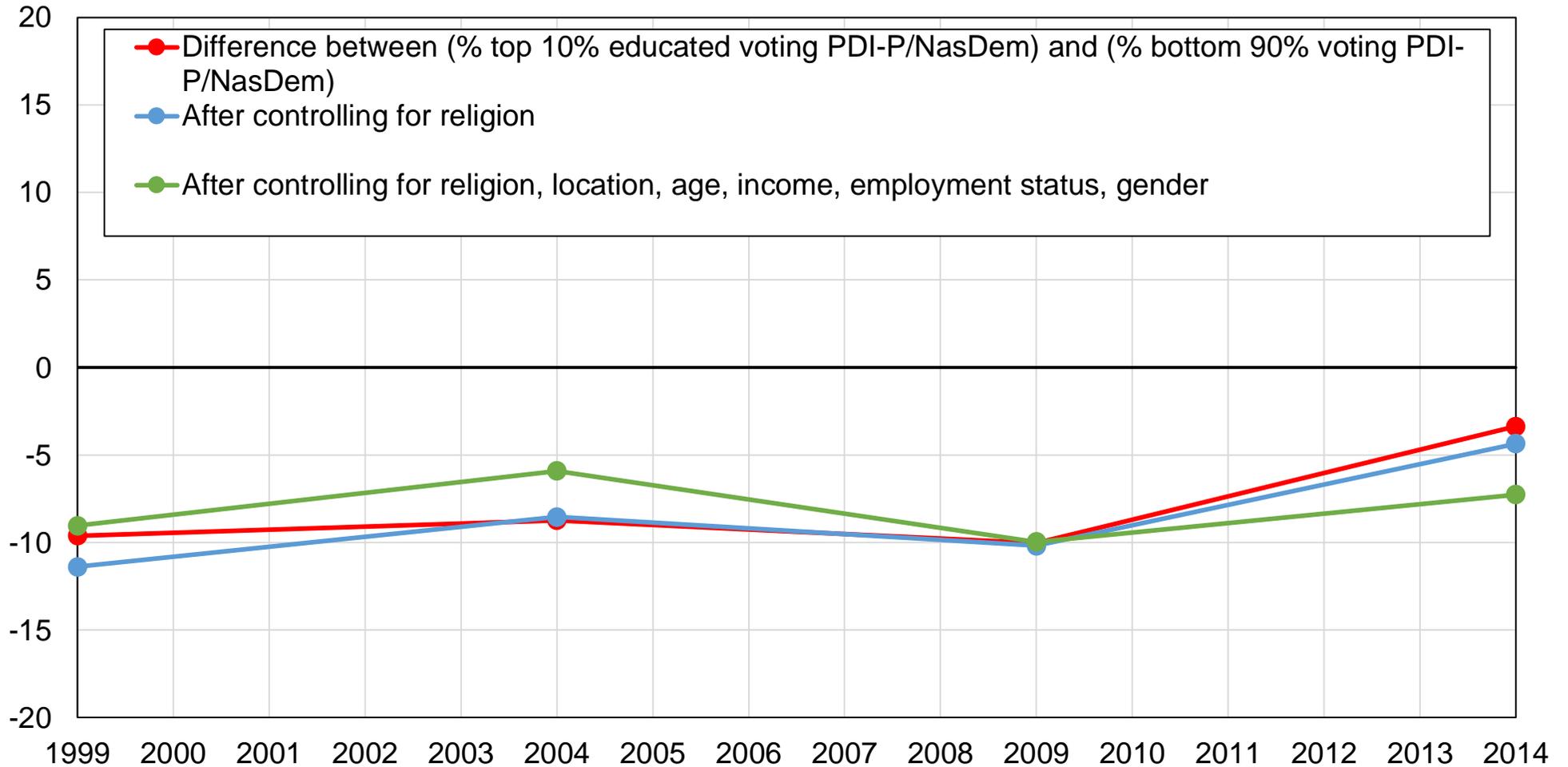
Figure DC1 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by education level



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P/NasDem by education level.

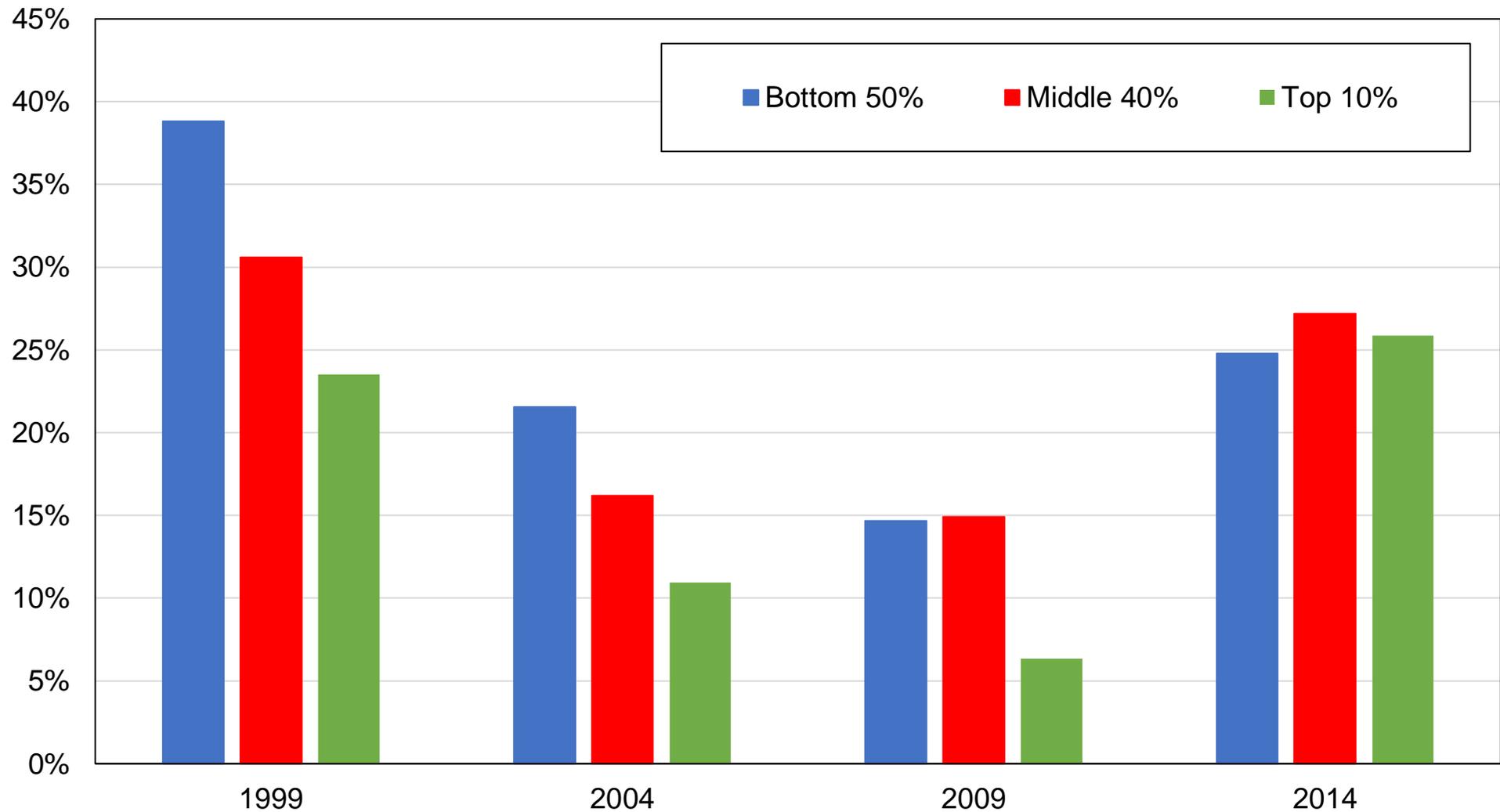
Figure DC2 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among higher-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters voting for PDI-P/NasDem and the share of other voters voting for these parties, before and after controls.

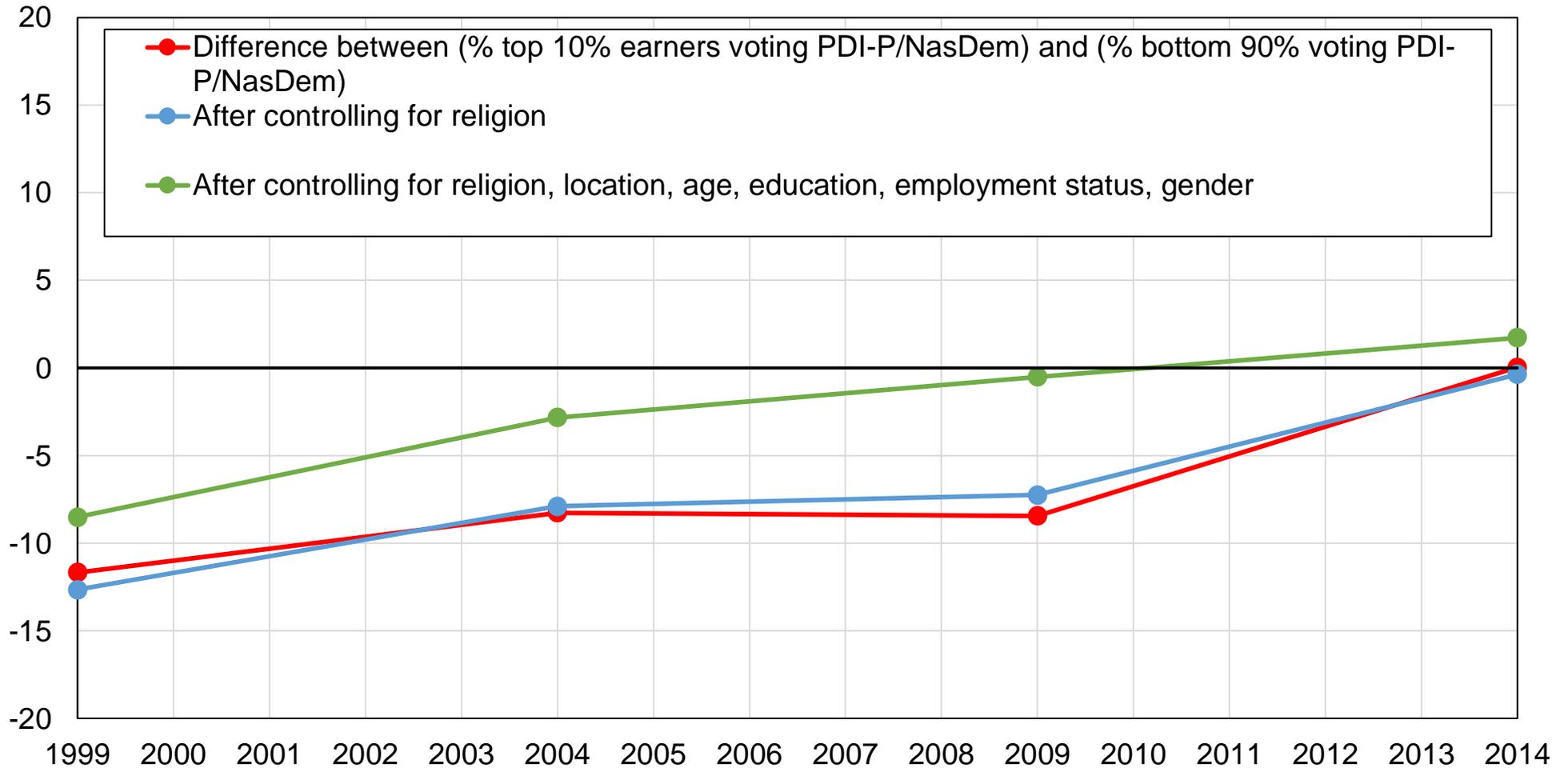
Figure DC3 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P/NasDem by income group.

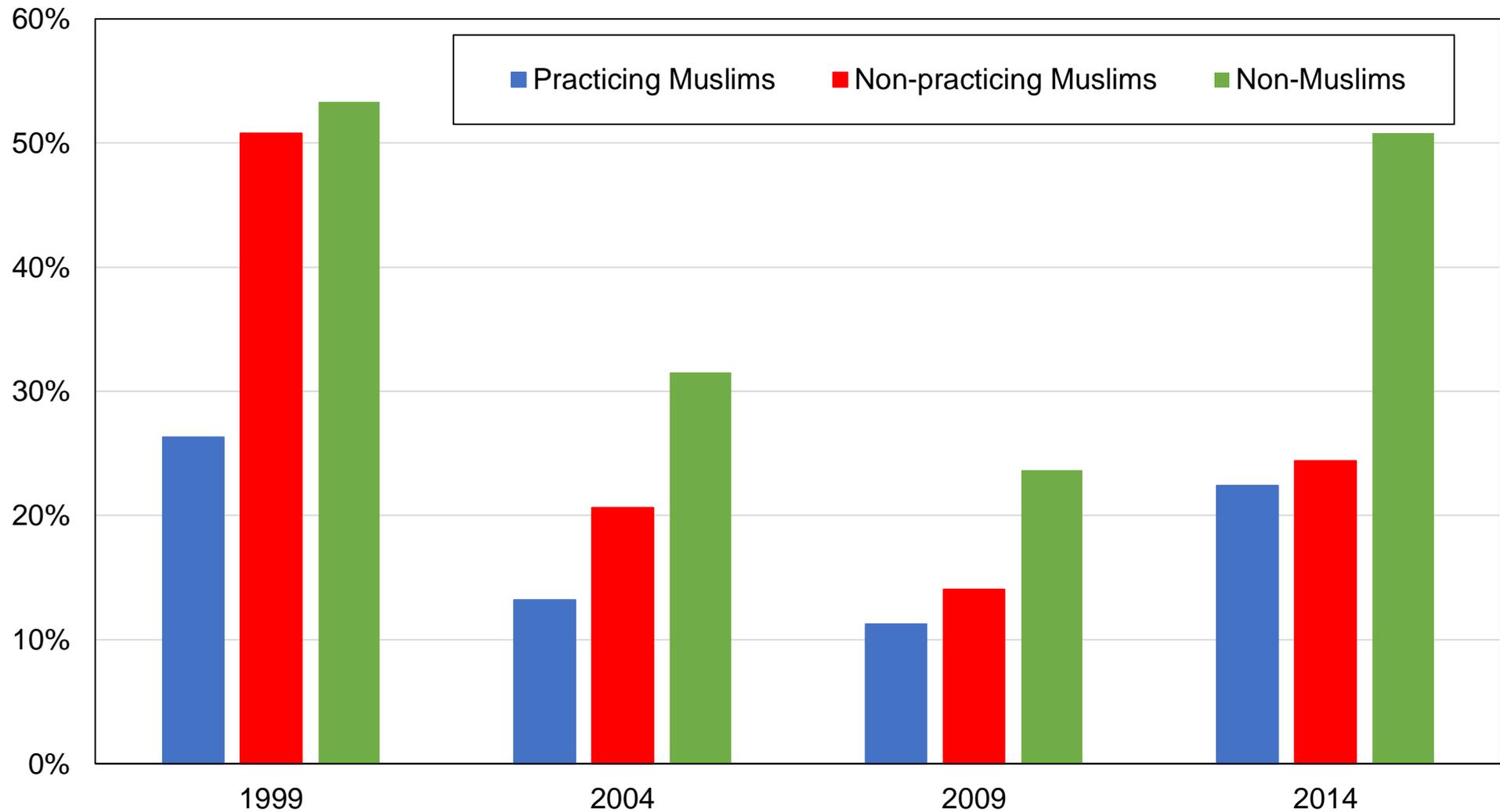
Figure DC4 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners voting for PDI-P/NasDem and the share of other voters voting for PDI-P/NasDem, before and after controls.

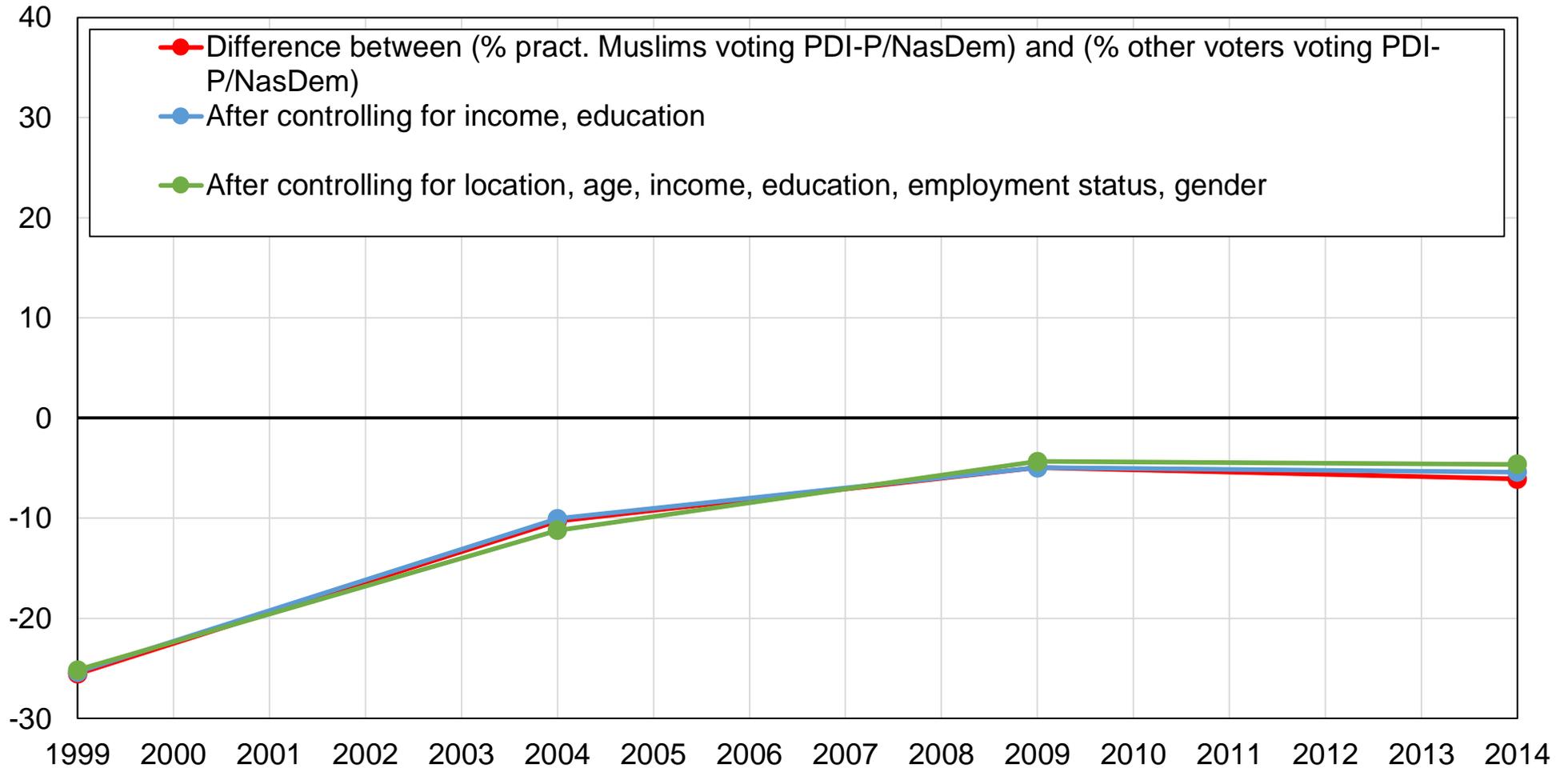
Figure DC5 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P/NasDem by religion.

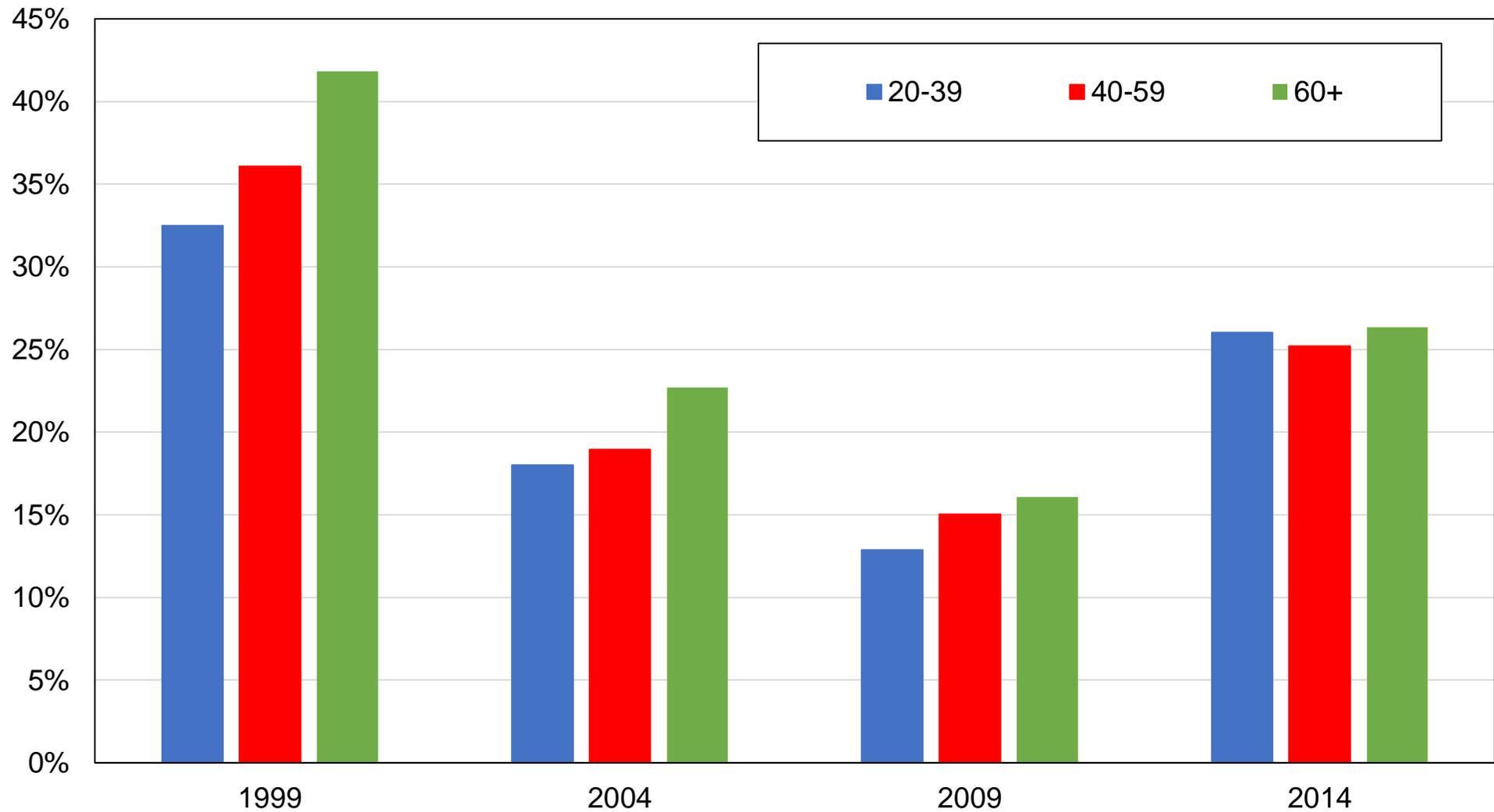
Figure DC6 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among practicing Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of practicing Muslims voting for PDI-P/NasDem and the share of other voters voting for PDI-P/NasDem, before and after controls.

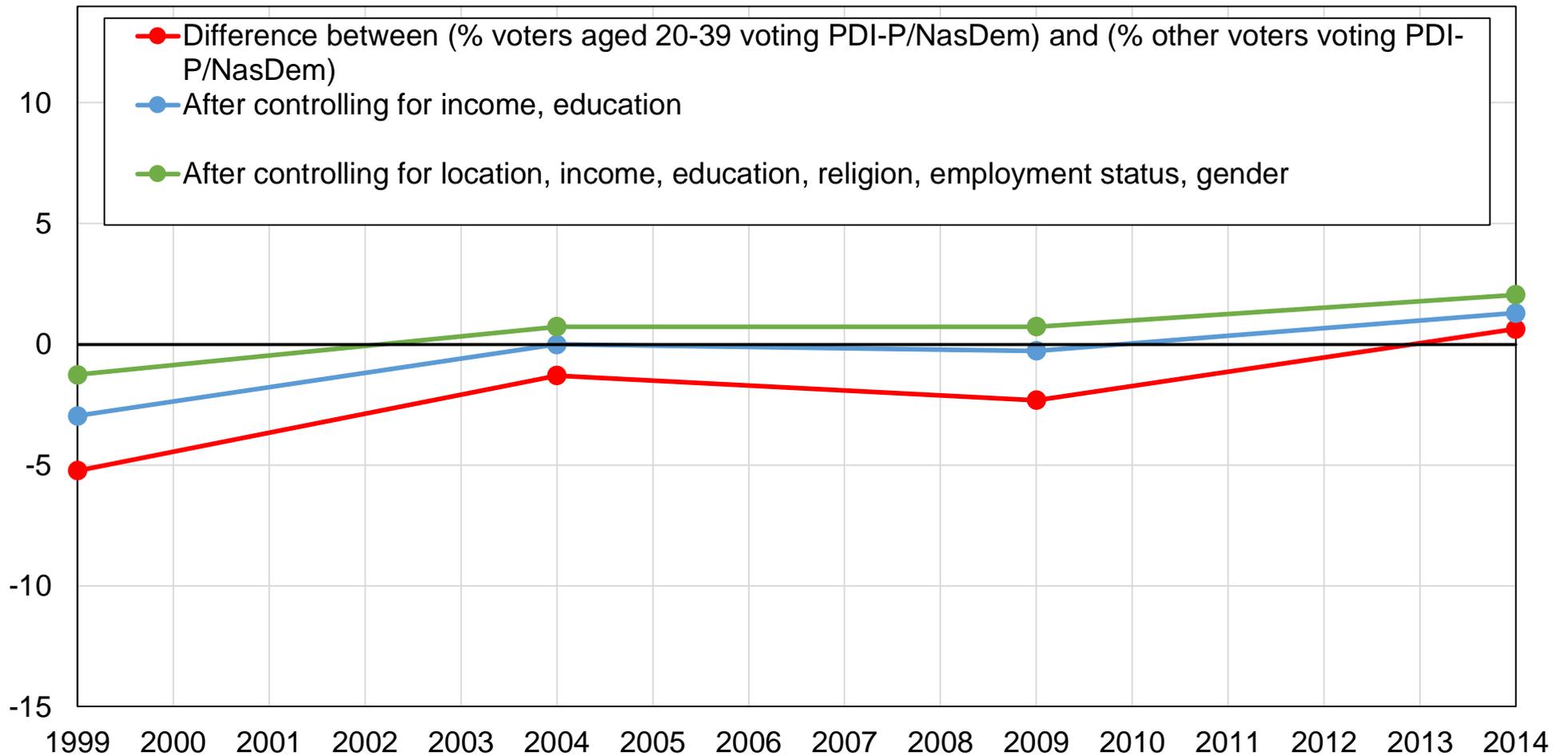
Figure DC7 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P/NasDem by age group.

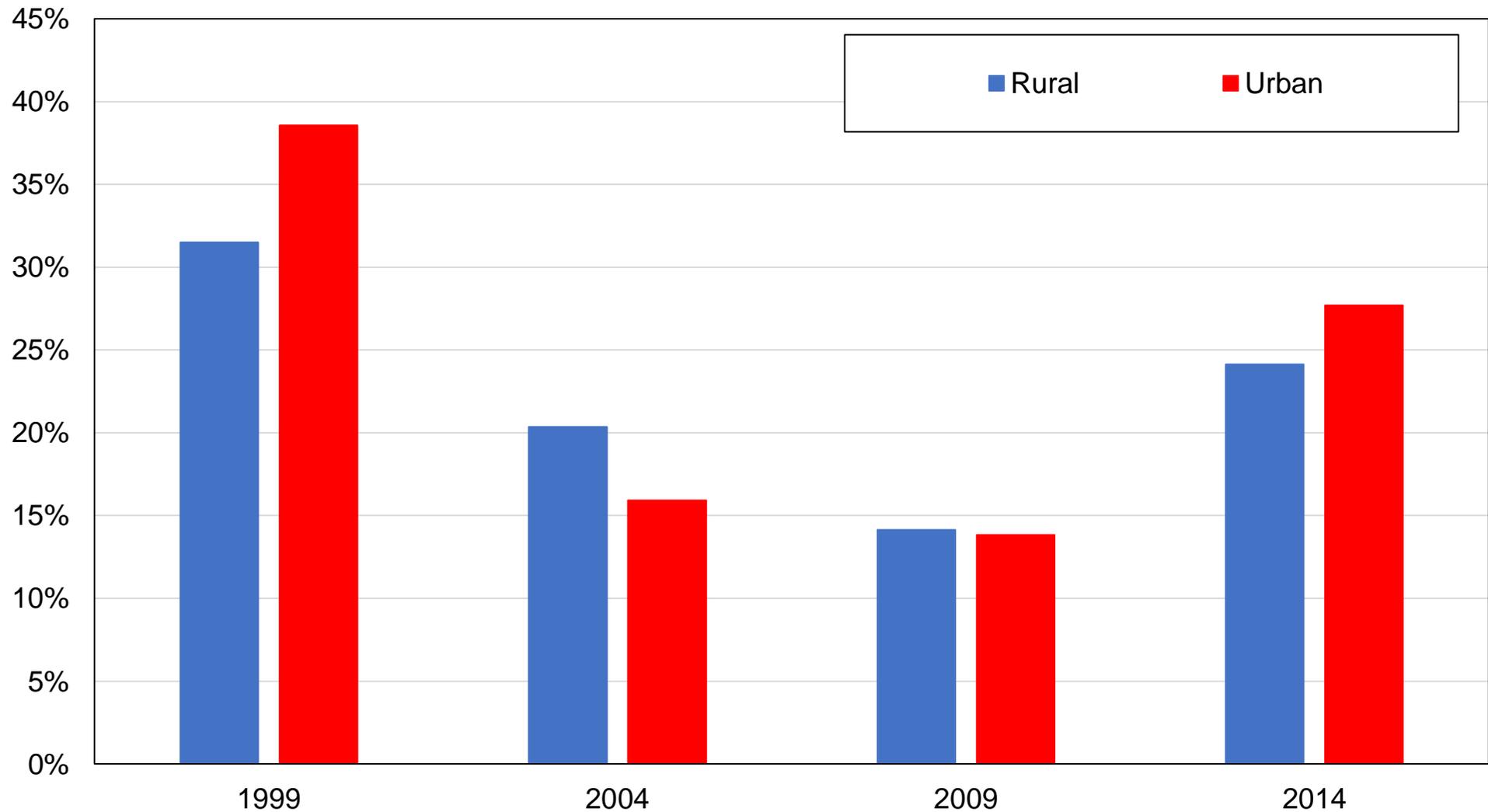
Figure DC8 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20 to 39 voting for PDI-P/NasDem and the share of other voters voting for PDI-P/NasDem, before and after controls.

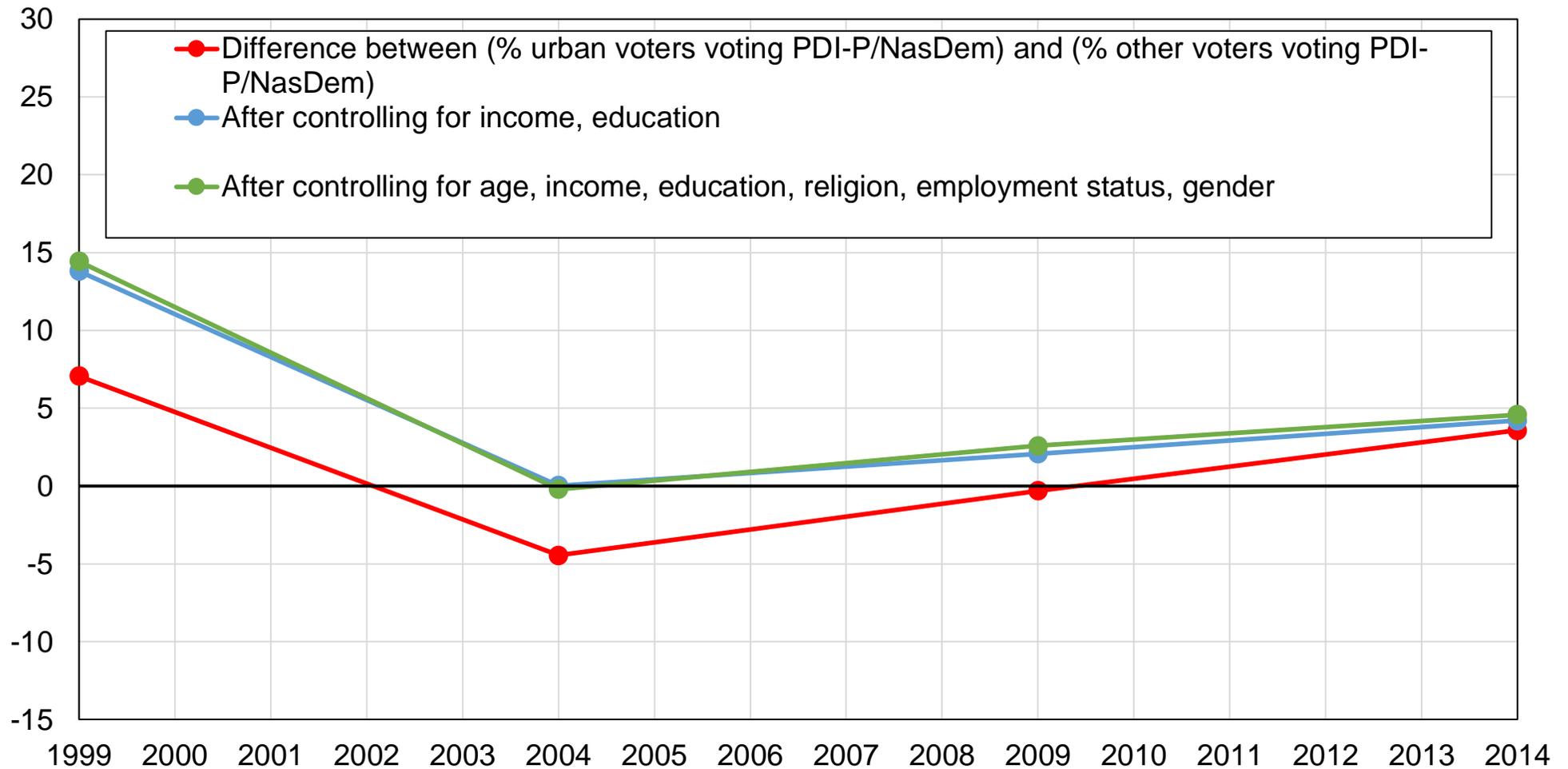
Figure DC9 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by rural-urban location



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P/NasDem by rural-urban location.

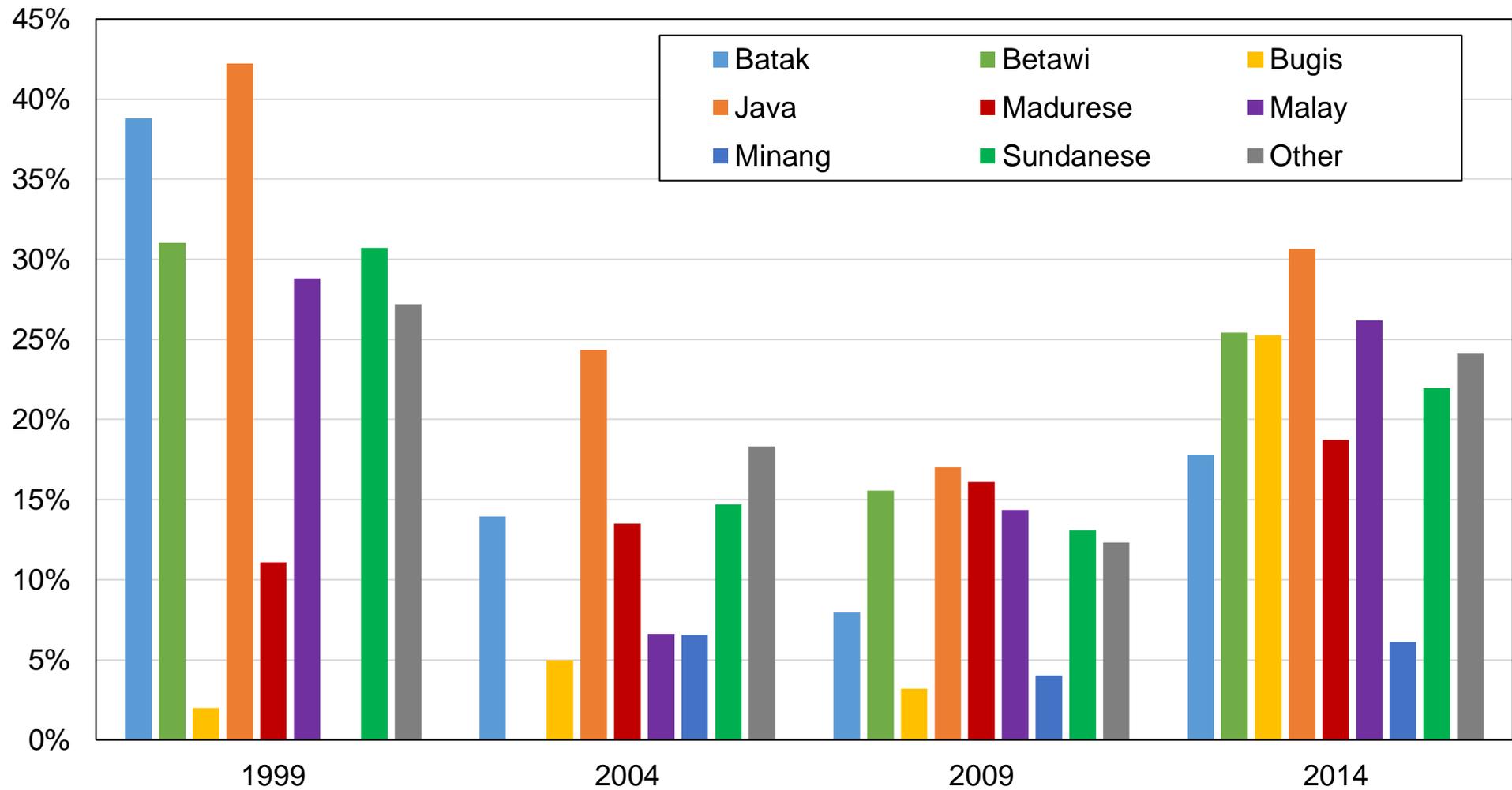
Figure DC10 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among urban voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of urban voters voting for PDI-P/NasDem and the share of other voters voting for PDI-P/NasDem, before and after controls.

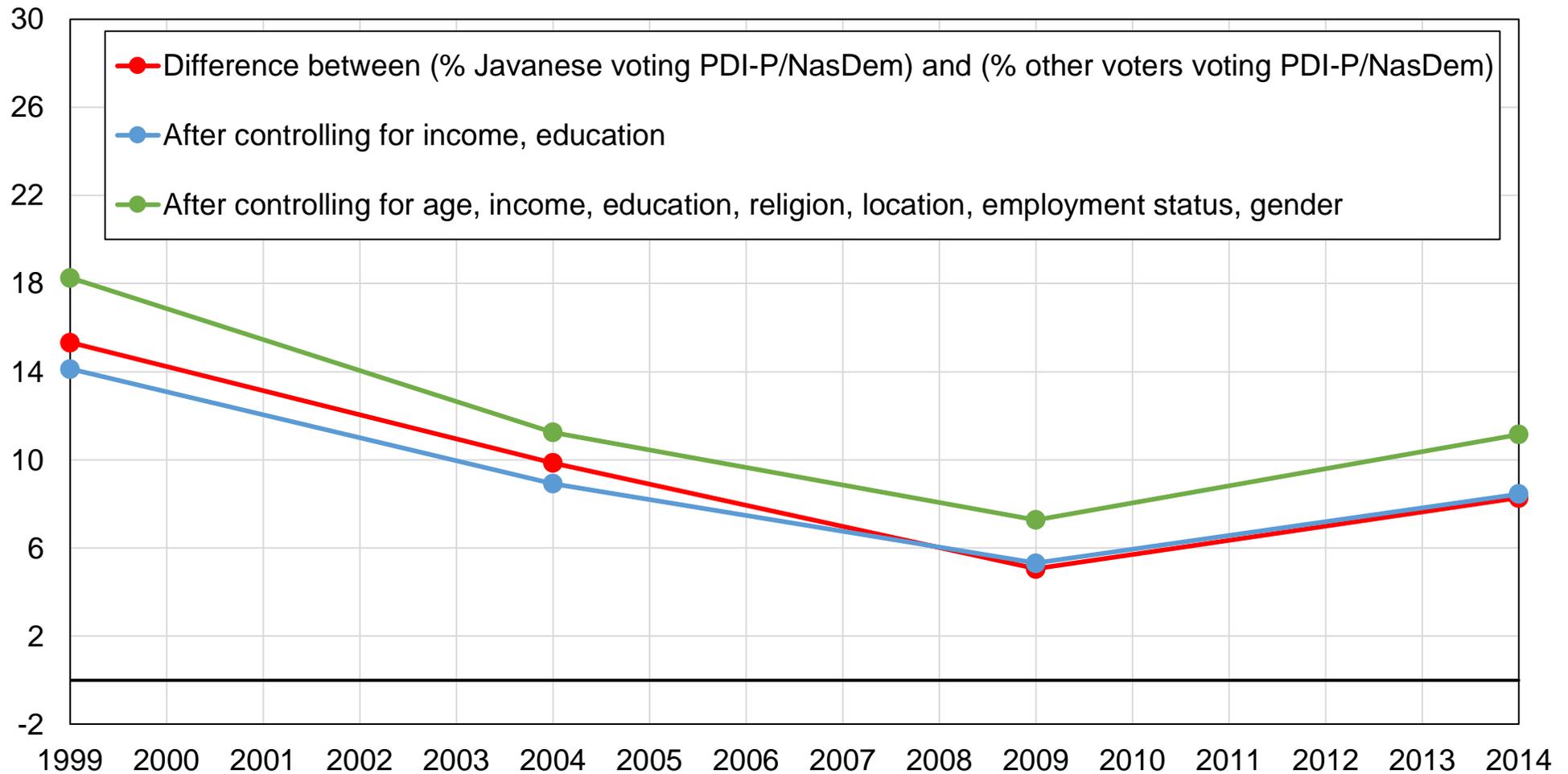
Figure DC11 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P/NasDem by ethnic affiliation.

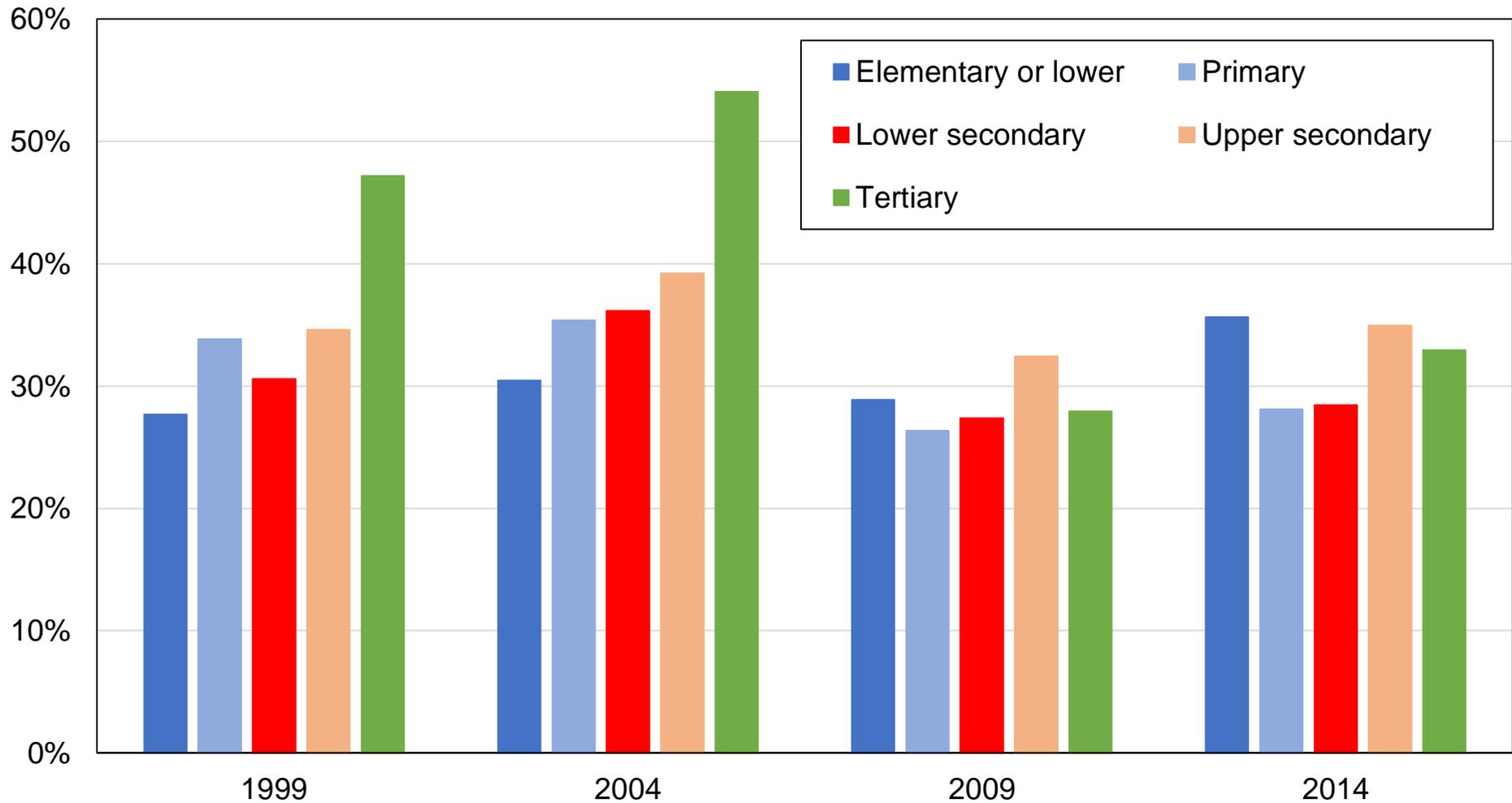
Figure DC12 – Vote for PDI-P/NasDem among Javanese voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Javanese voters voting for PDI-P/NasDem and the share of other voters voting for PDI-P/NasDem, before and after controls.

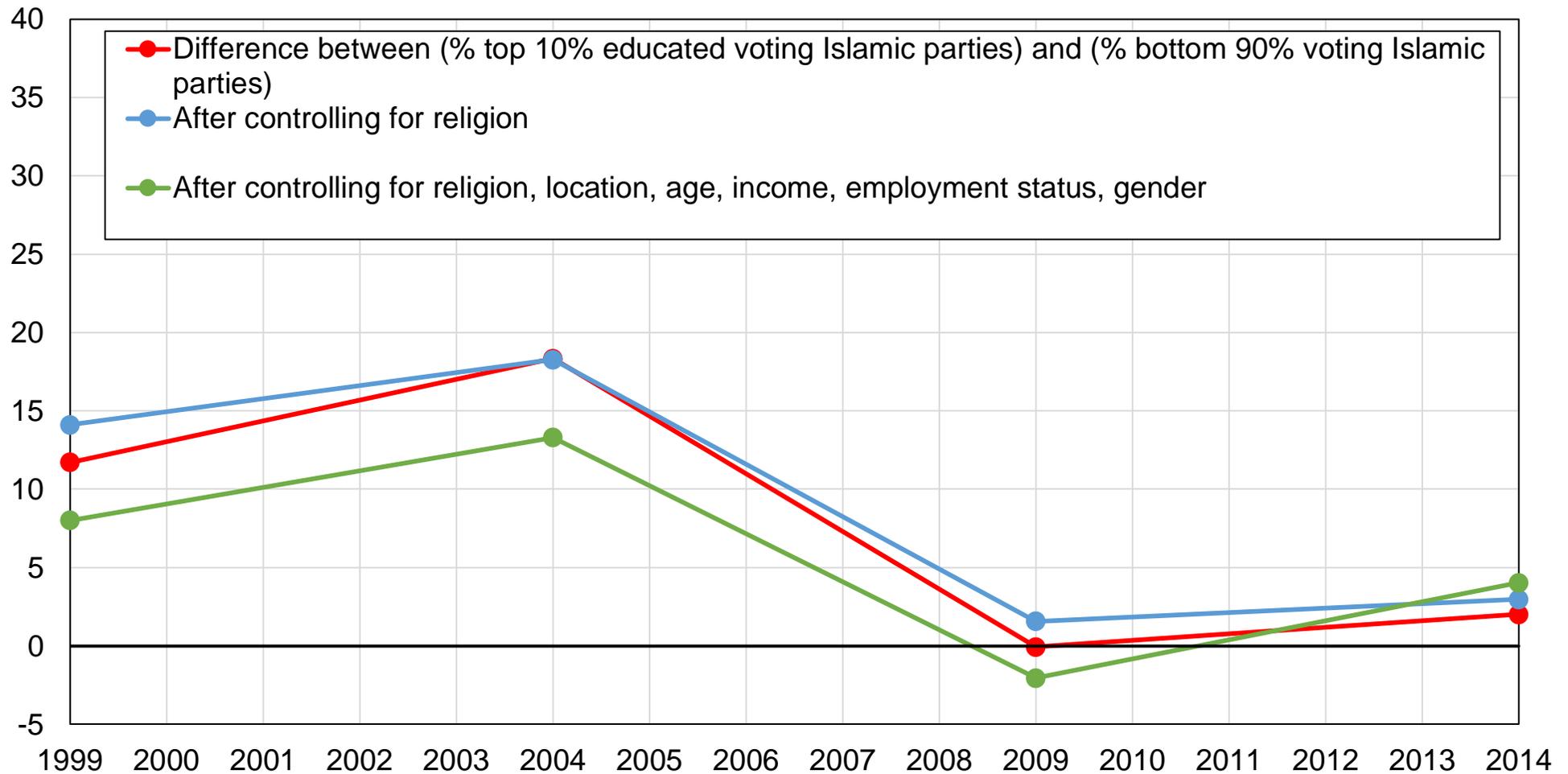
Figure DD1 – Vote for Islamic parties by education level



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties by education level.

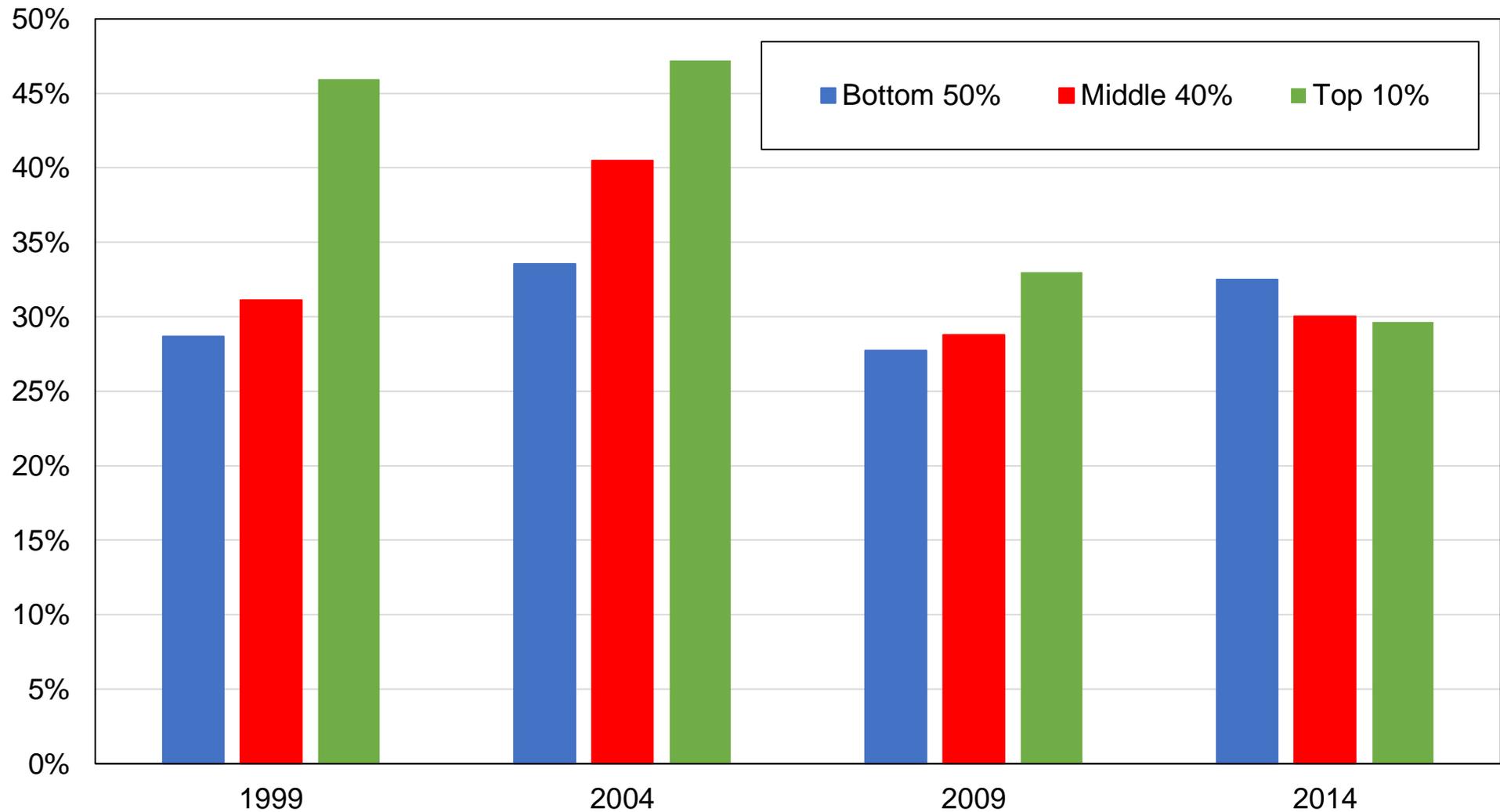
Figure DD2 – Vote for Islamic parties among higher-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters voting for Islamic parties and the share of other voters voting for Islamic parties, before and after controls.

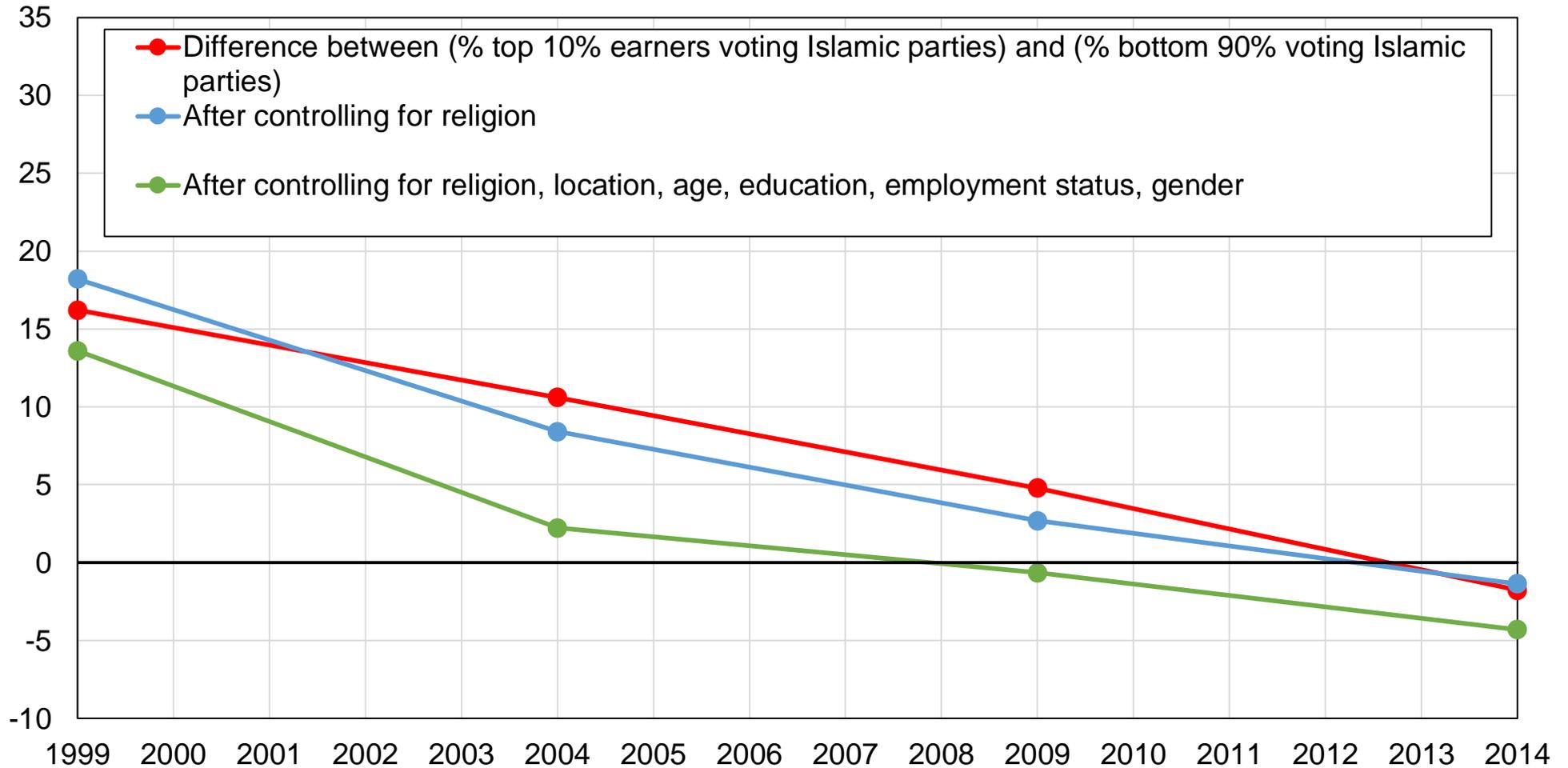
Figure DD3 – Vote for Islamic parties by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties by income group.

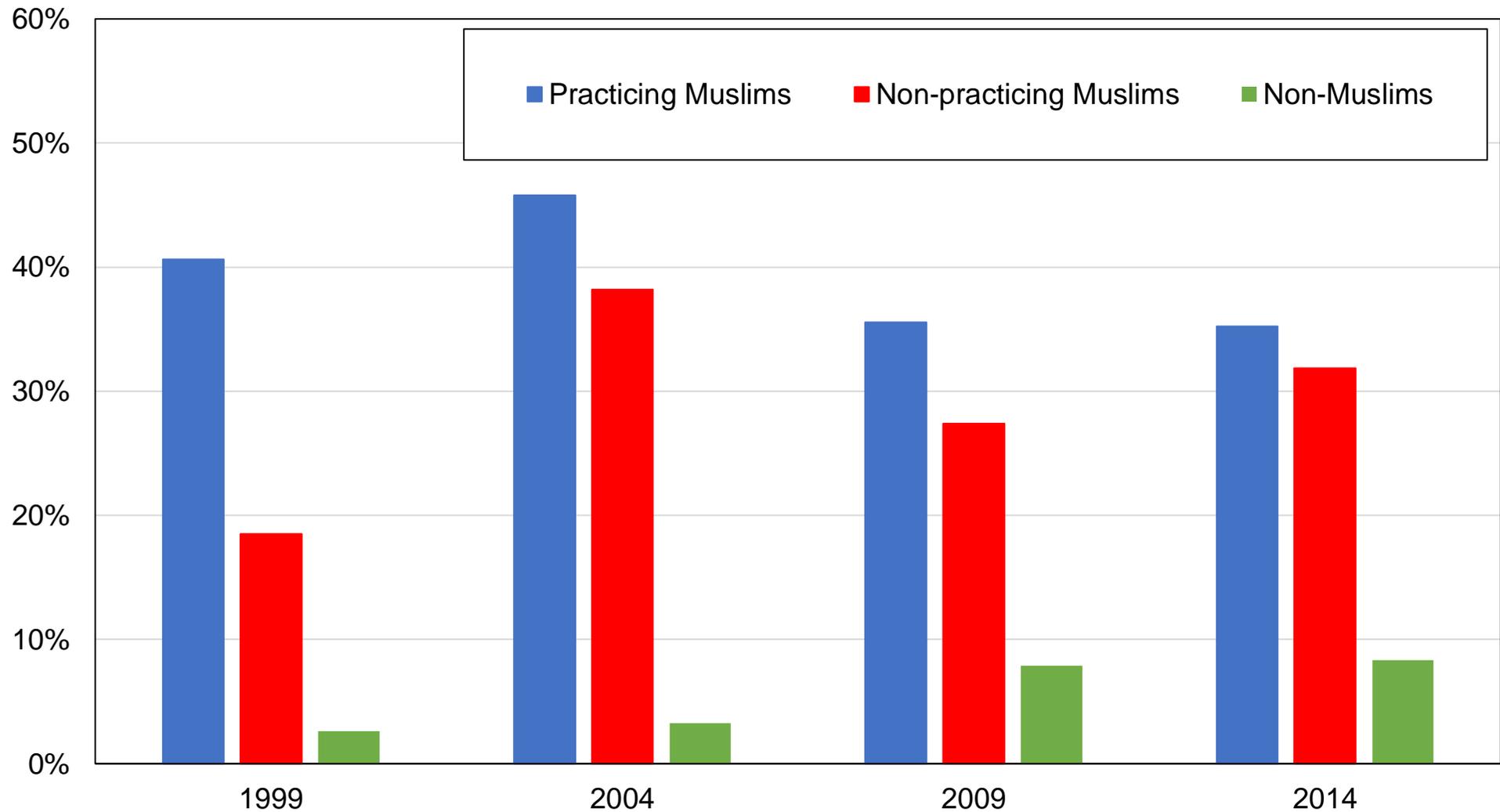
Figure DD4 – Vote for Islamic parties among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners voting for Islamic parties and the share of other voters voting for Islamic parties, before and after controls.

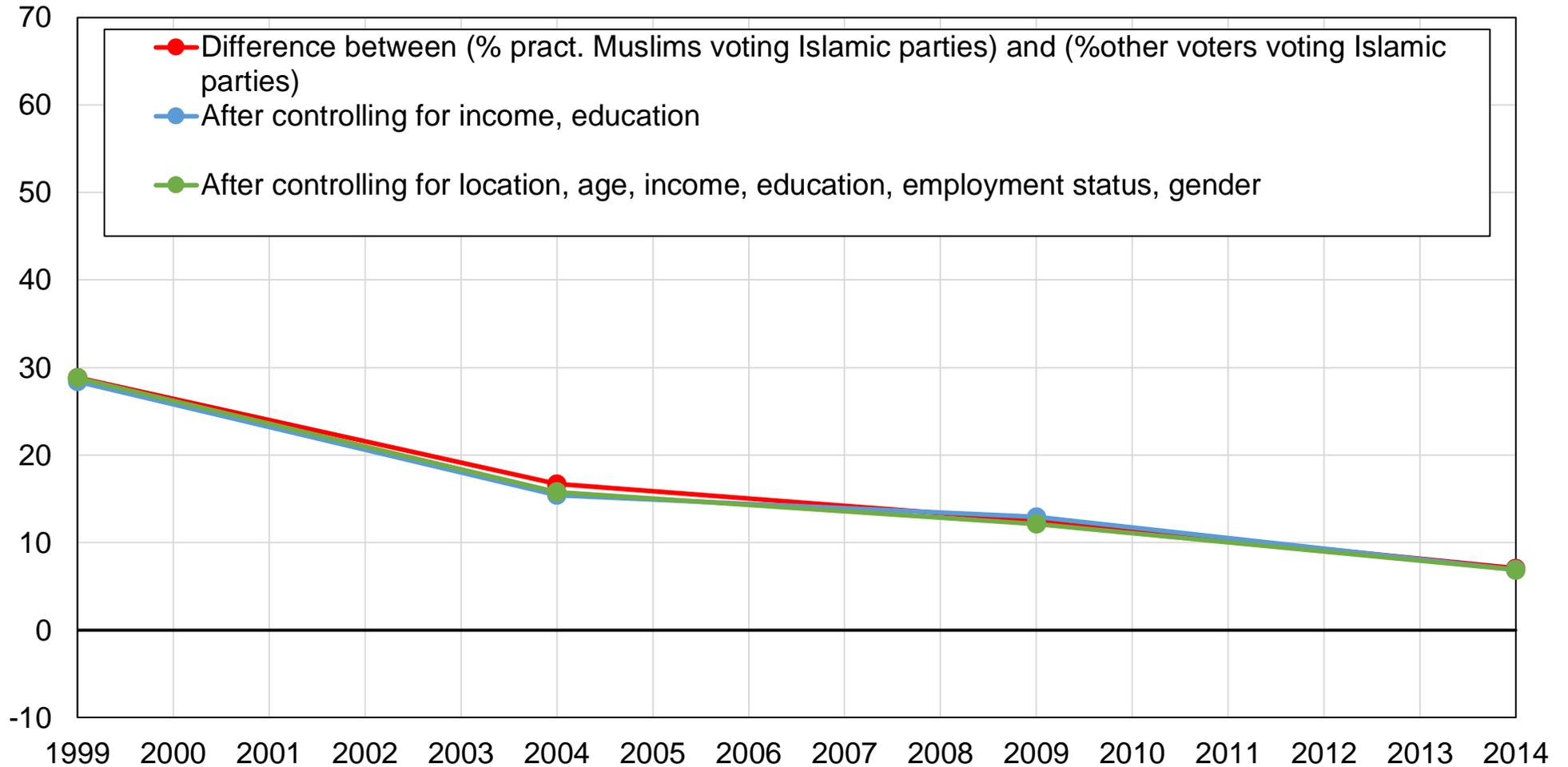
Figure DD5 – Vote for Islamic parties by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties by religion.

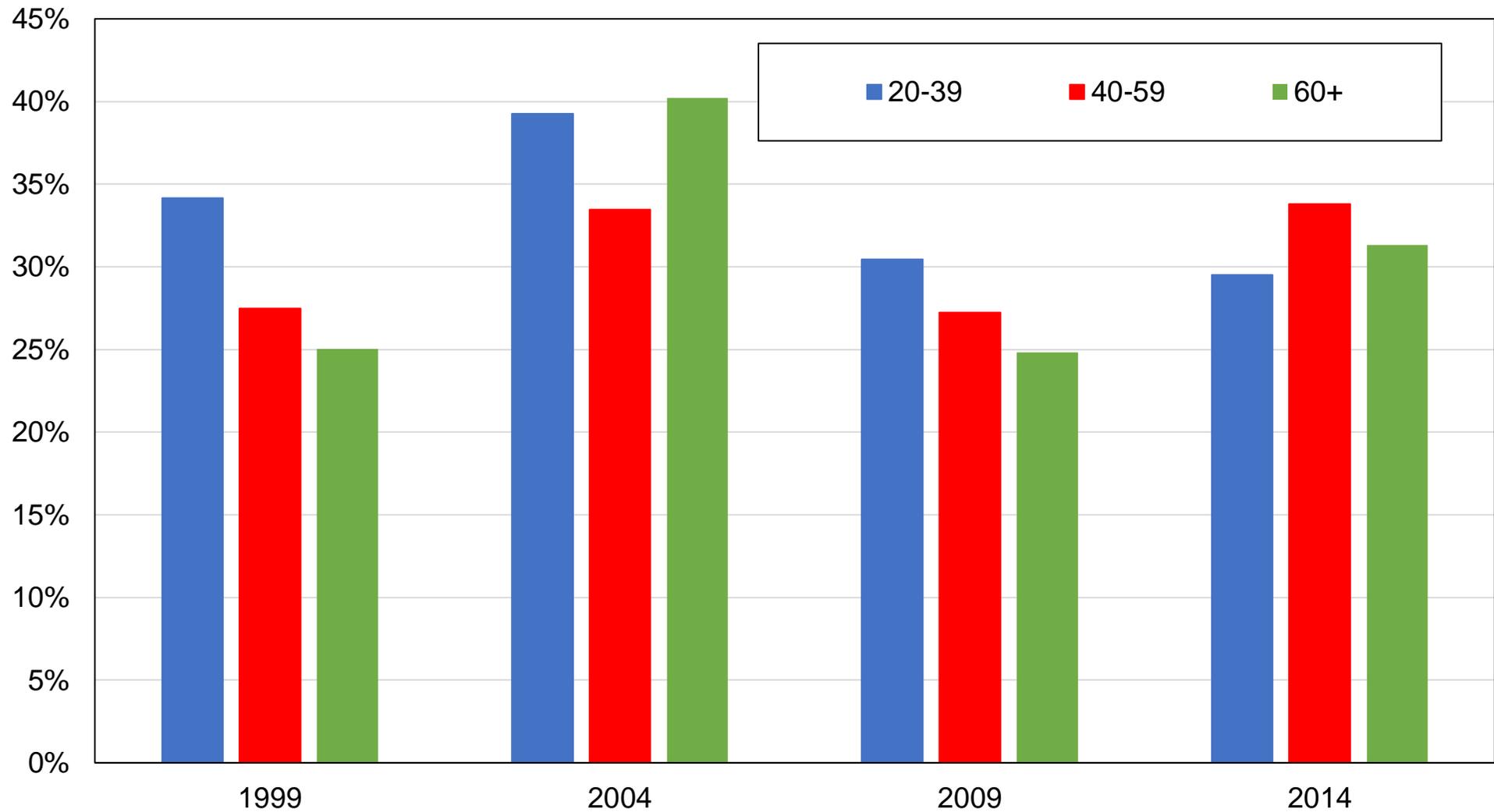
Figure DD6 – Vote for Islamic parties among practicing Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of practicing Muslims voting for Islamic parties and the share of other voters voting for Islamic parties, before and after controls.

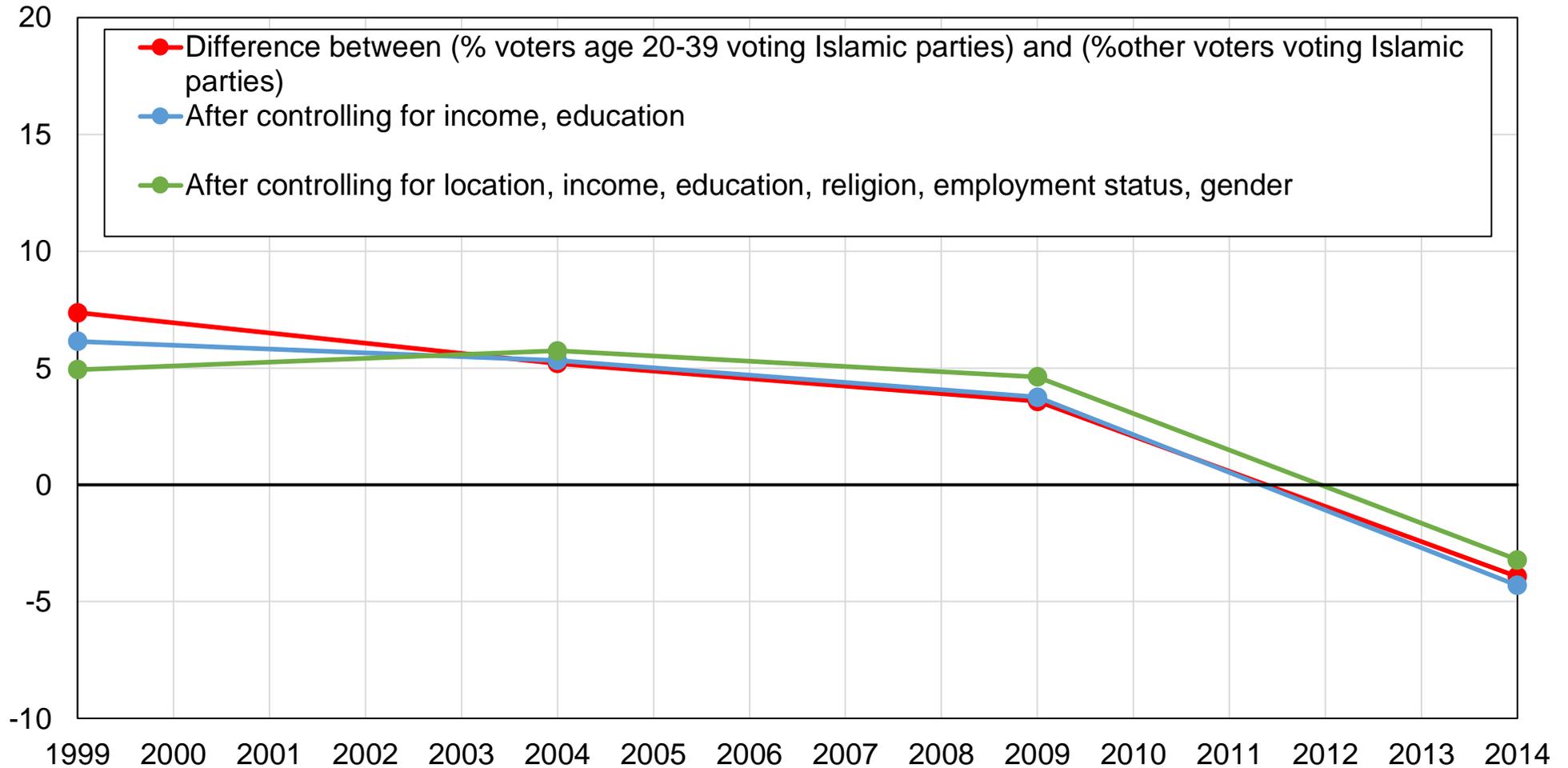
Figure DD7 – Vote for Islamic parties by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties by age group.

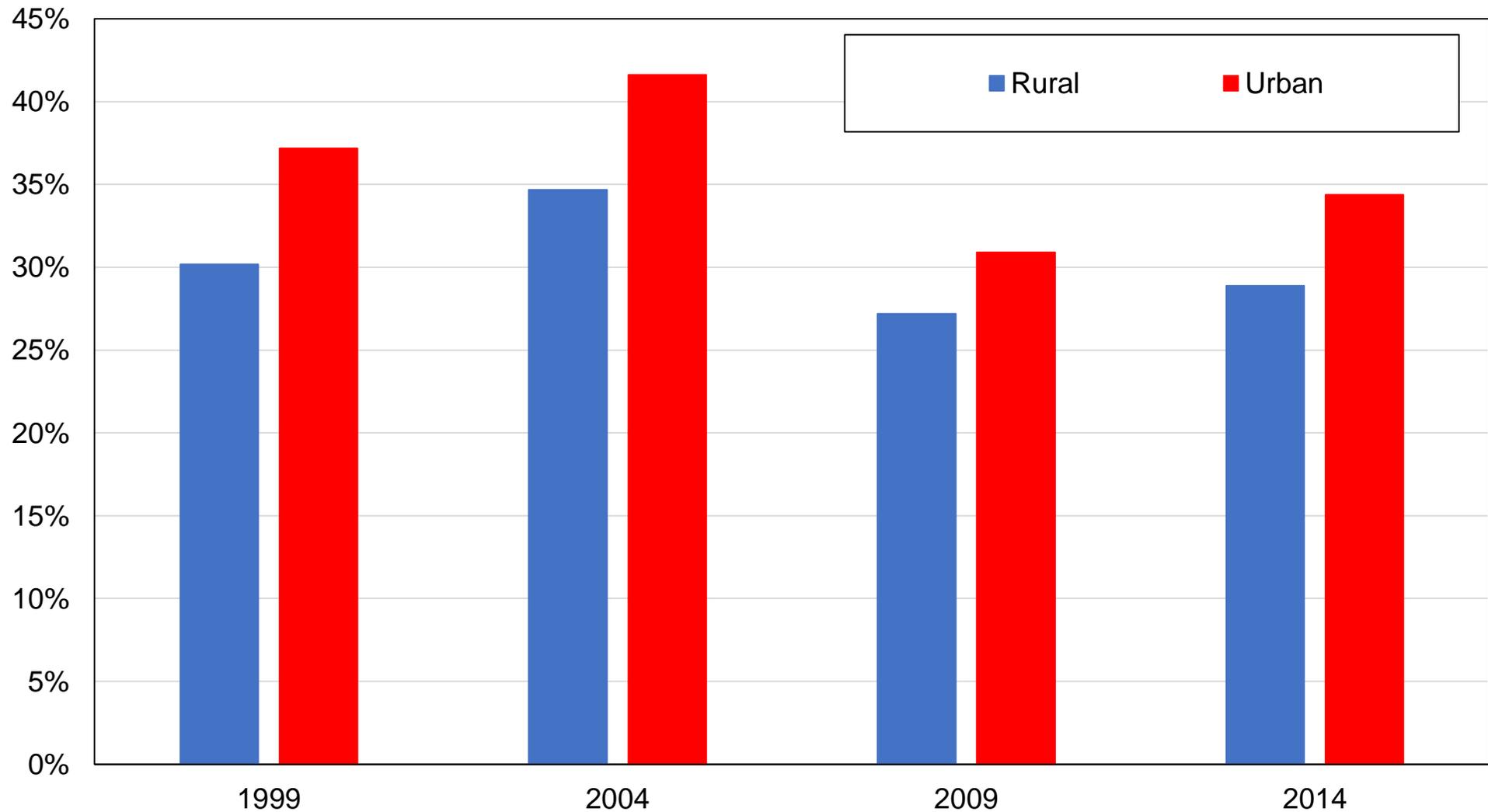
Figure DD8 – Vote for Islamic parties among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20 to 39 voting for Islamic parties and the share of other voters voting for Islamic parties, before and after controls.

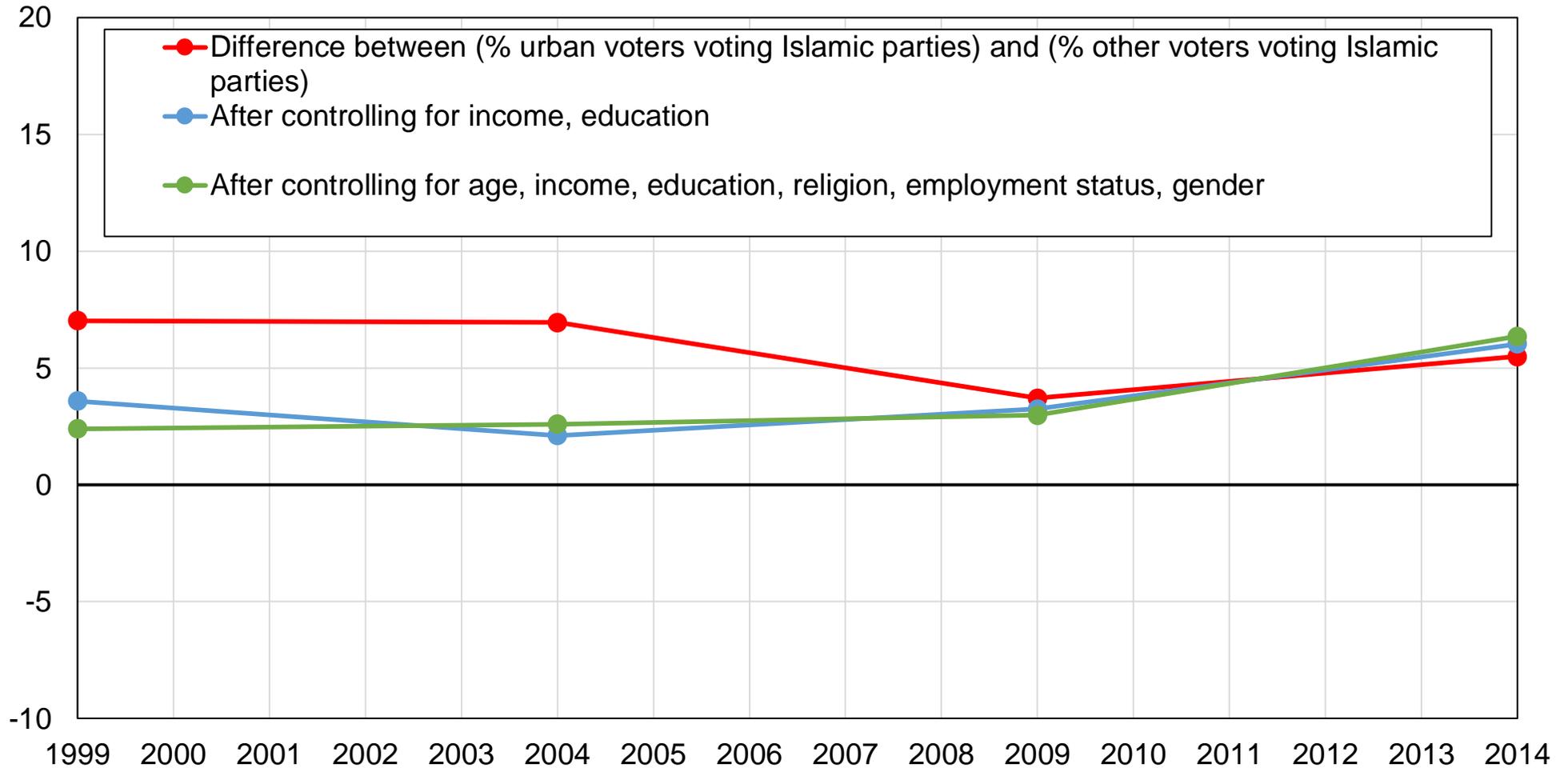
Figure DD9 – Vote for Islamic parties by rural-urban location



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties by rural-urban location.

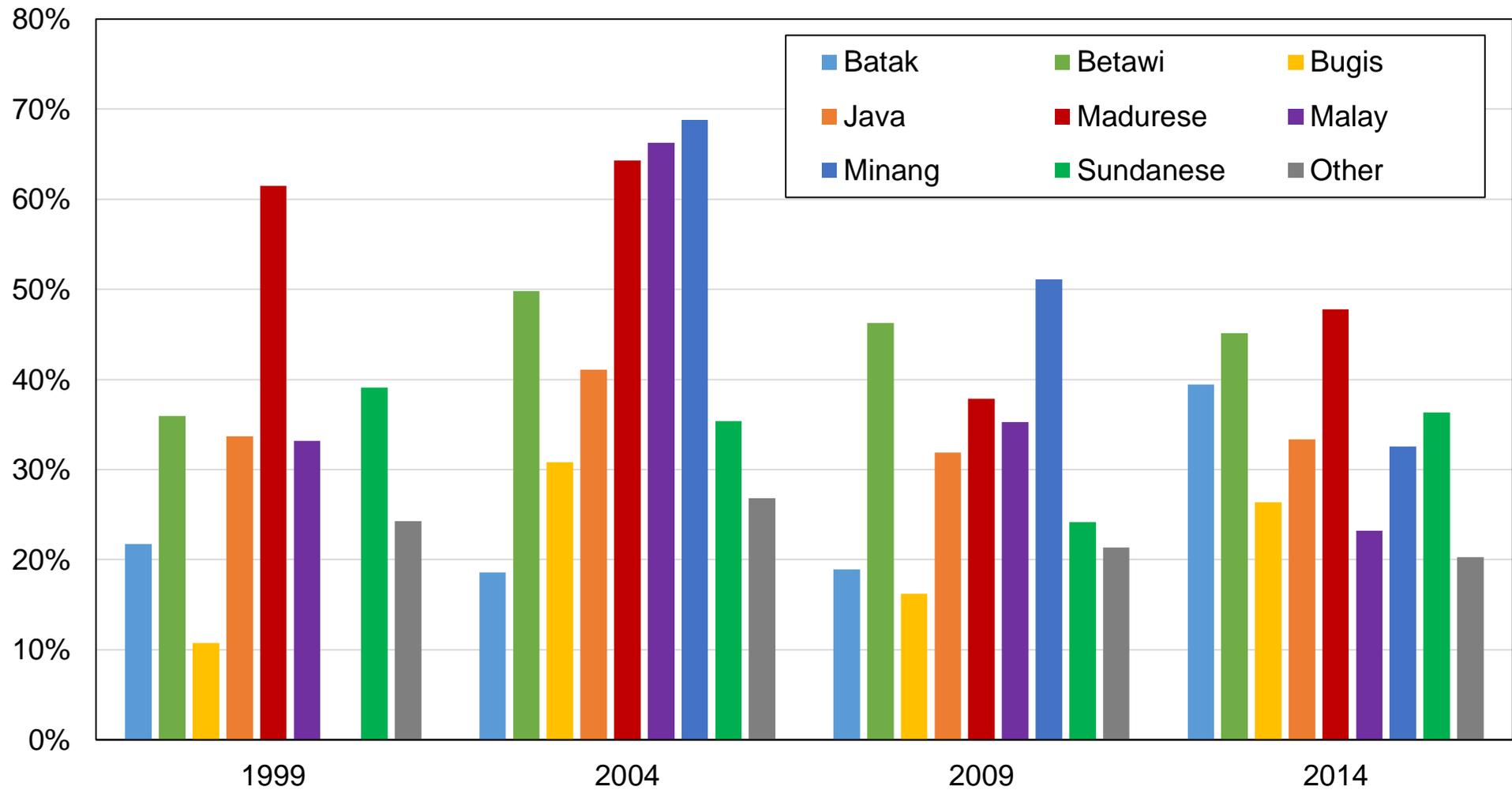
Figure DD10 – Vote for Islamic parties among urban voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of urban voters voting for Islamic parties and the share of other voters voting for Islamic parties, before and after controls.

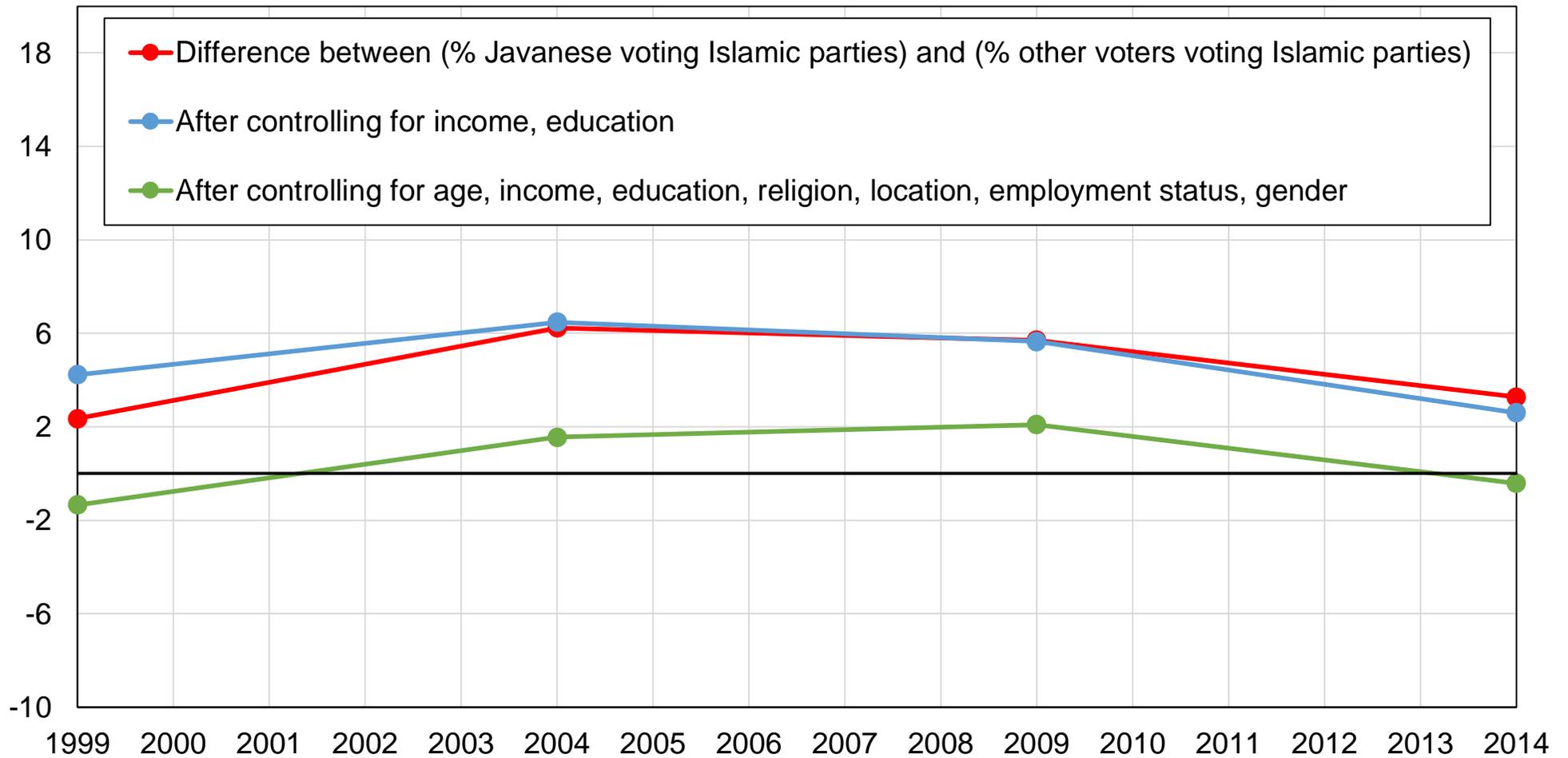
Figure DD11 – Vote for Islamic parties by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties by ethnic affiliation.

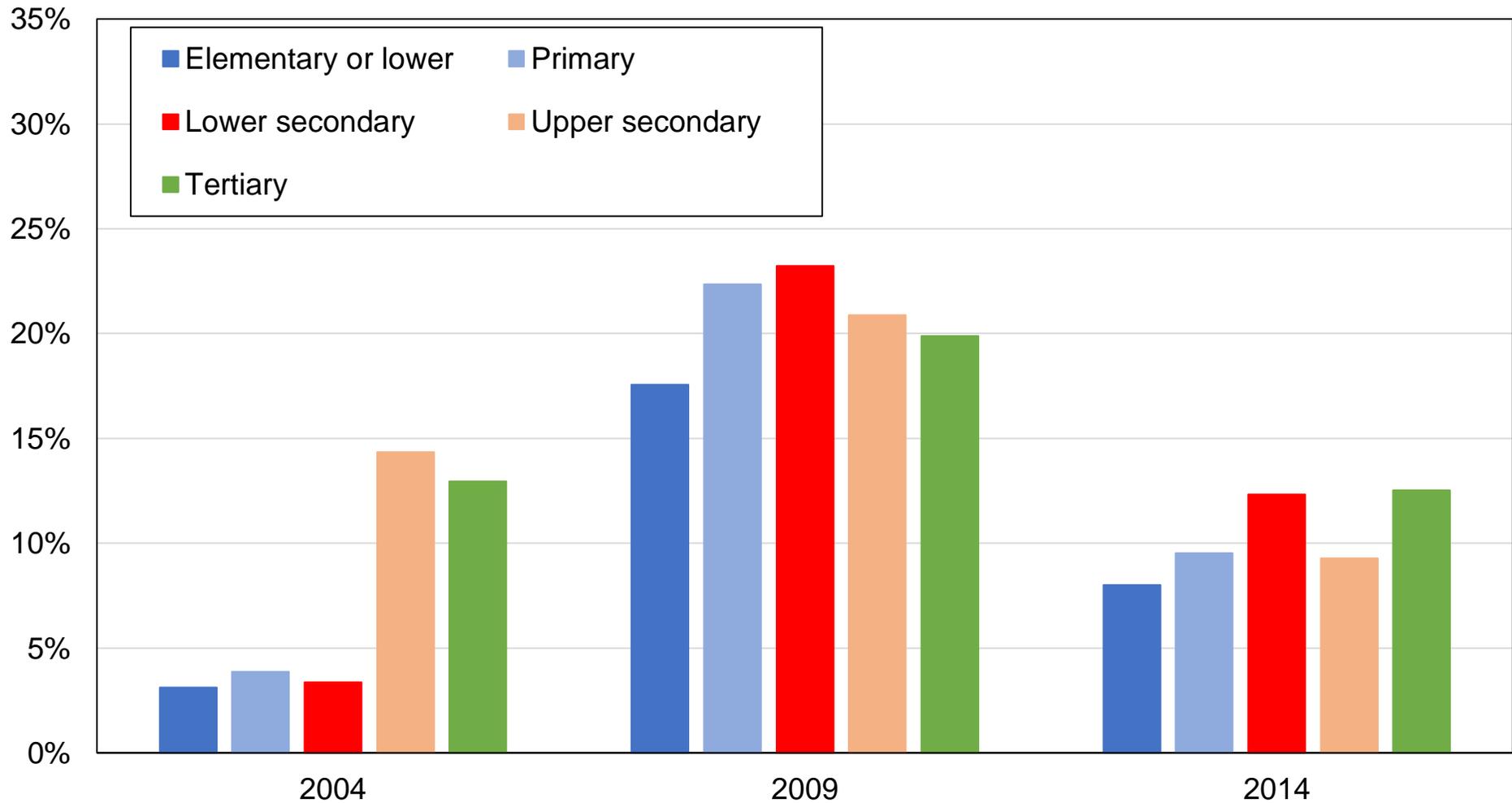
Figure DD12 – Vote for Islamic parties among Javanese voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

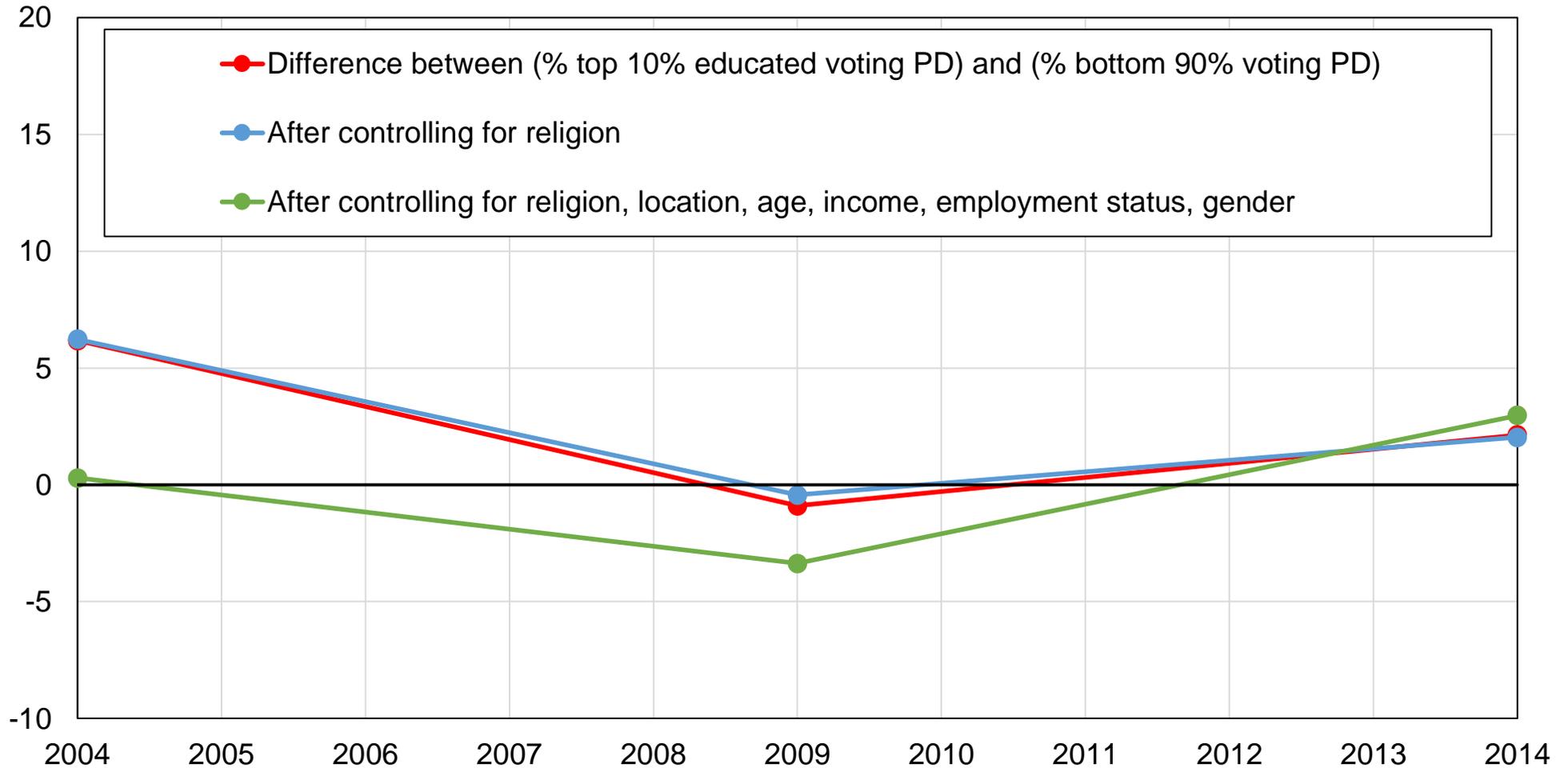
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Javanese voters voting for Islamic parties and the share of other voters voting for Islamic parties, before and after controls.

Figure DE1 – Vote for PD by education level



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PD by education level.

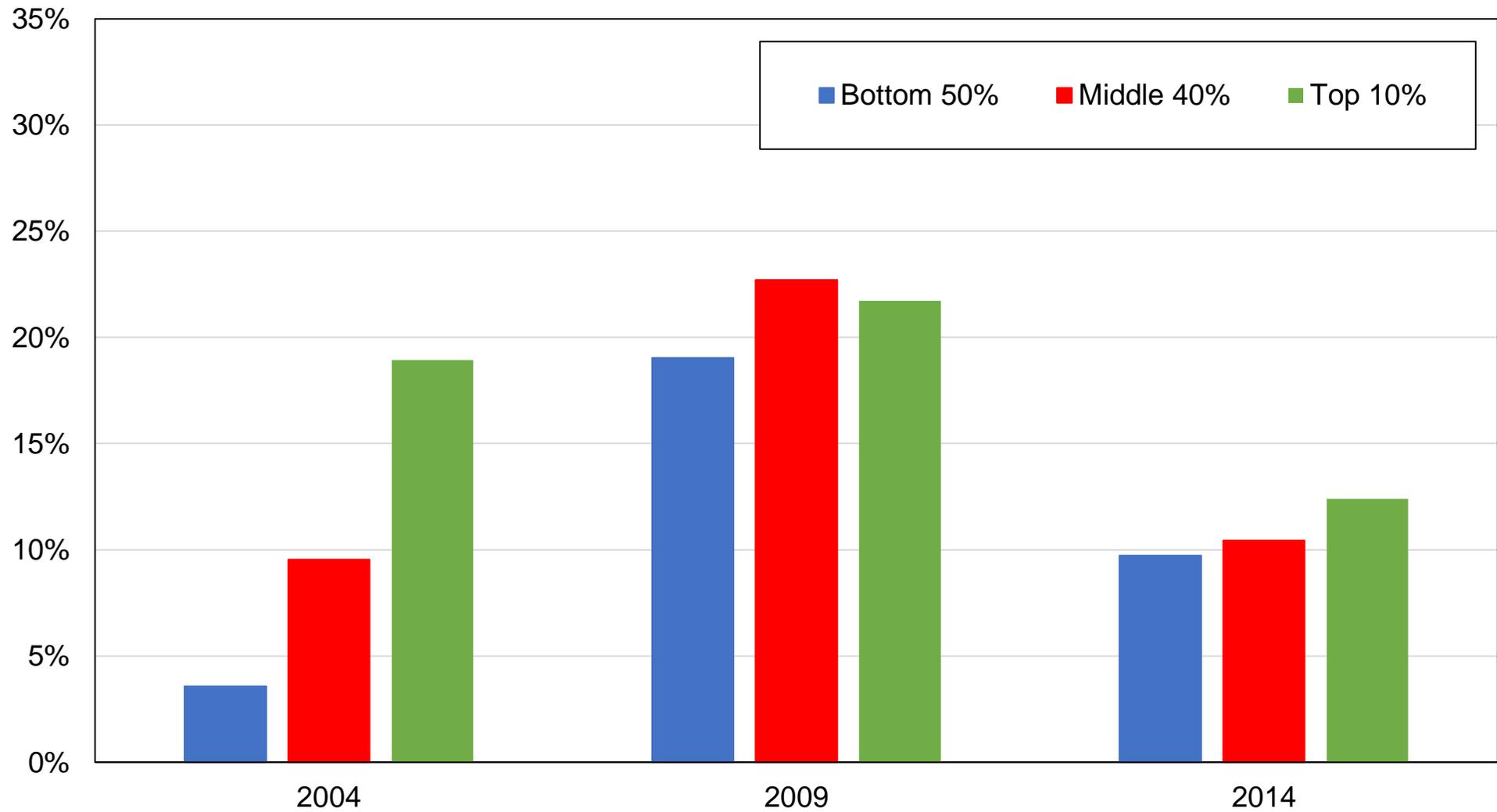
Figure DE2 – Vote for PD among higher-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

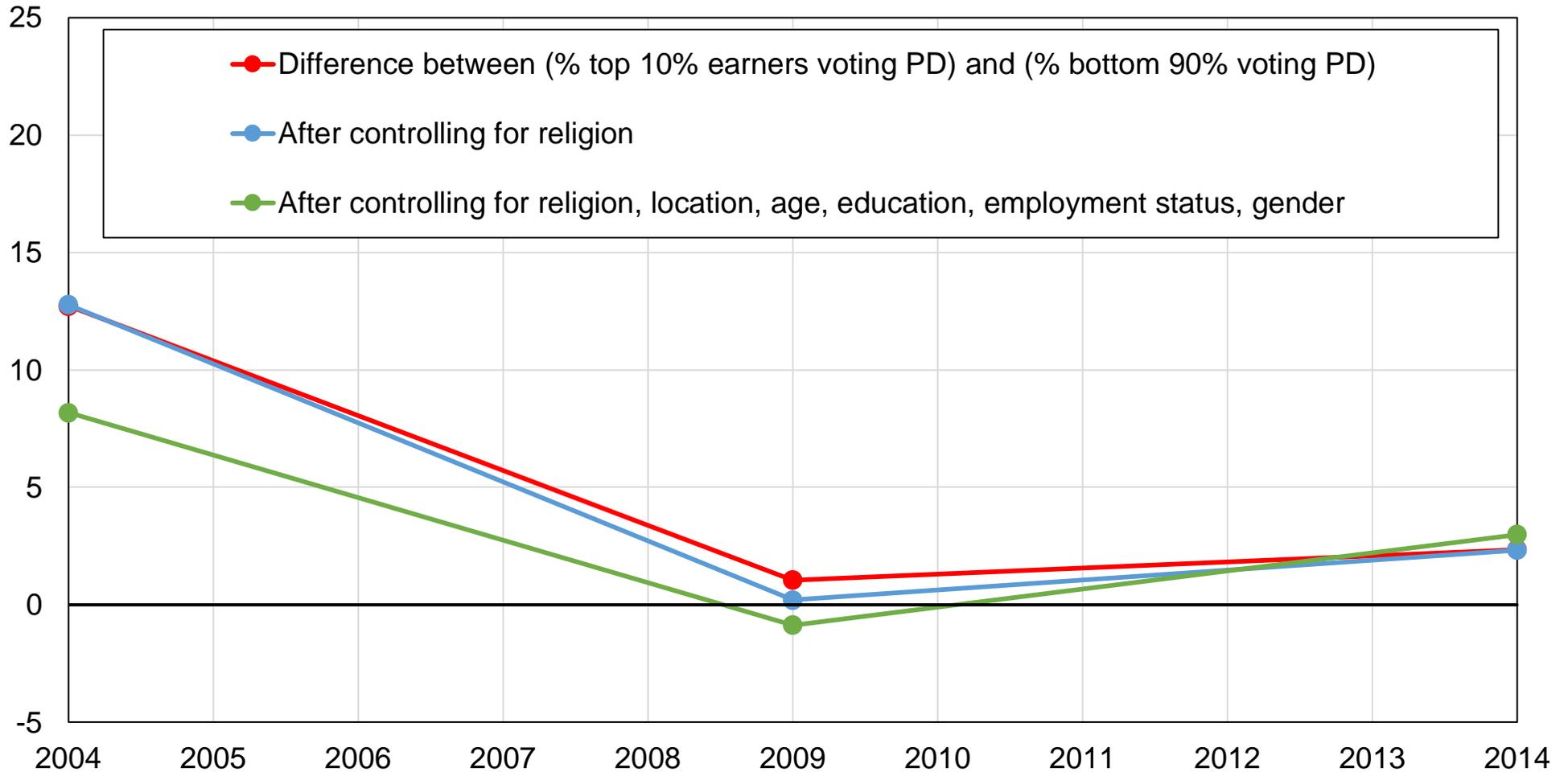
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters voting for the Democratic Party and the share of other voters voting for the Democratic Party, before and after controls.

Figure DE3 – Vote for PD by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PD by income group.

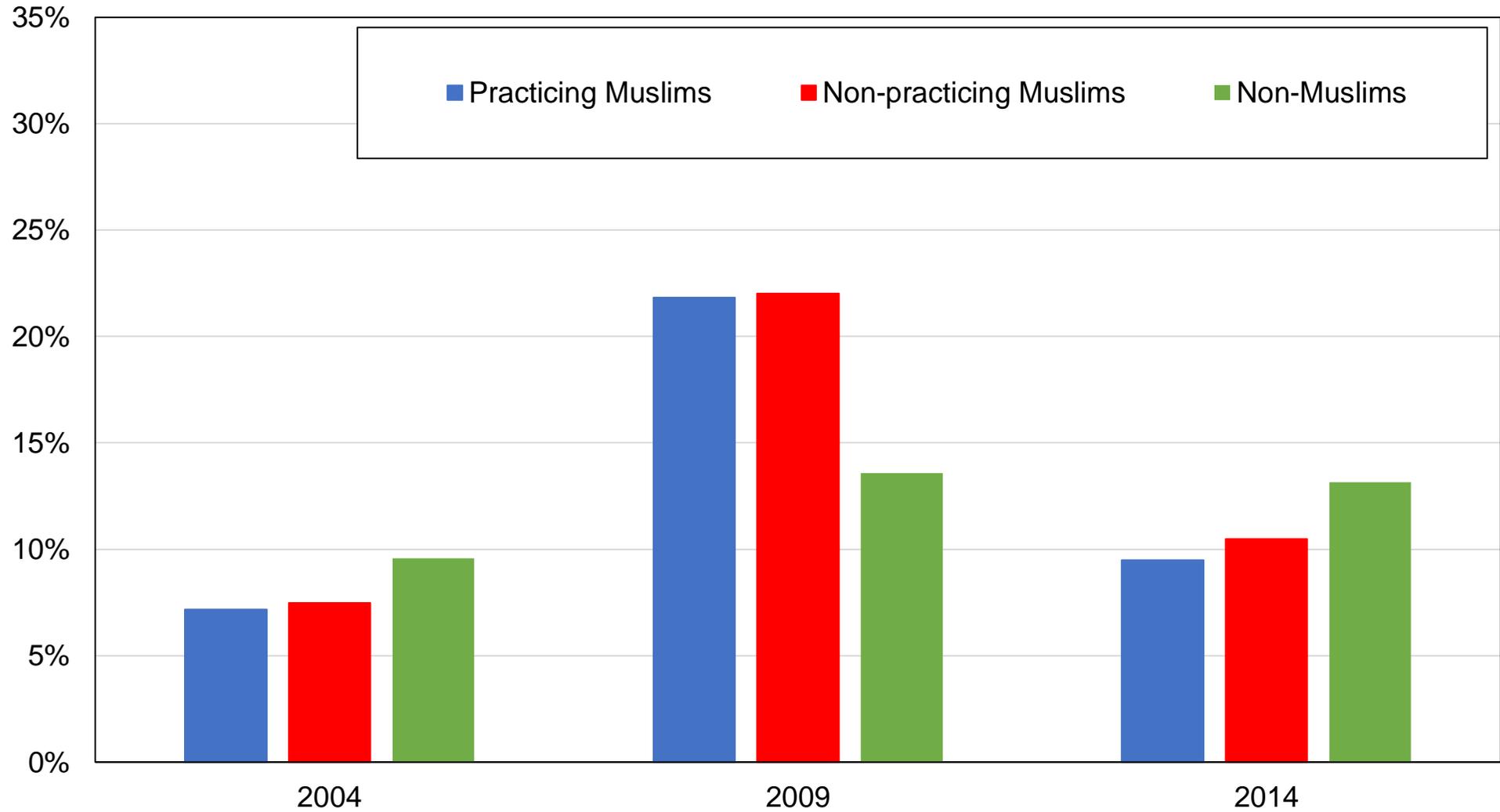
Figure DE4 – Vote for PD among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

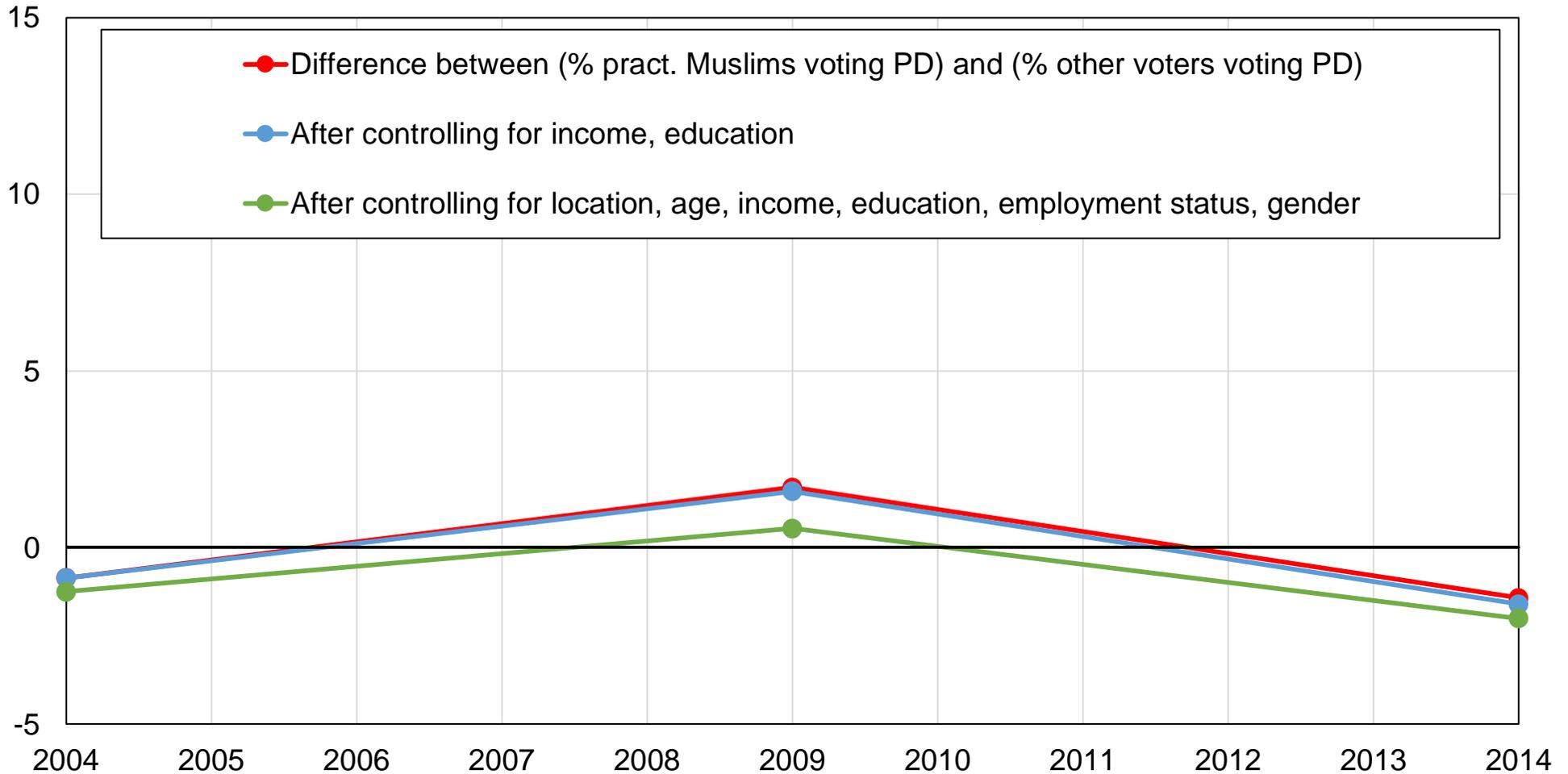
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners voting for the Democratic Party and the share of other voters voting for the Democratic Party, before and after controls.

Figure DE5 – Vote for PD by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PD by religion.

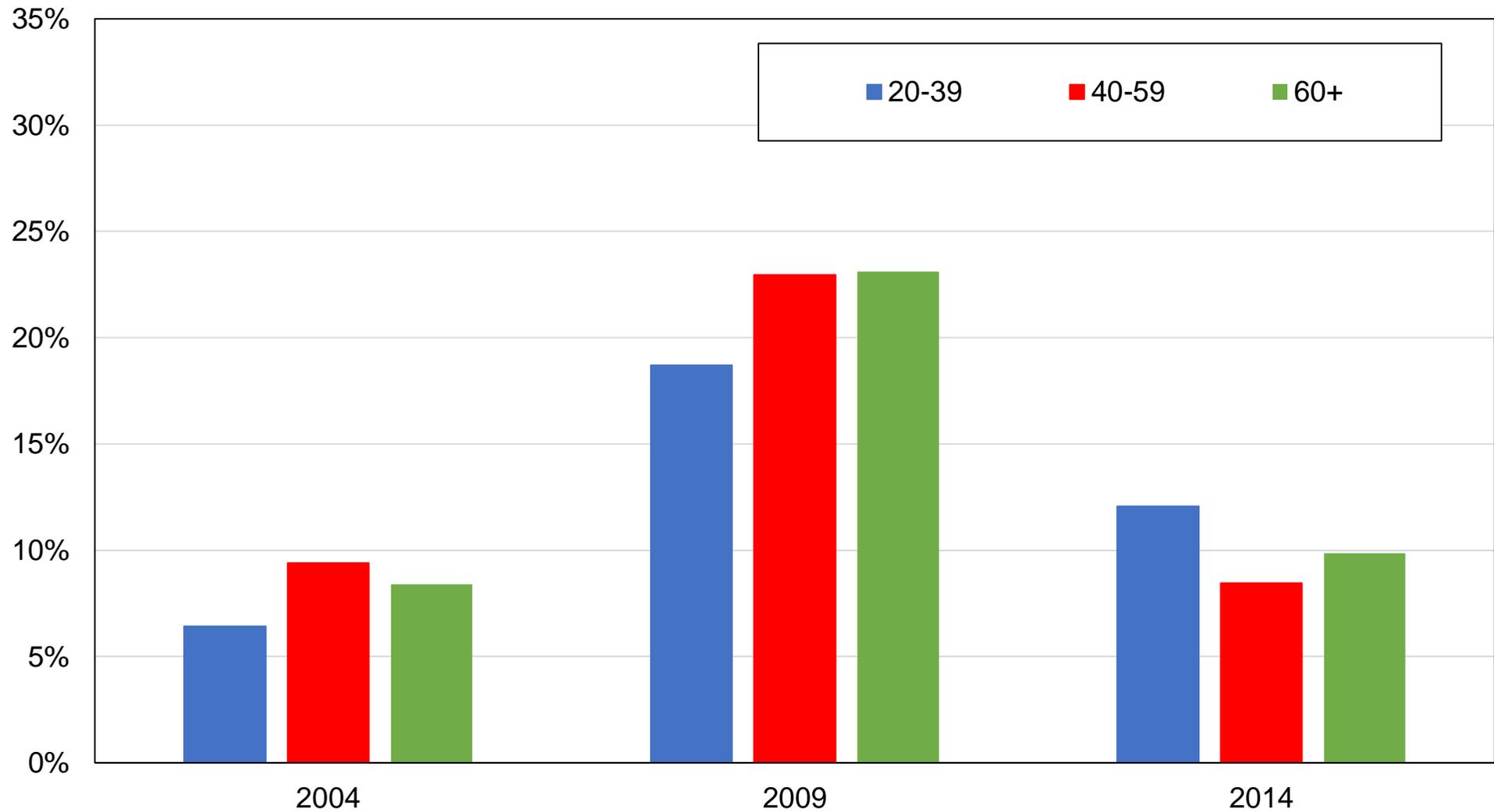
Figure DE6 – Vote for PD among practicing Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

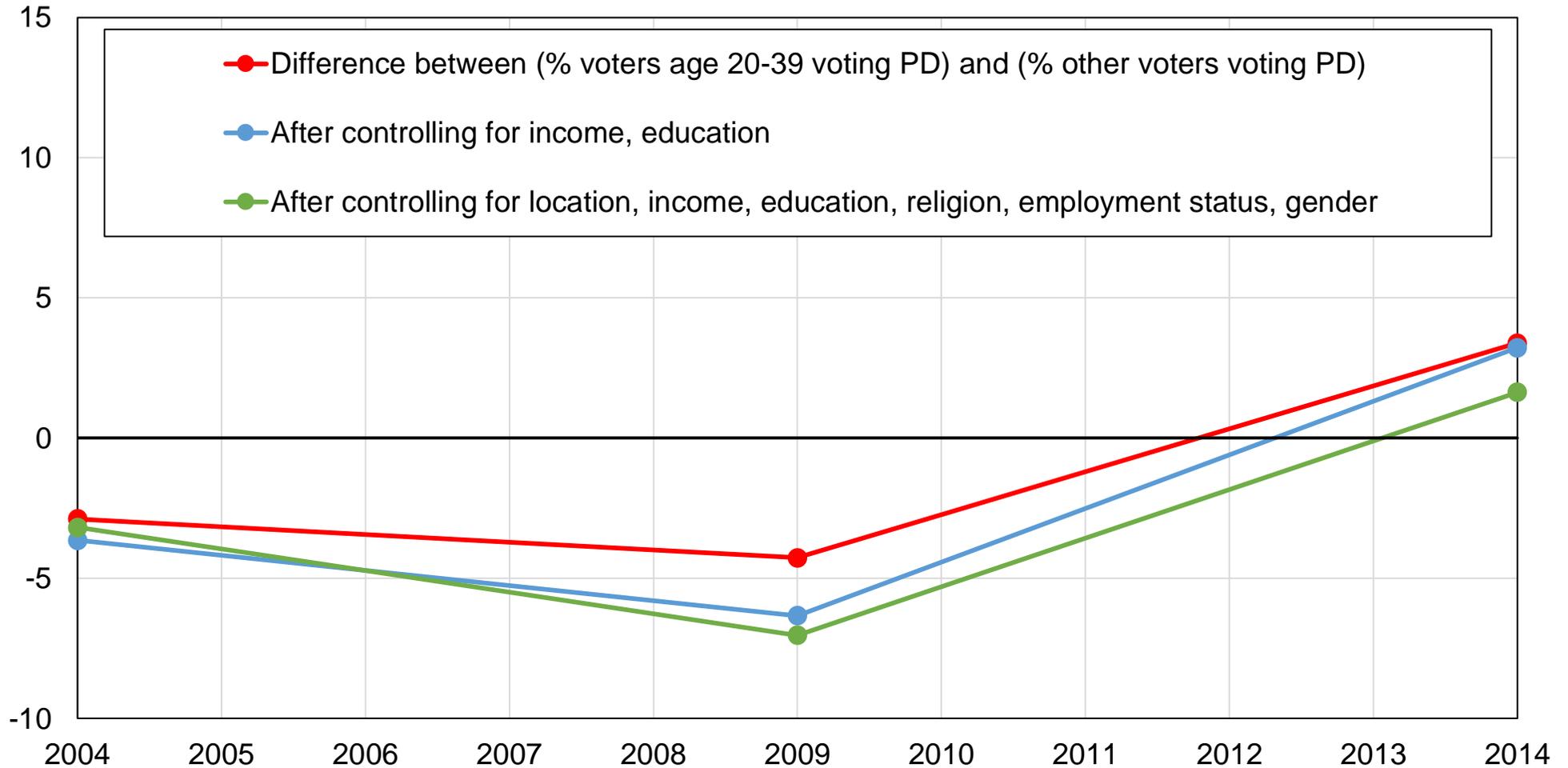
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of practicing Muslims voting for the Democratic Party and the share of other voters voting for the Democratic Party, before and after controls.

Figure DE7 – Vote for PD by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PD by age group.

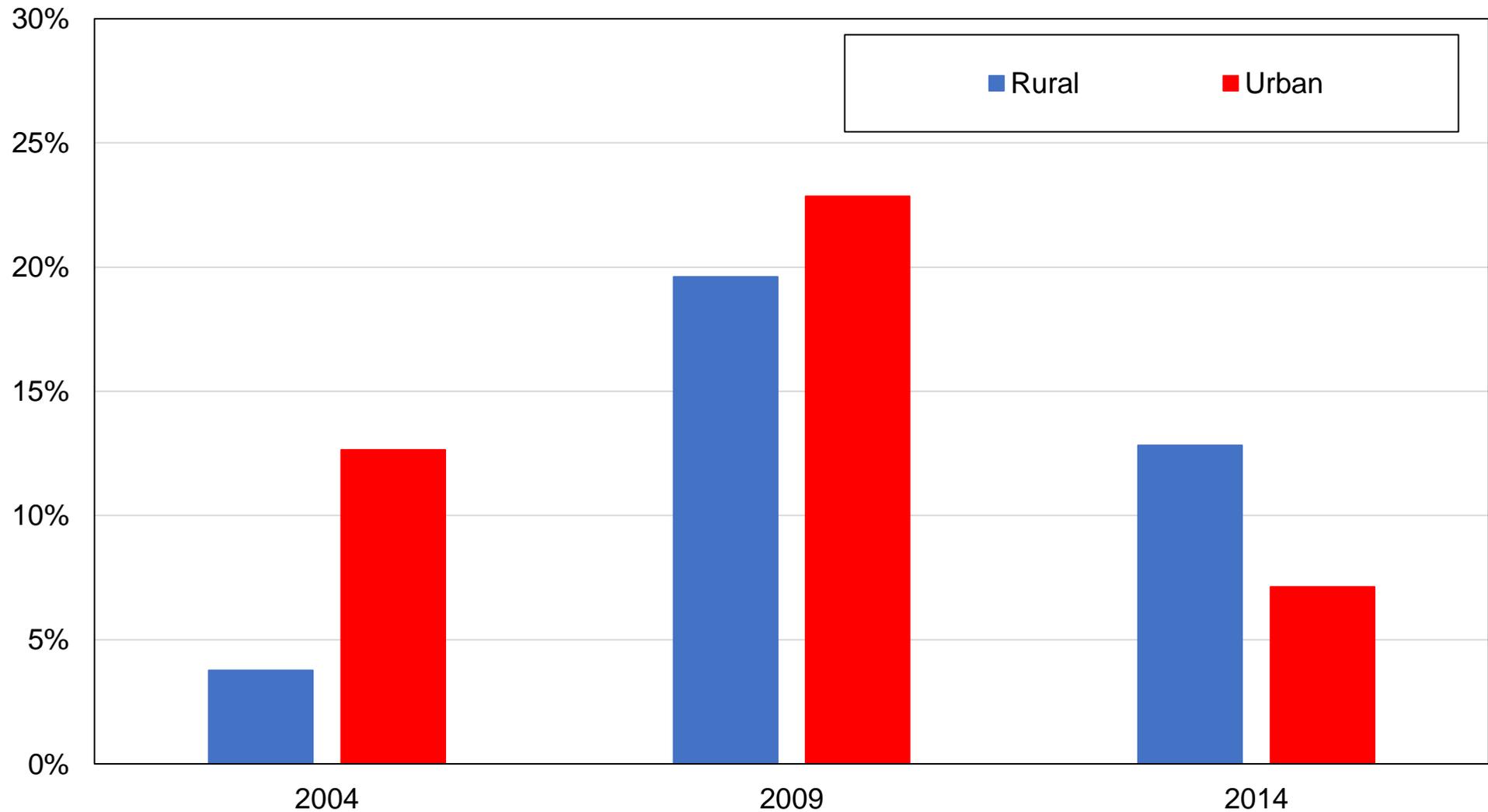
Figure DE8 – Vote for PD among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between share of young voters voting for the Democratic Party and the share of other voters voting for the Democratic Party, before and after controls.

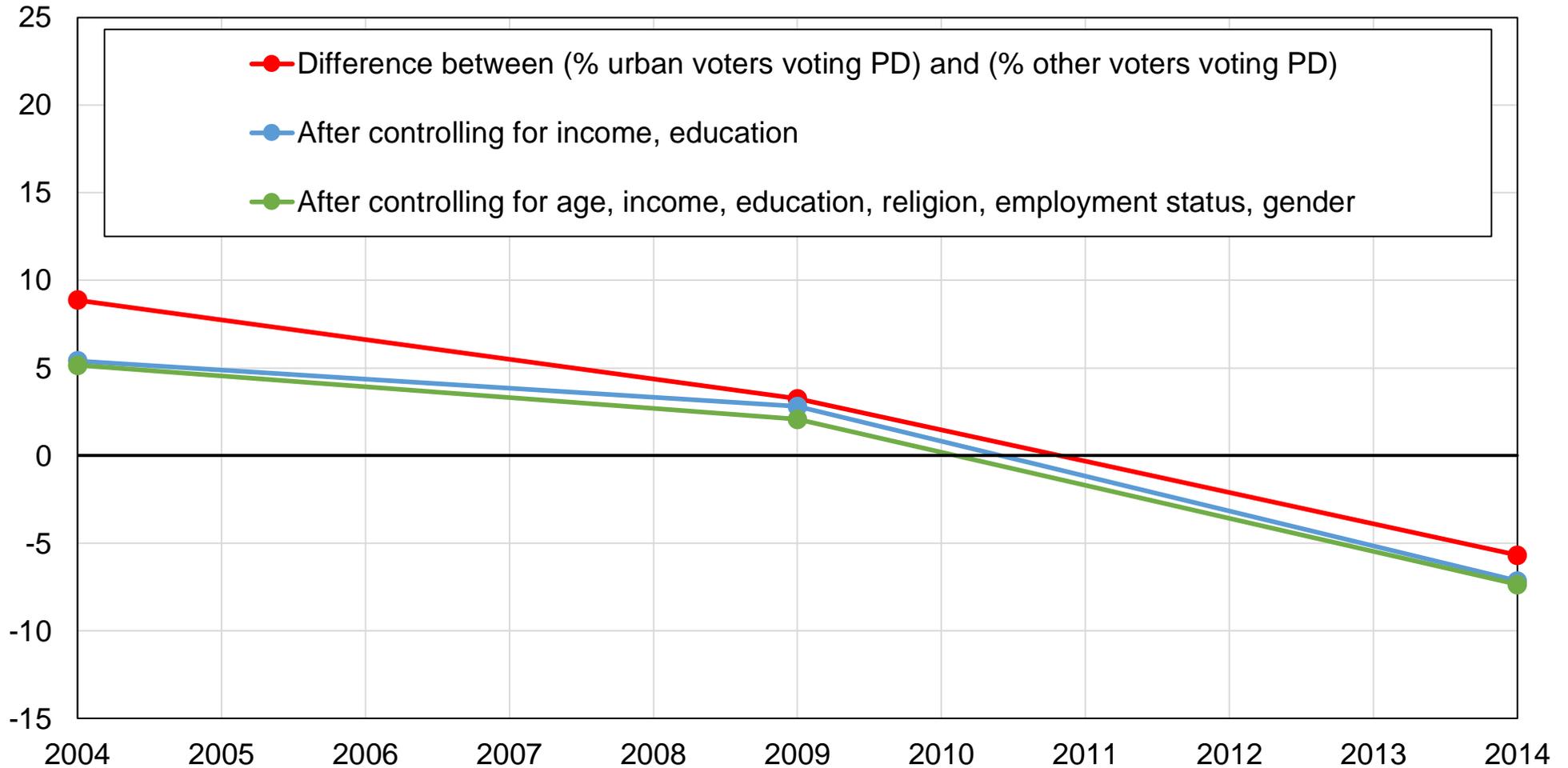
Figure DE9 – Vote for PD by rural-urban location



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PD by rural-urban location.

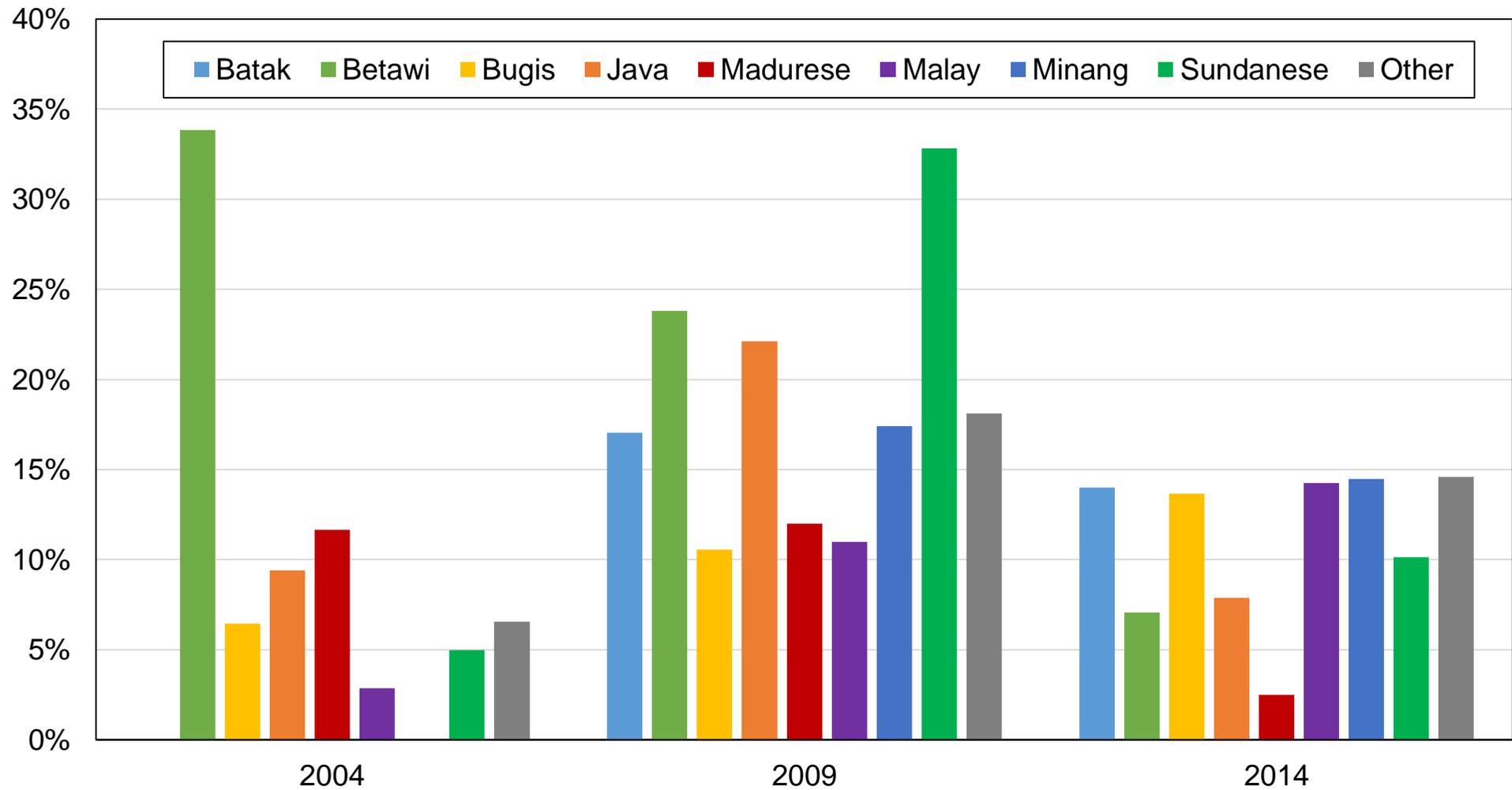
Figure DE10 – Vote for PD among urban voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

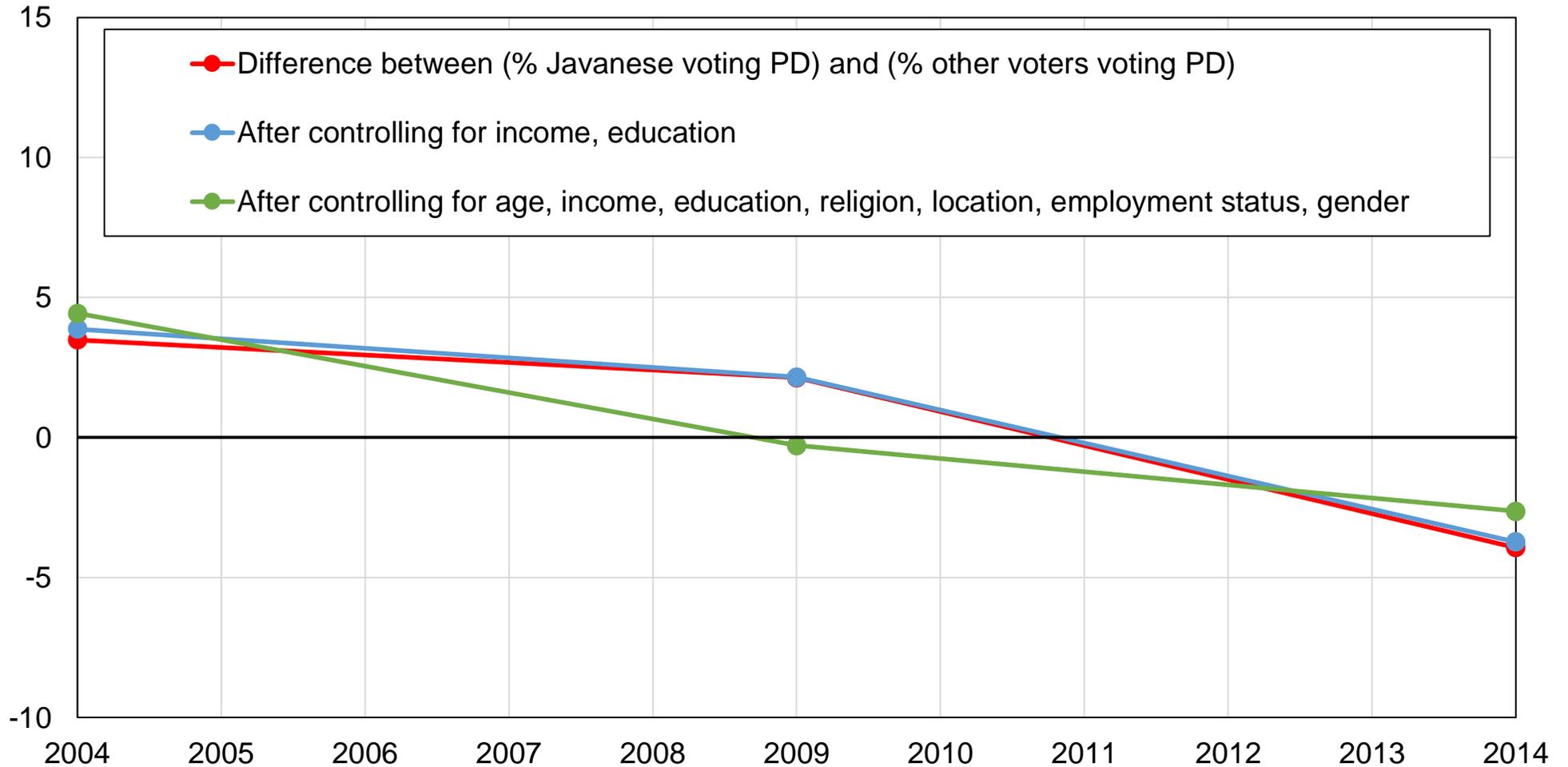
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of urban voters voting for PD and the share of other voters voting for PD, before and after controls.

Figure DE11 – Vote for PD by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PD by ethnic affiliation.

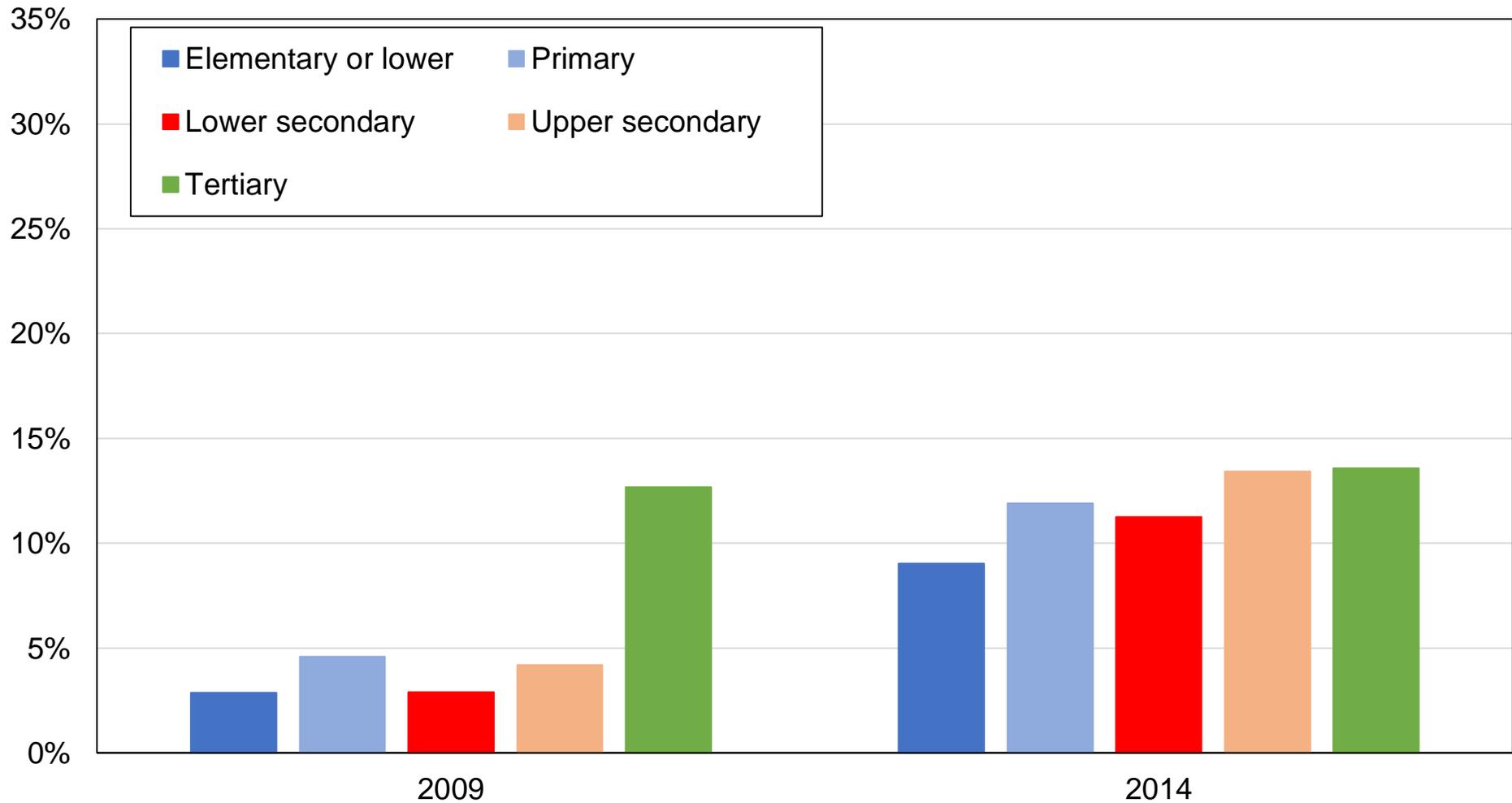
Figure DE12 – Vote for PD among Javanese voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Javanese voters voting for PD and the share of other voters voting for PD, before and after controls.

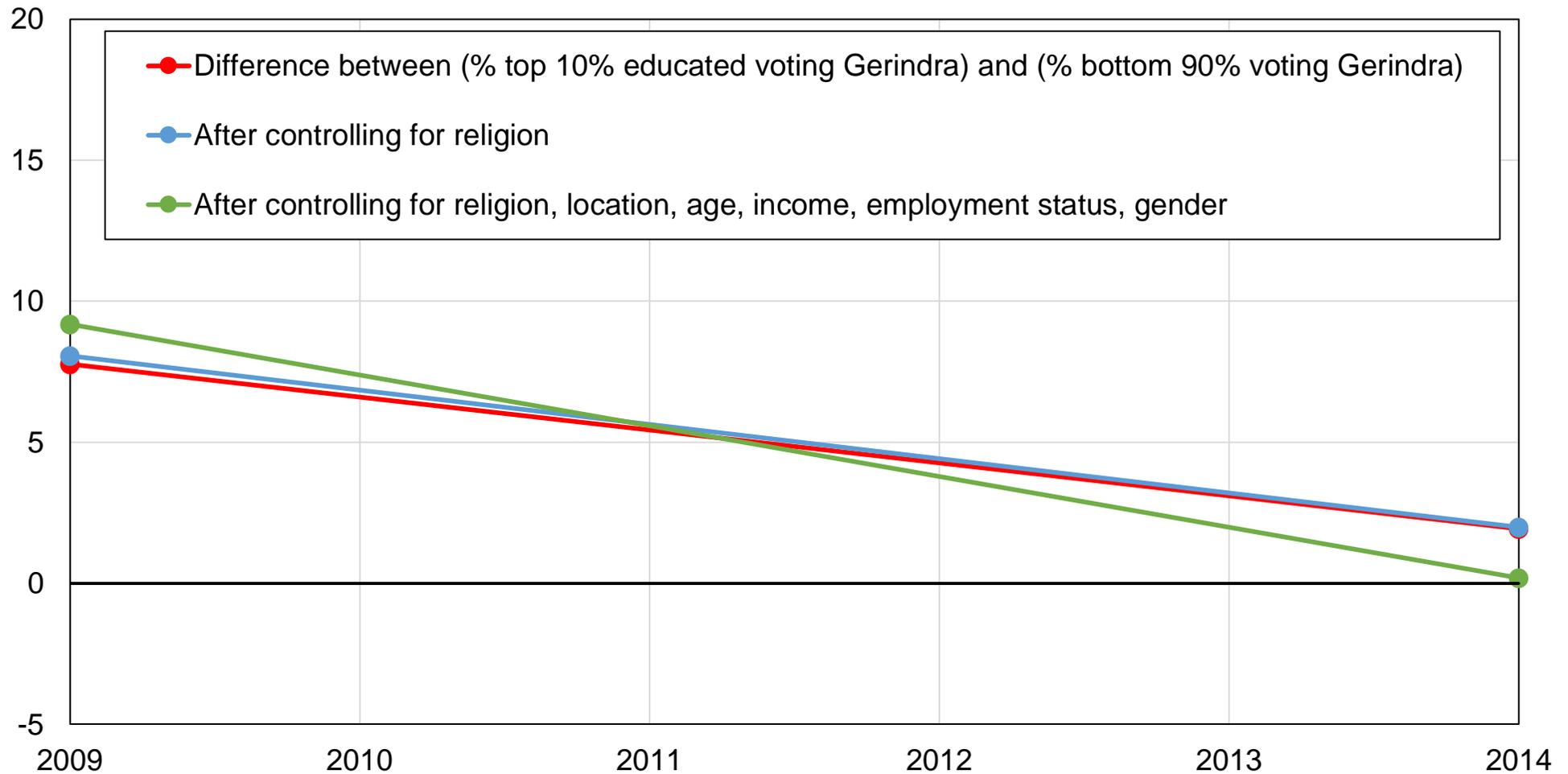
Figure DF1 – Vote for Gerindra by education level



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Gerindra by education level.

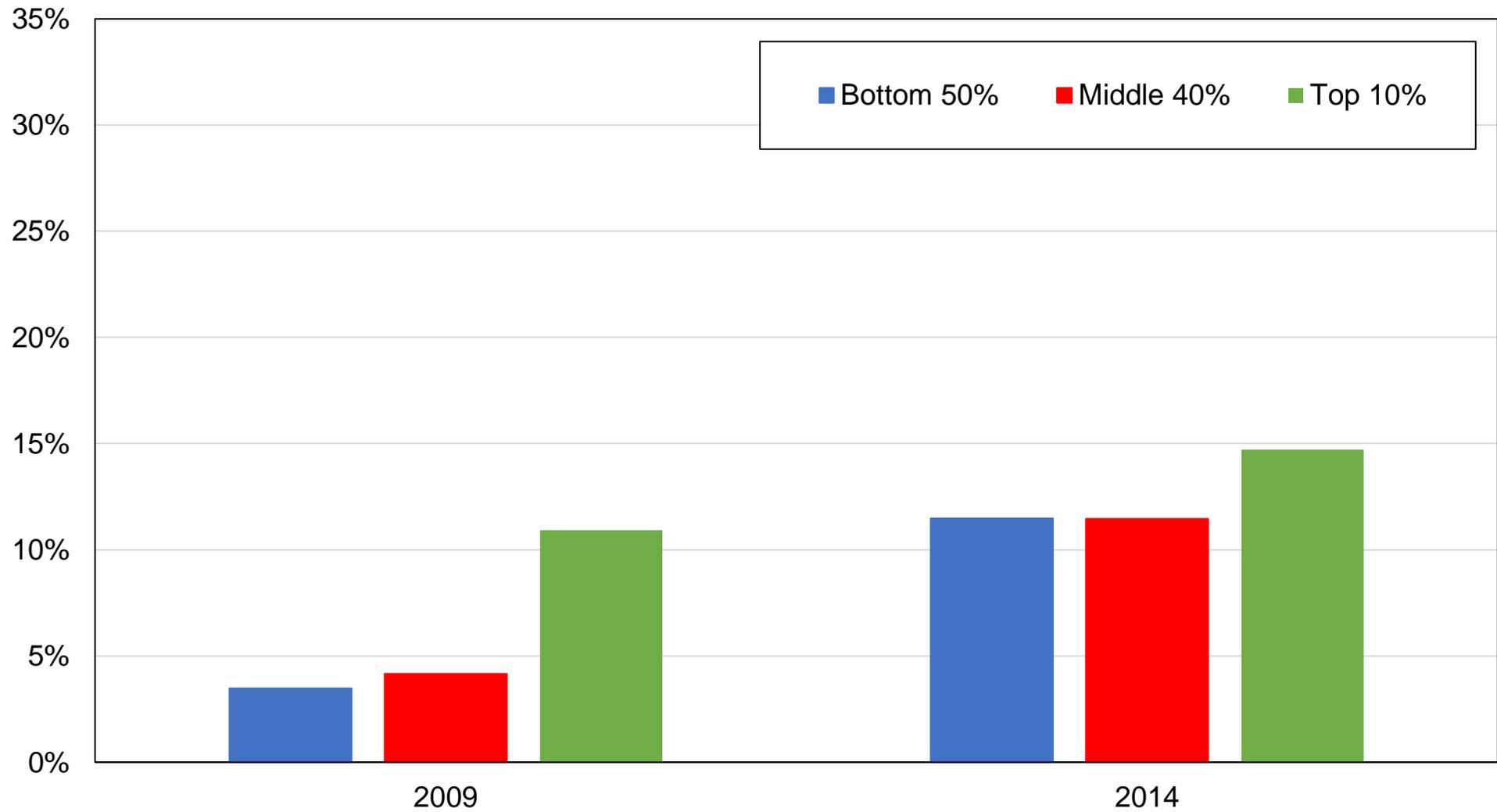
Figure DG2 – Vote for Gerindra among higher-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters voting for Gerindra and the share of other voters voting for Gerindra, before and after controls.

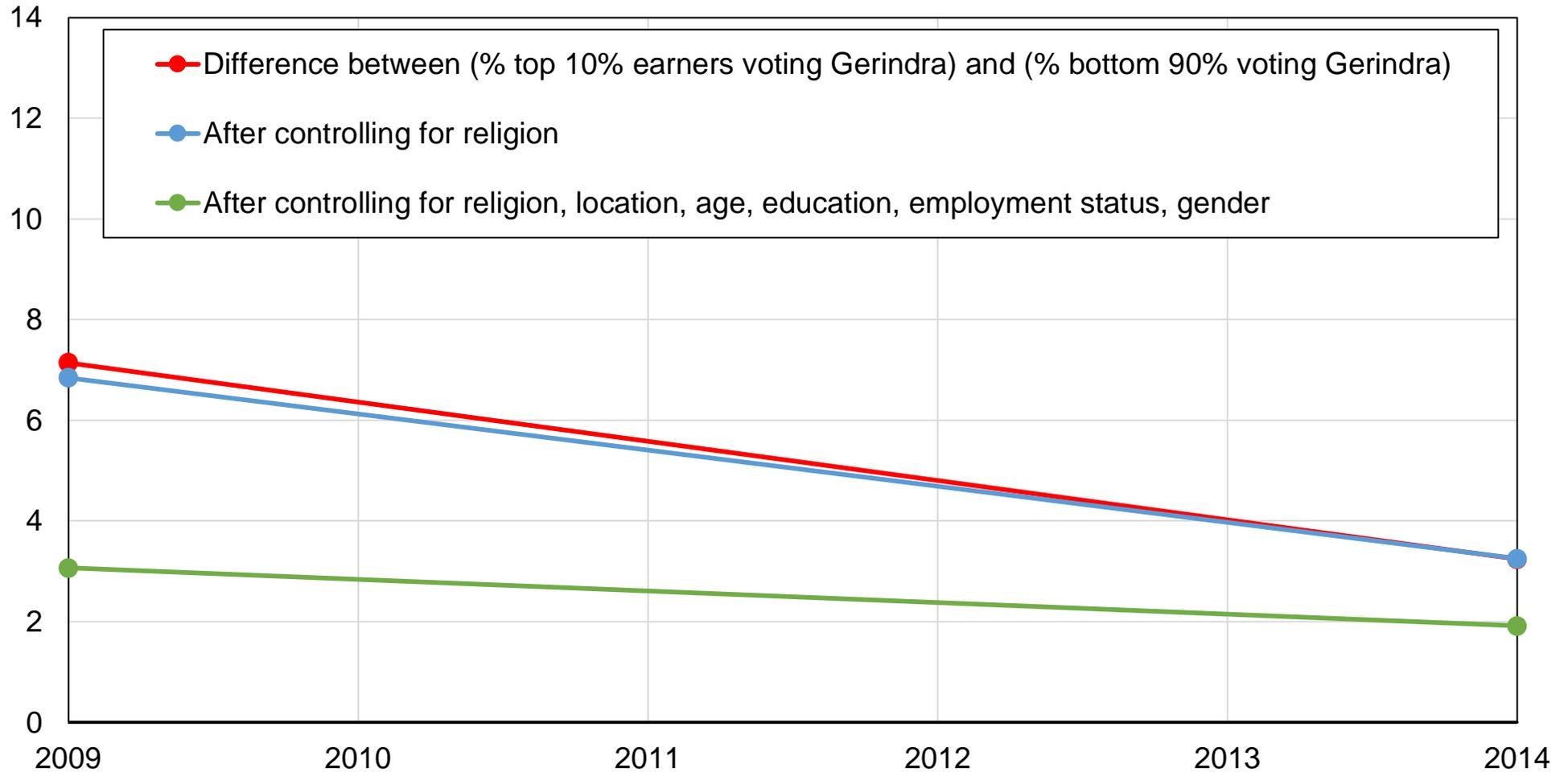
Figure DF3 – Vote for Gerindra by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Gerindra by income group.

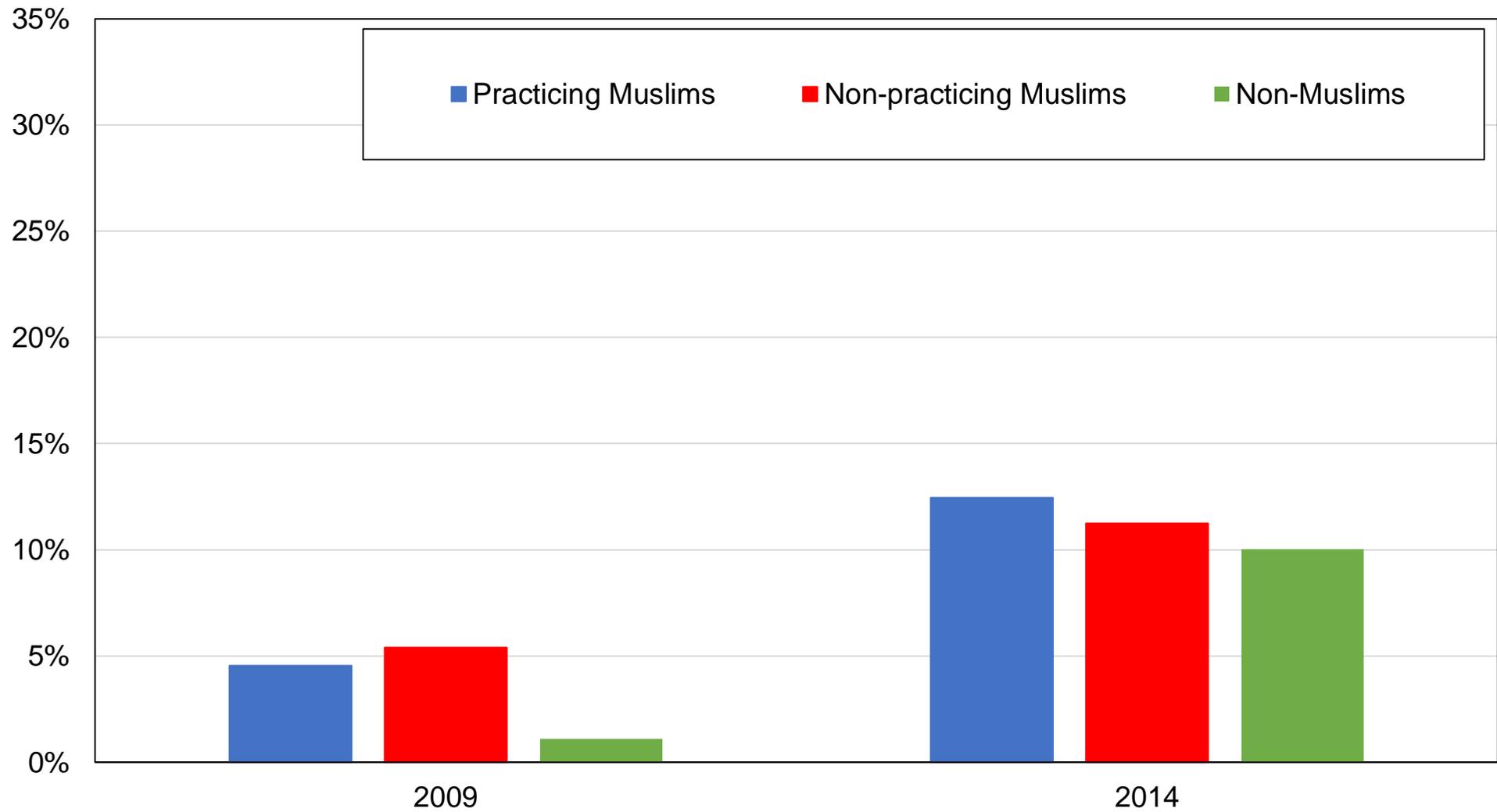
Figure DF4 – Vote for Gerindra among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

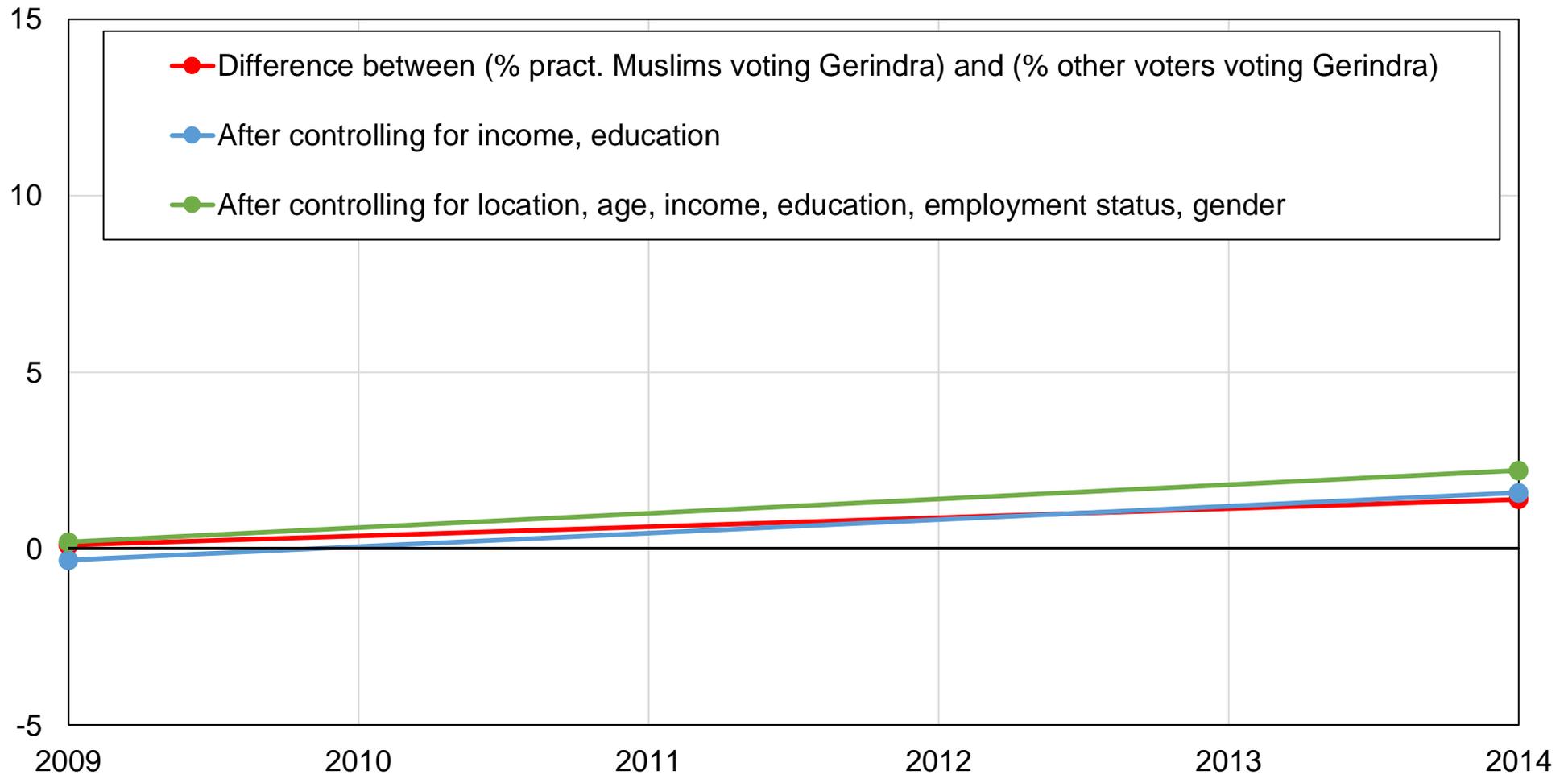
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners voting for Gerindra and the share of other voters voting for Gerindra, before and after controls.

Figure DF5 – Vote for Gerindra by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Gerindra by religion.

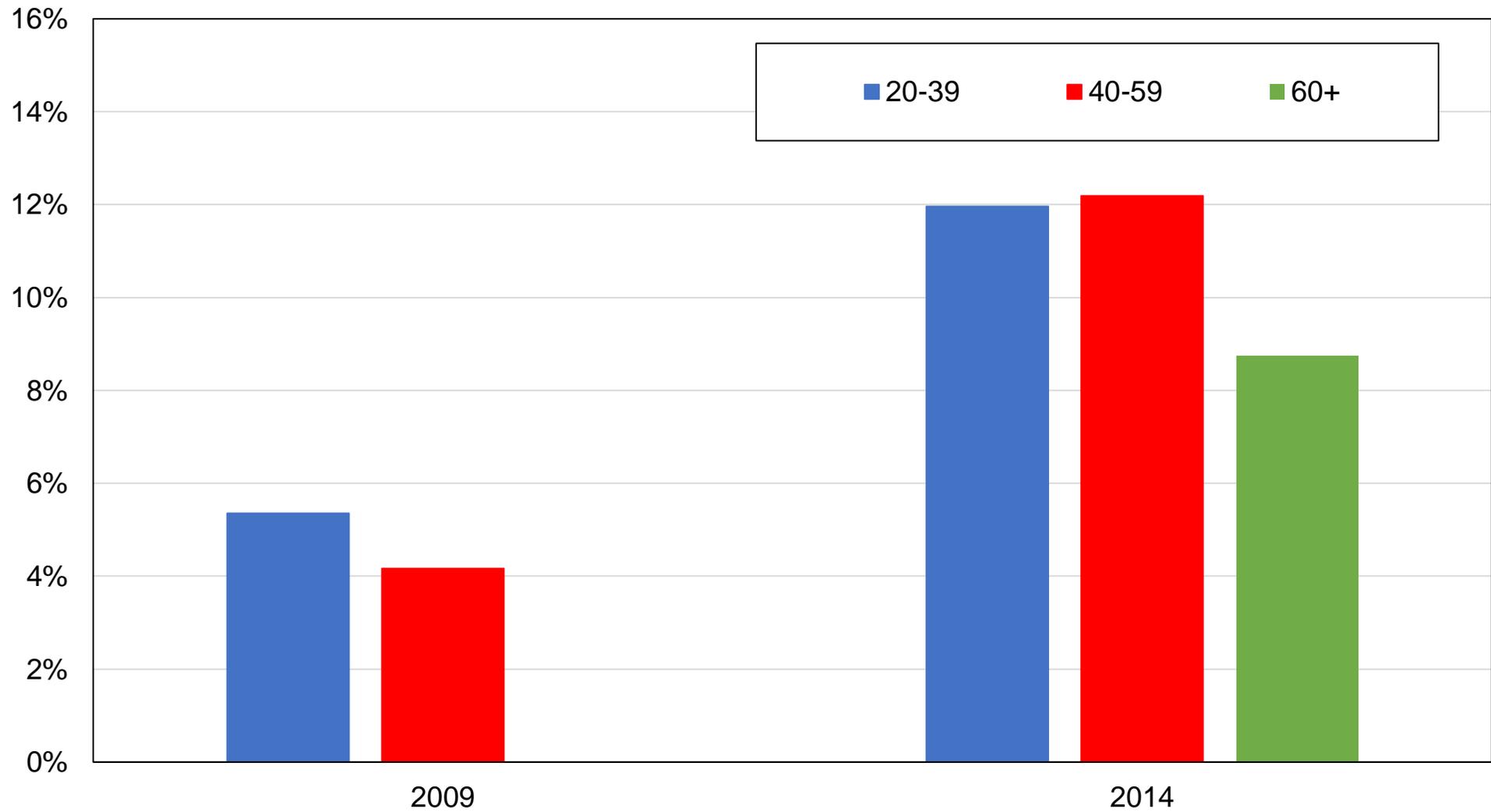
Figure DF6 – Vote for Gerindra among practicing Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

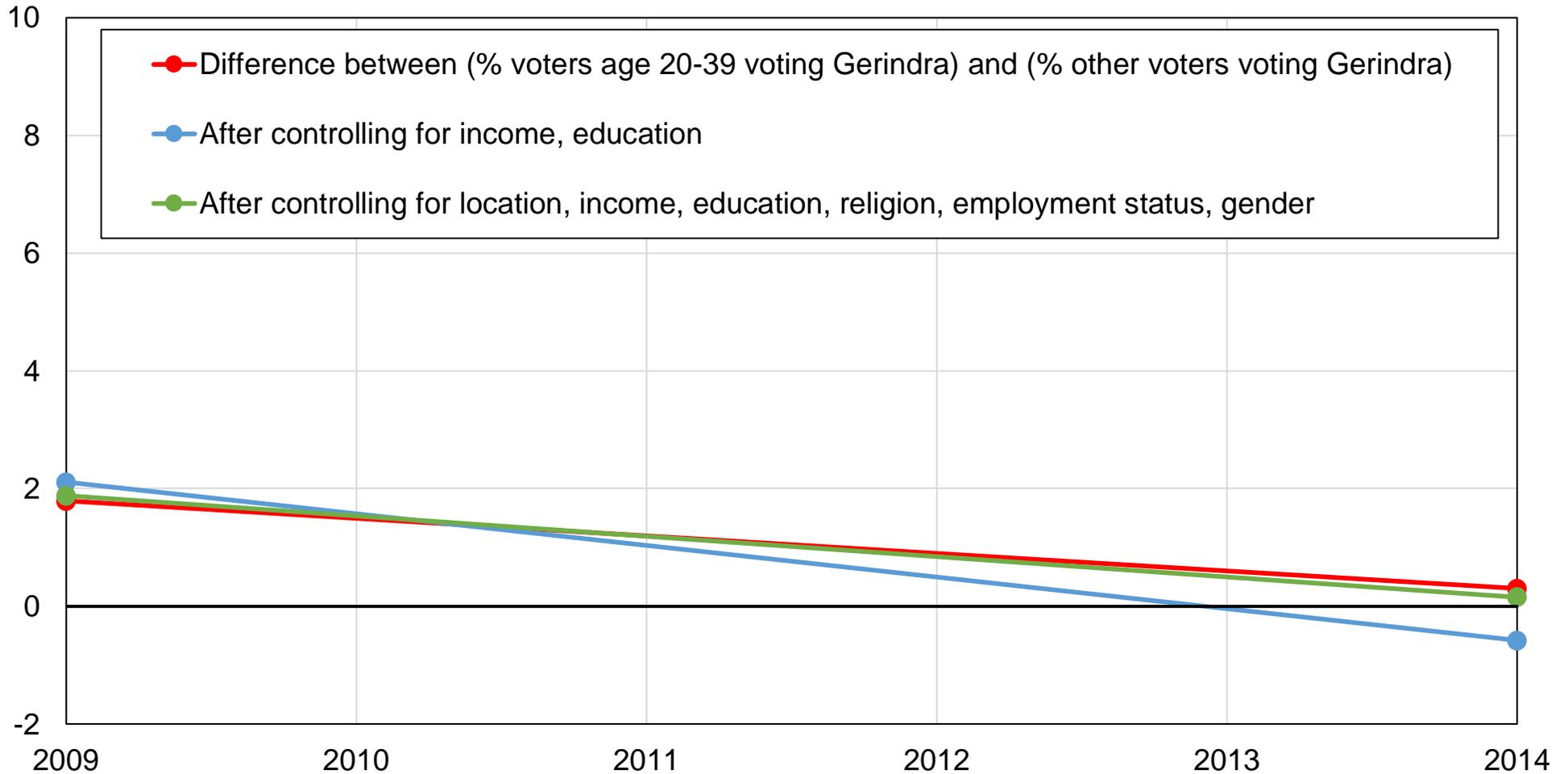
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of practicing Muslims voting for Gerindra and the share of other voters voting for Gerindra, before and after controls.

Figure DF7 – Vote for Gerindra by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Gerindra by age group.

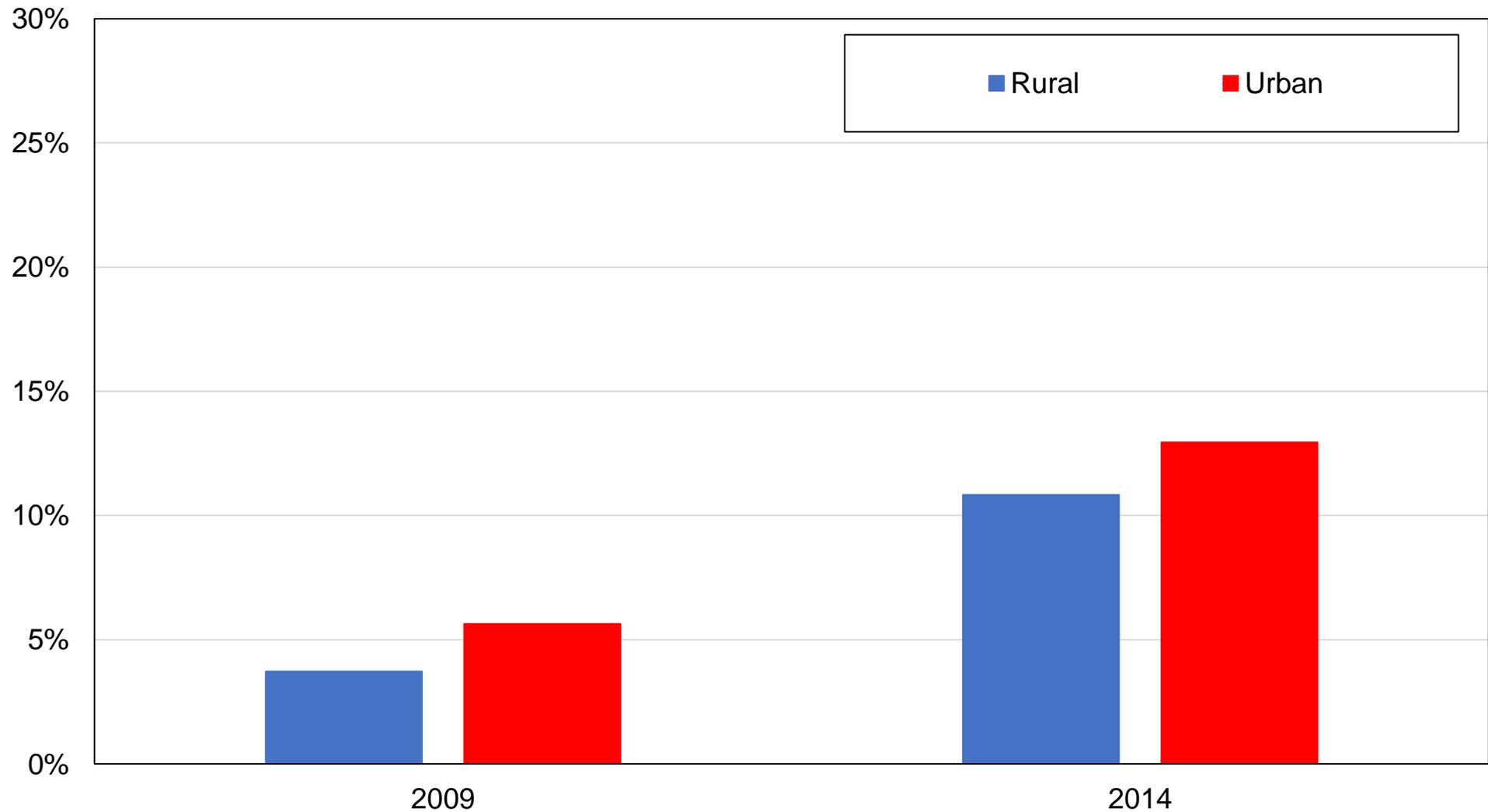
Figure DF8 – Vote for Gerindra among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between share of young voters voting for Gerindra and the share of other voters voting for Gerindra, before and after controls.

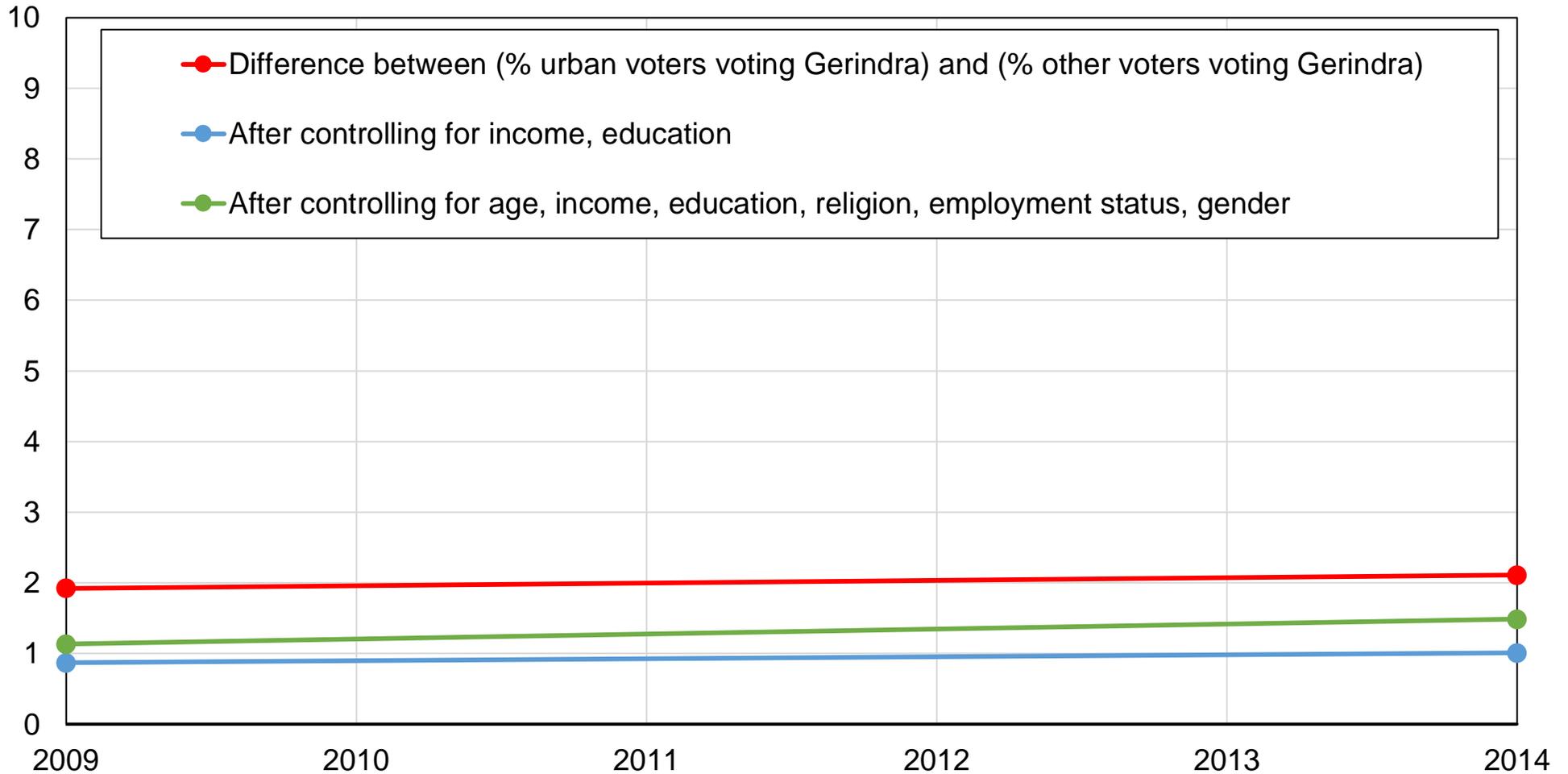
Figure DF9 – Vote for Gerindra by rural-urban location



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Gerindra by rural-urban location.

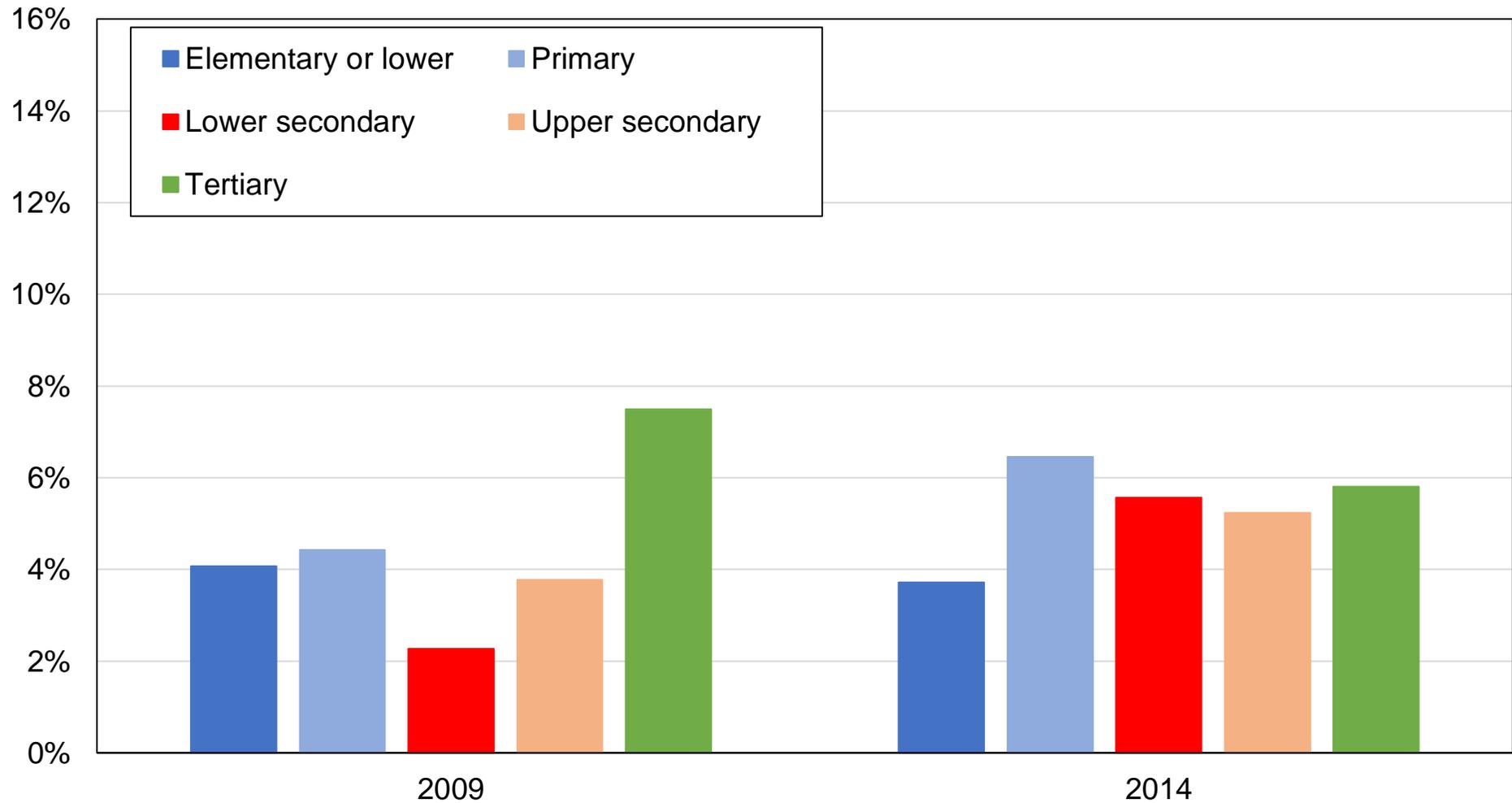
Figure DF10 – Vote for Gerindra among urban voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of urban voters voting for Gerindra and the share of other voters voting for Gerindra, before and after controls.

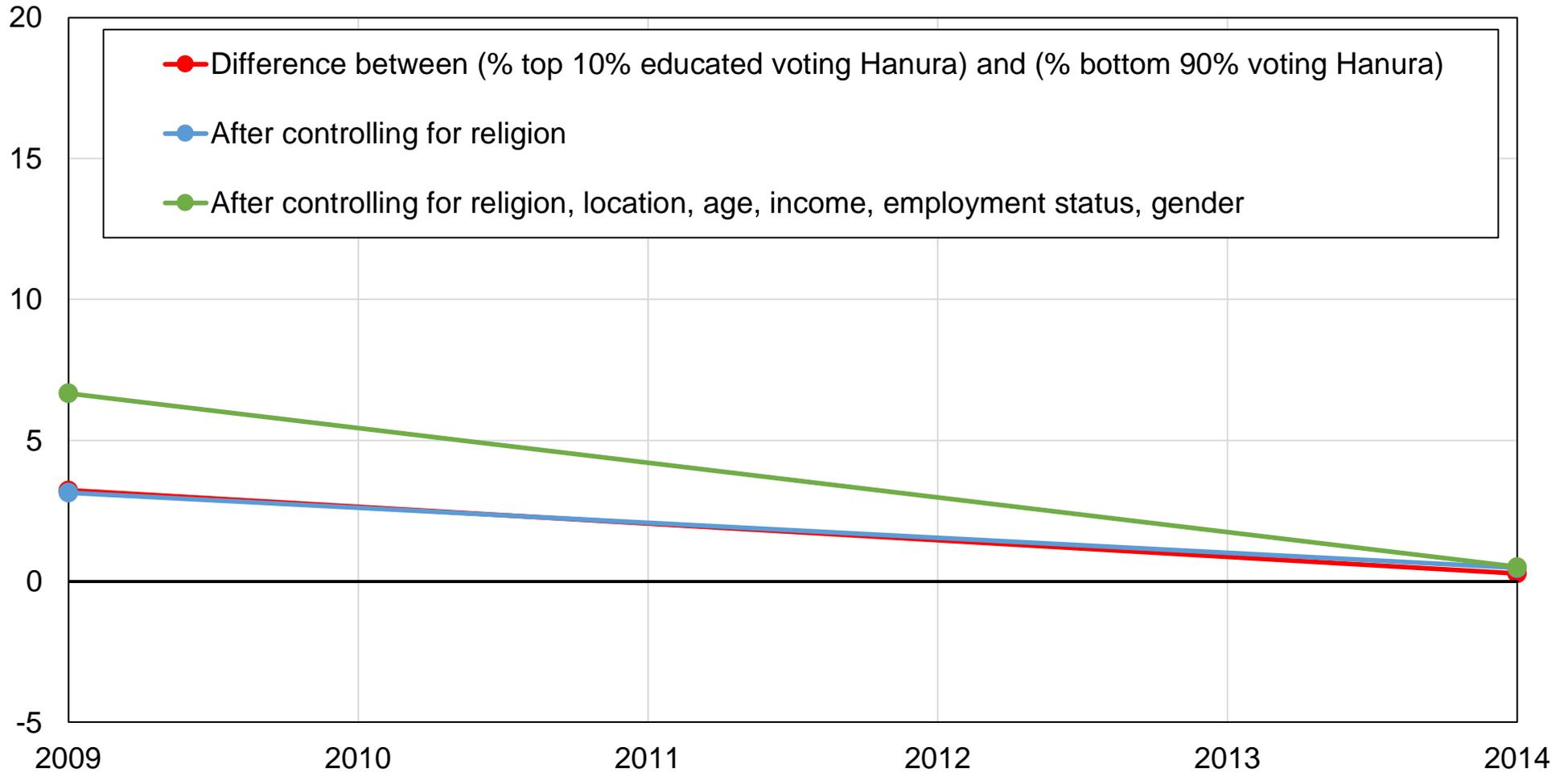
Figure DG1 – Vote for Hanura by education level



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Hanura by education level.

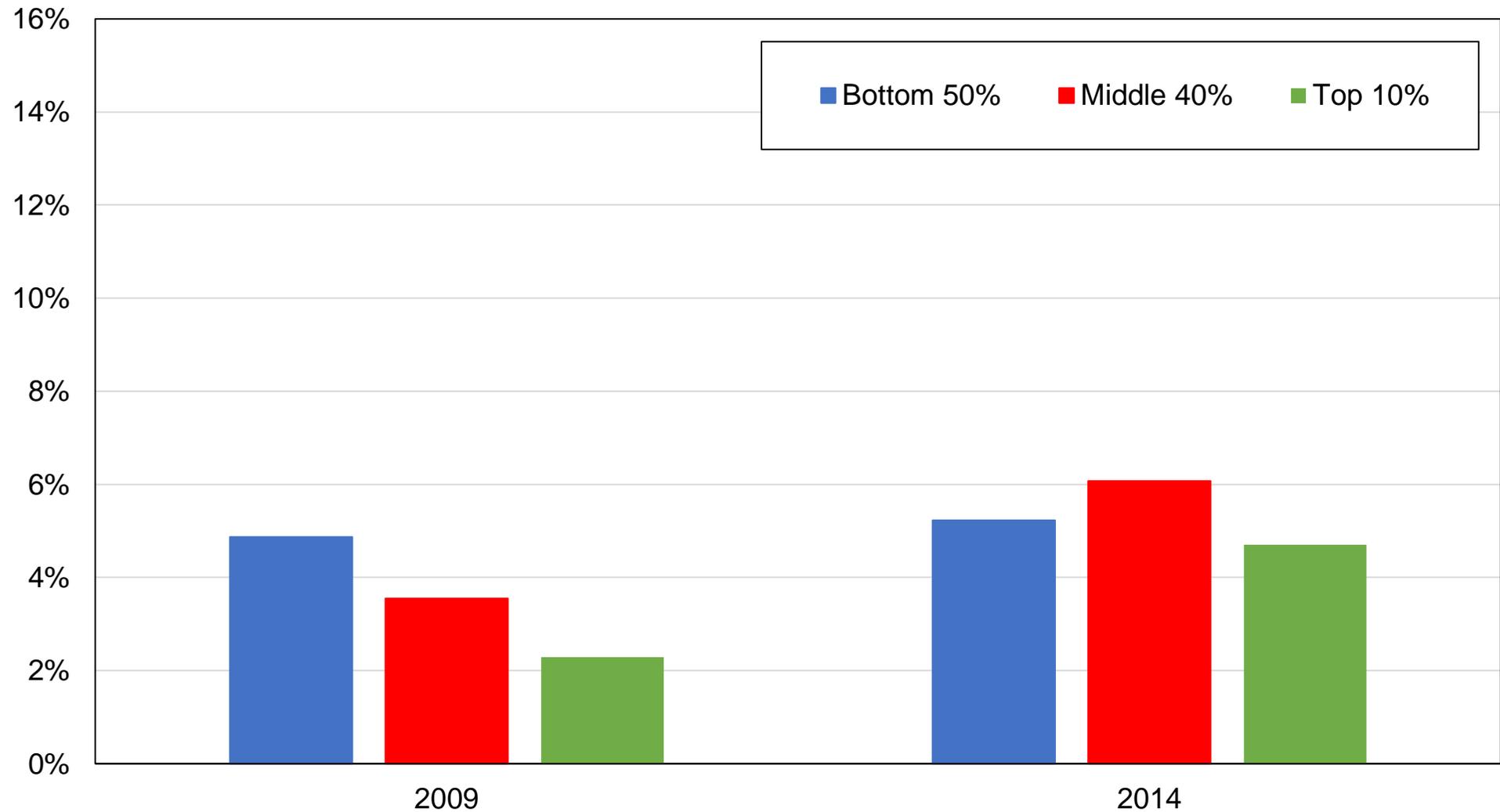
Figure DG2 – Vote for Hanura among higher-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters voting for Hanura and the share of other voters voting for Hanura, before and after controls.

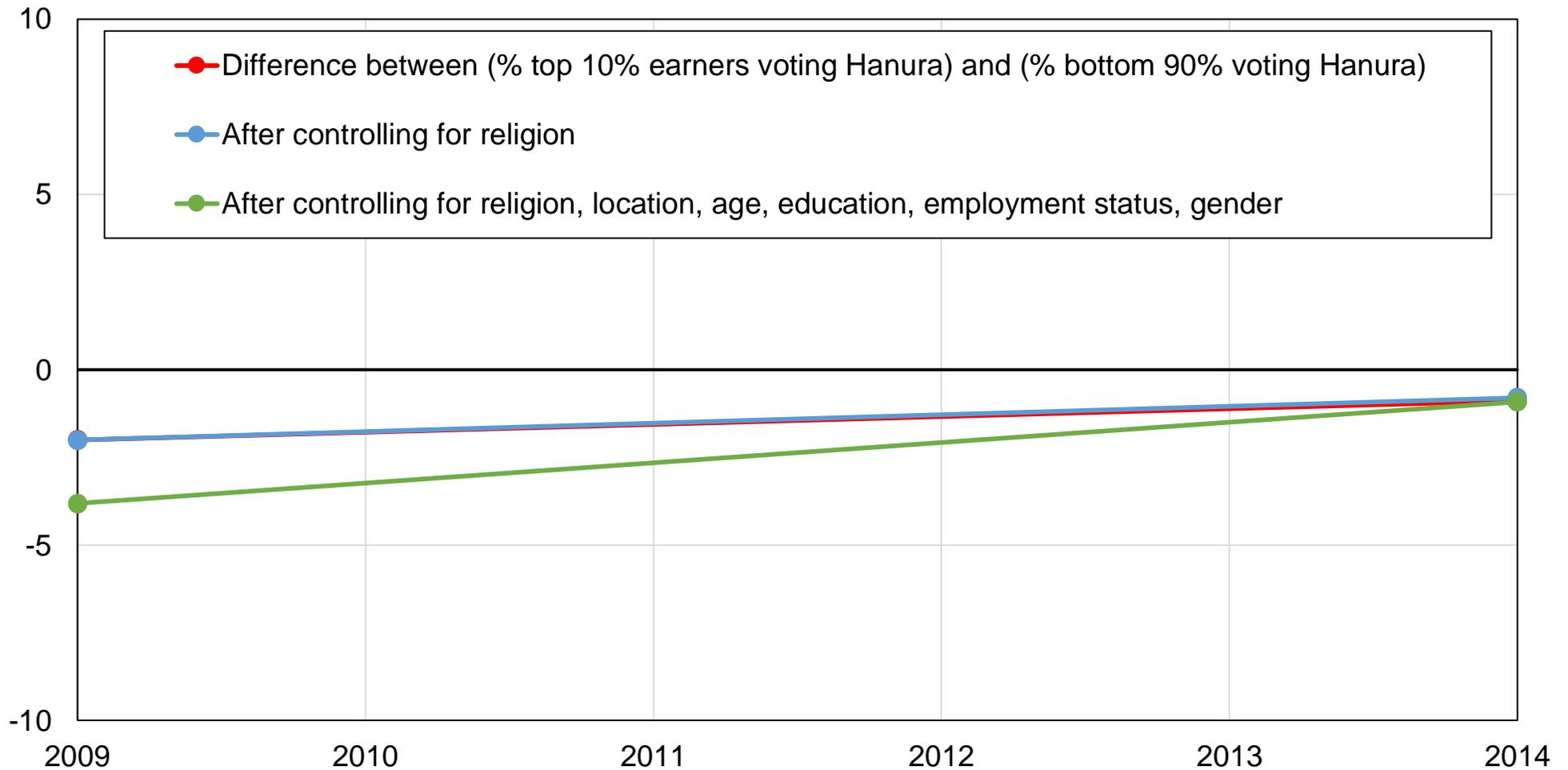
Figure DG3 – Vote for Hanura by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Hanura by income group.

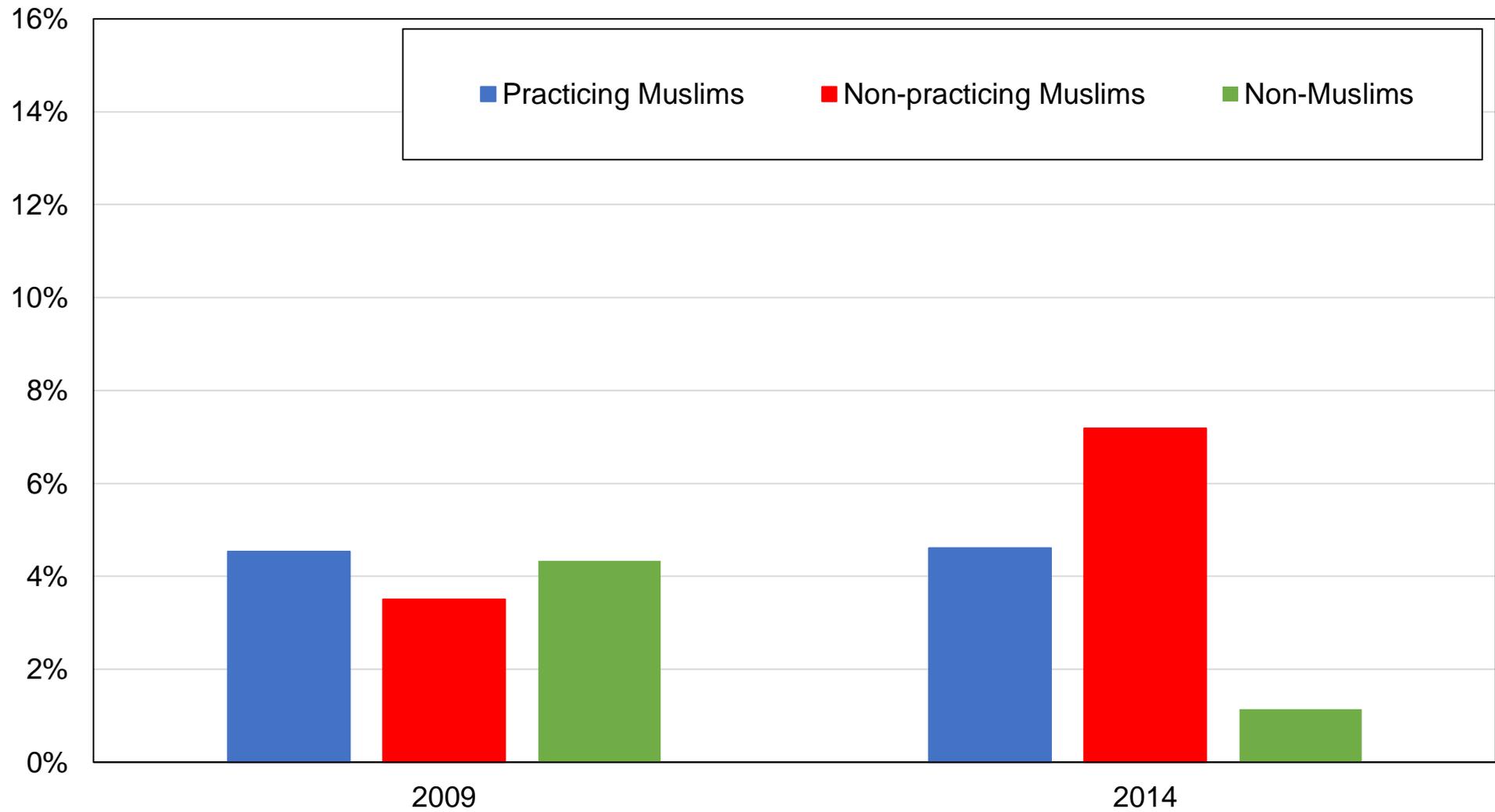
Figure DG4 – Vote for Hanura among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

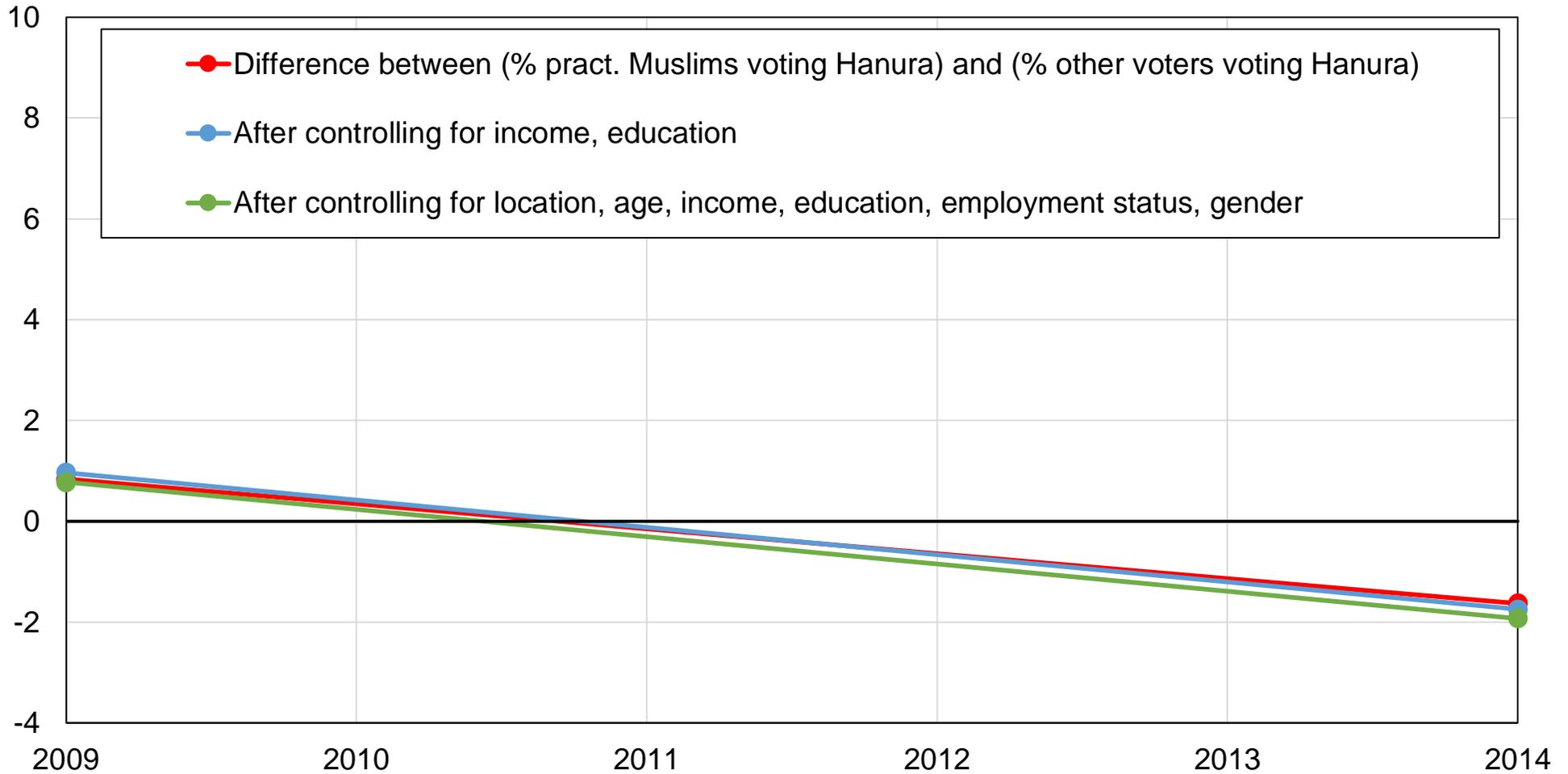
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners voting for Hanura and the share of other voters voting for Hanura, before and after controls.

Figure DG5 – Vote for Hanura by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Hanura by religion.

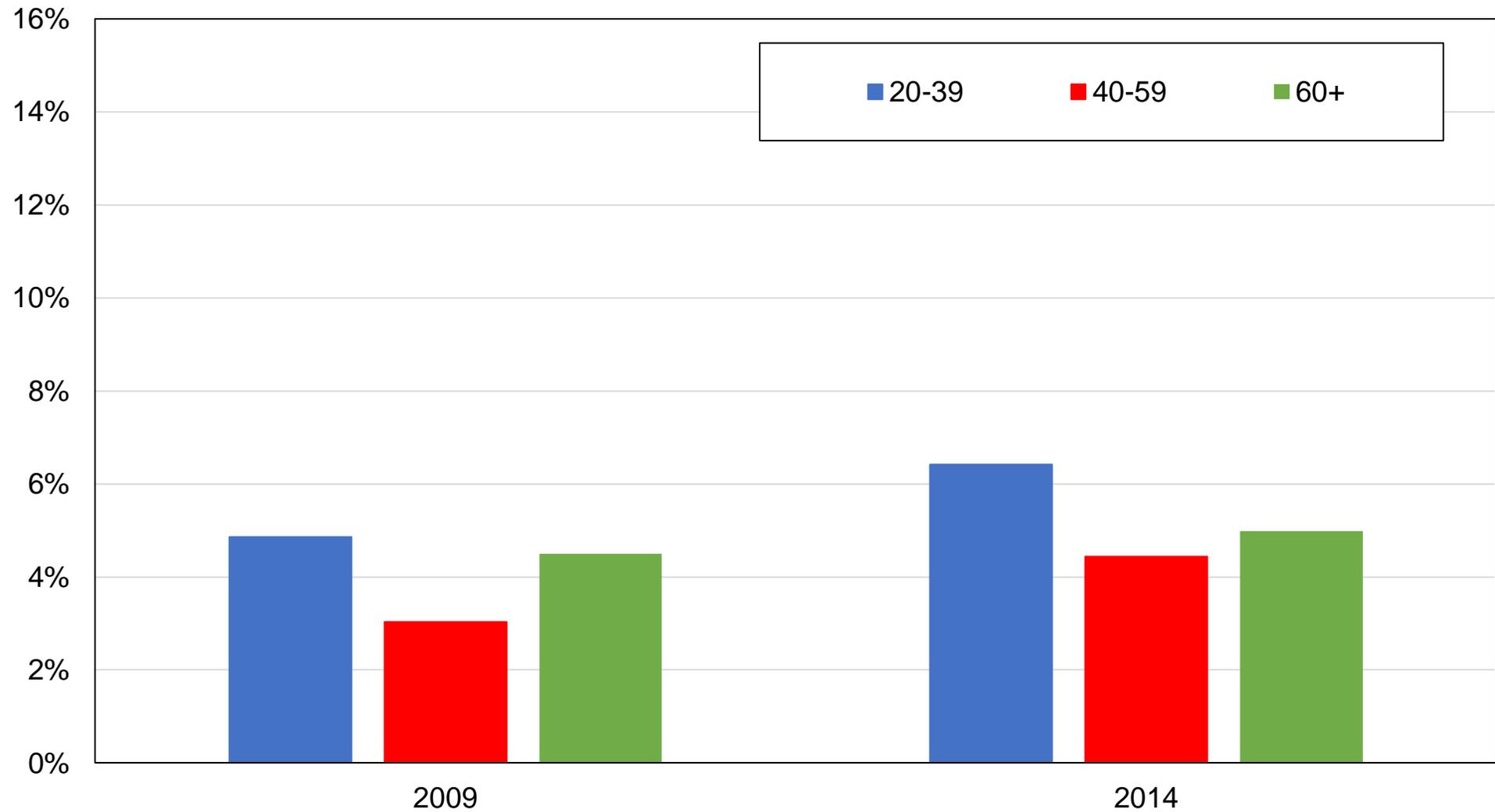
Figure DG6 – Vote for Hanura among practicing Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

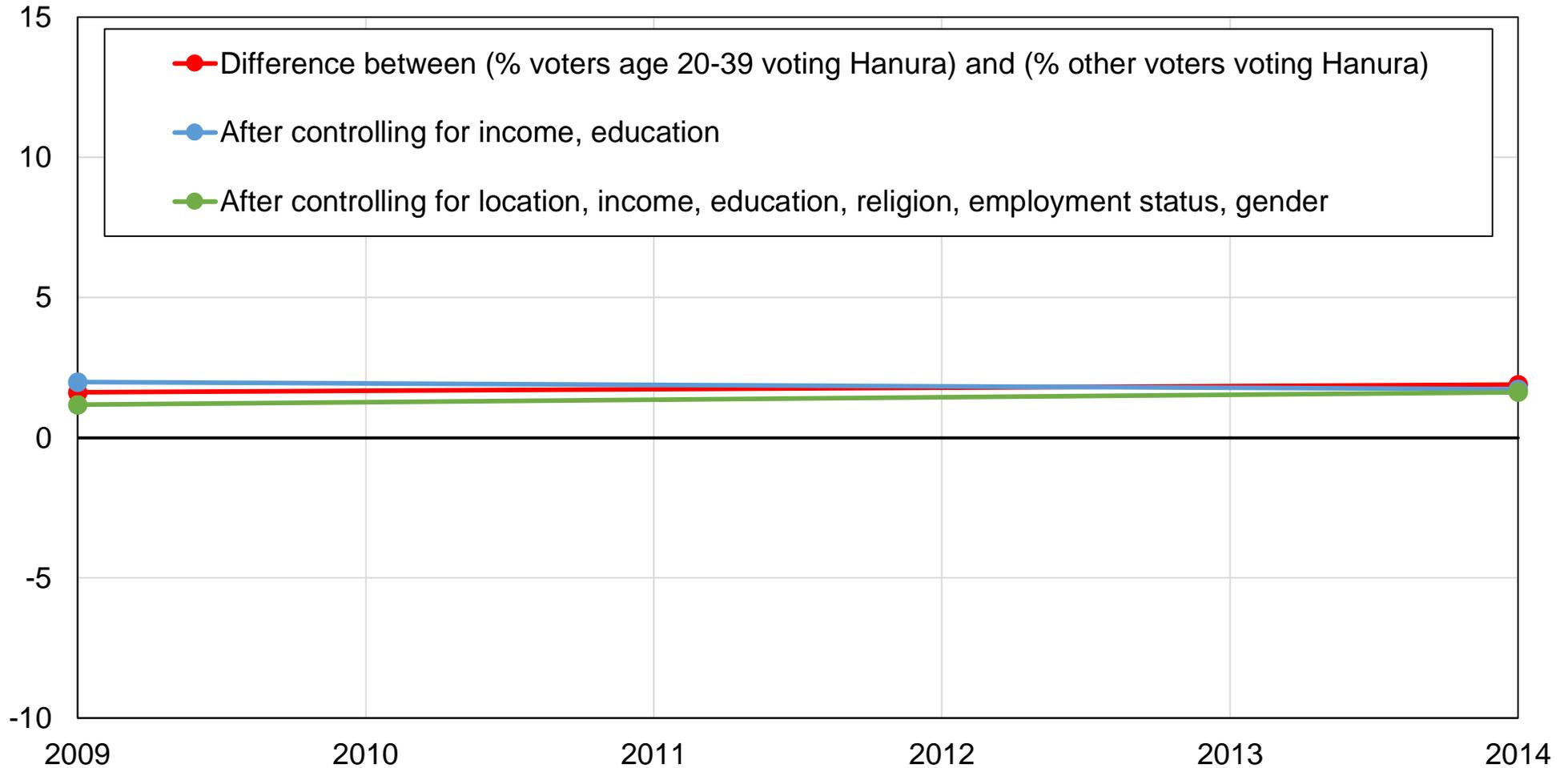
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of practicing Muslims voting for Hanura and the share of other voters voting for Hanura, before and after controls.

Figure DG7 – Vote for Hanura by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Hanura by age group.

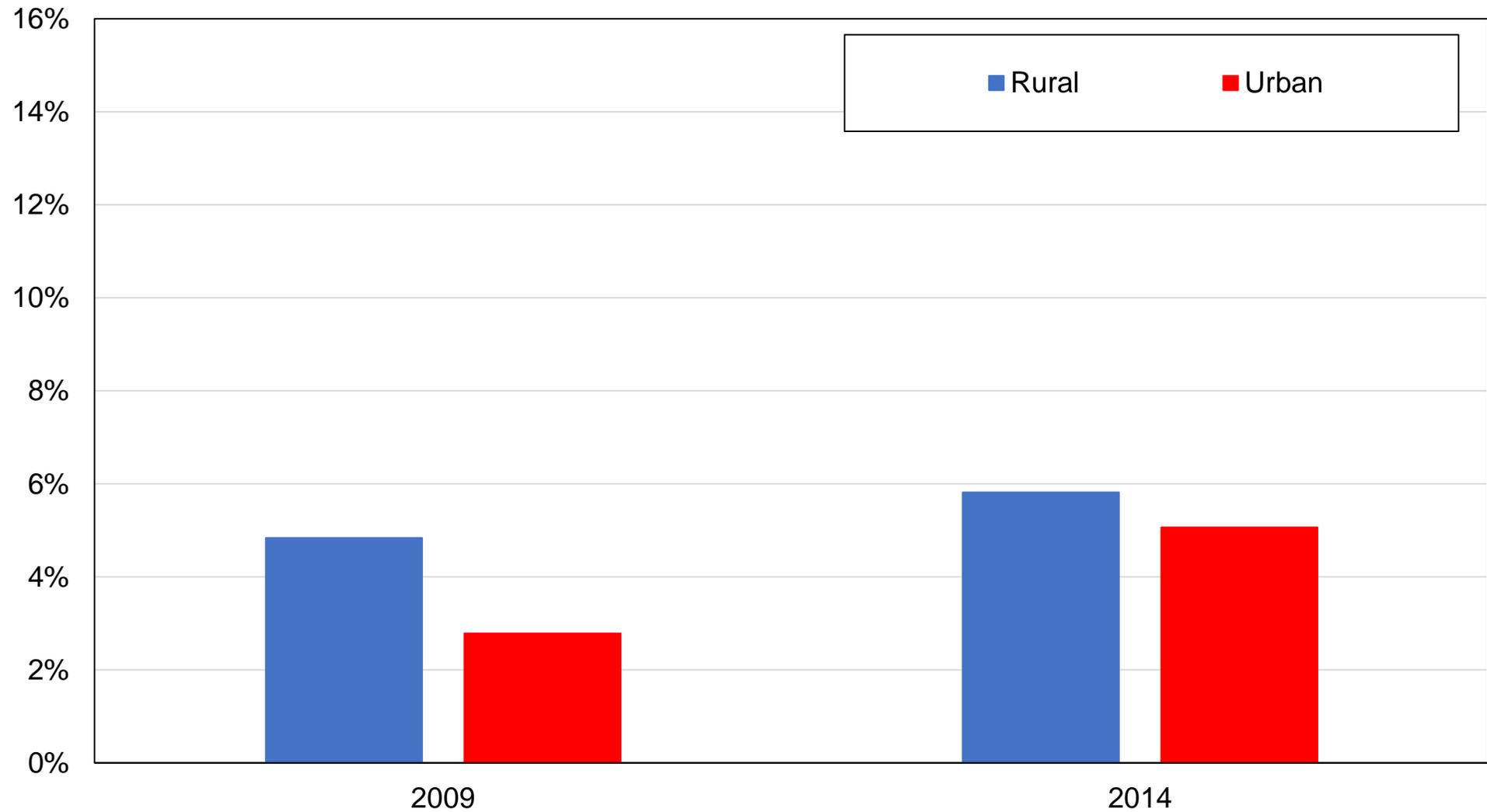
Figure DG8 – Vote for Hanura among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between share of young voters voting for Hanura and the share of other voters voting for Hanura, before and after controls.

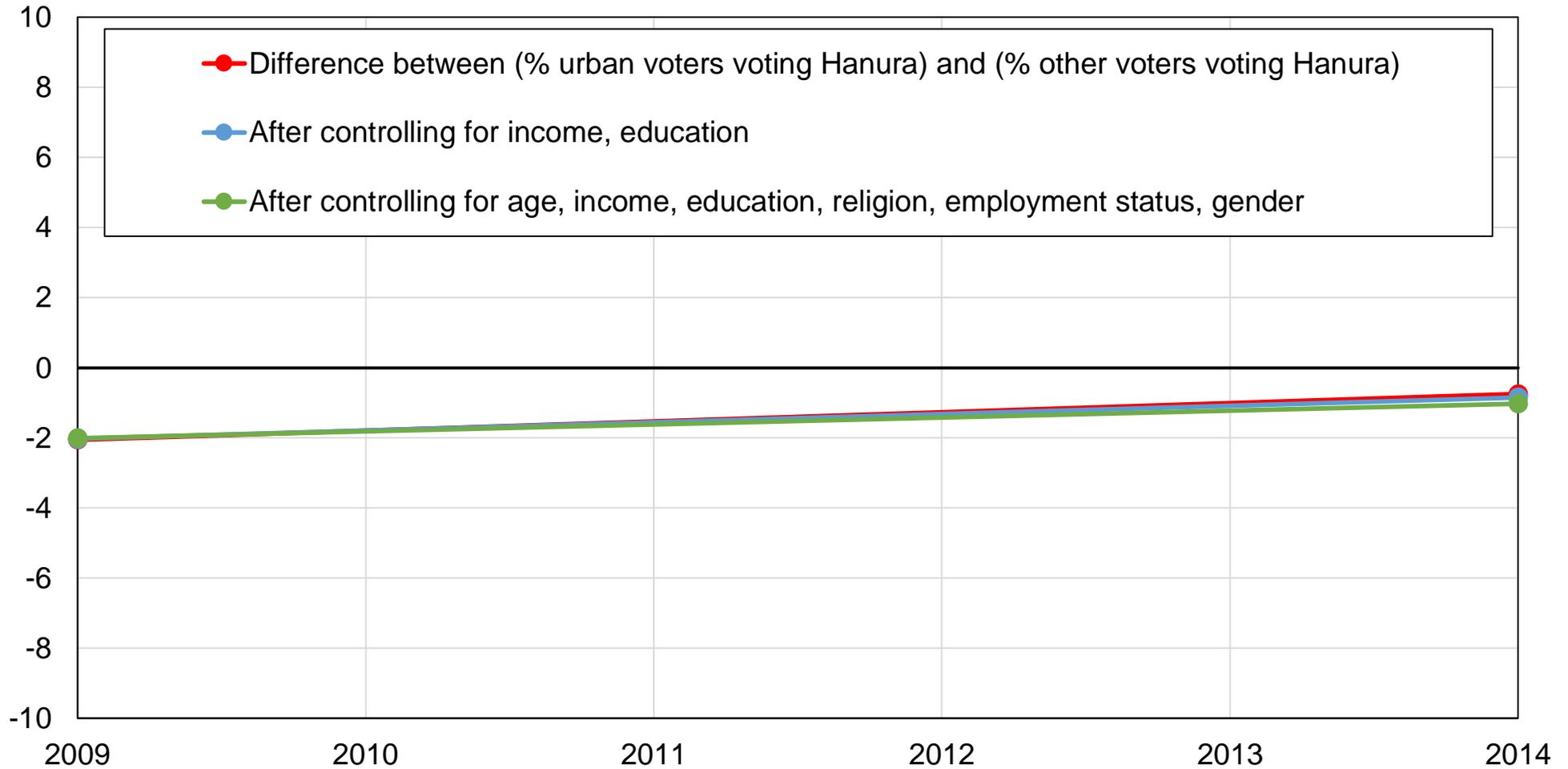
Figure DG9 – Vote for Hanura by rural-urban location



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Hanura by rural-urban location.

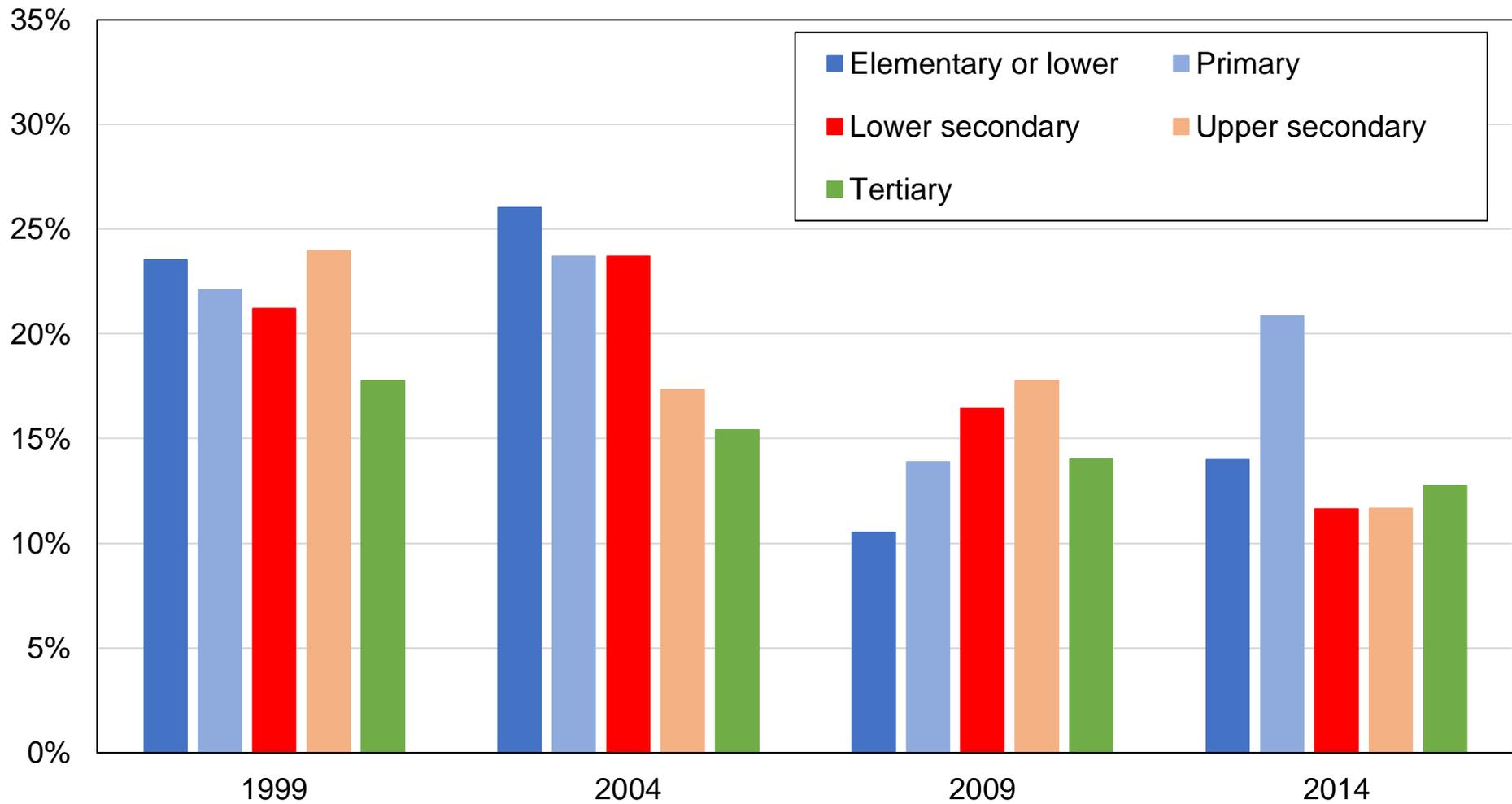
Figure DG10 – Vote for Hanura among urban voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of urban voters voting for Gerindra and the share of other voters voting for Gerindra, before and after controls.

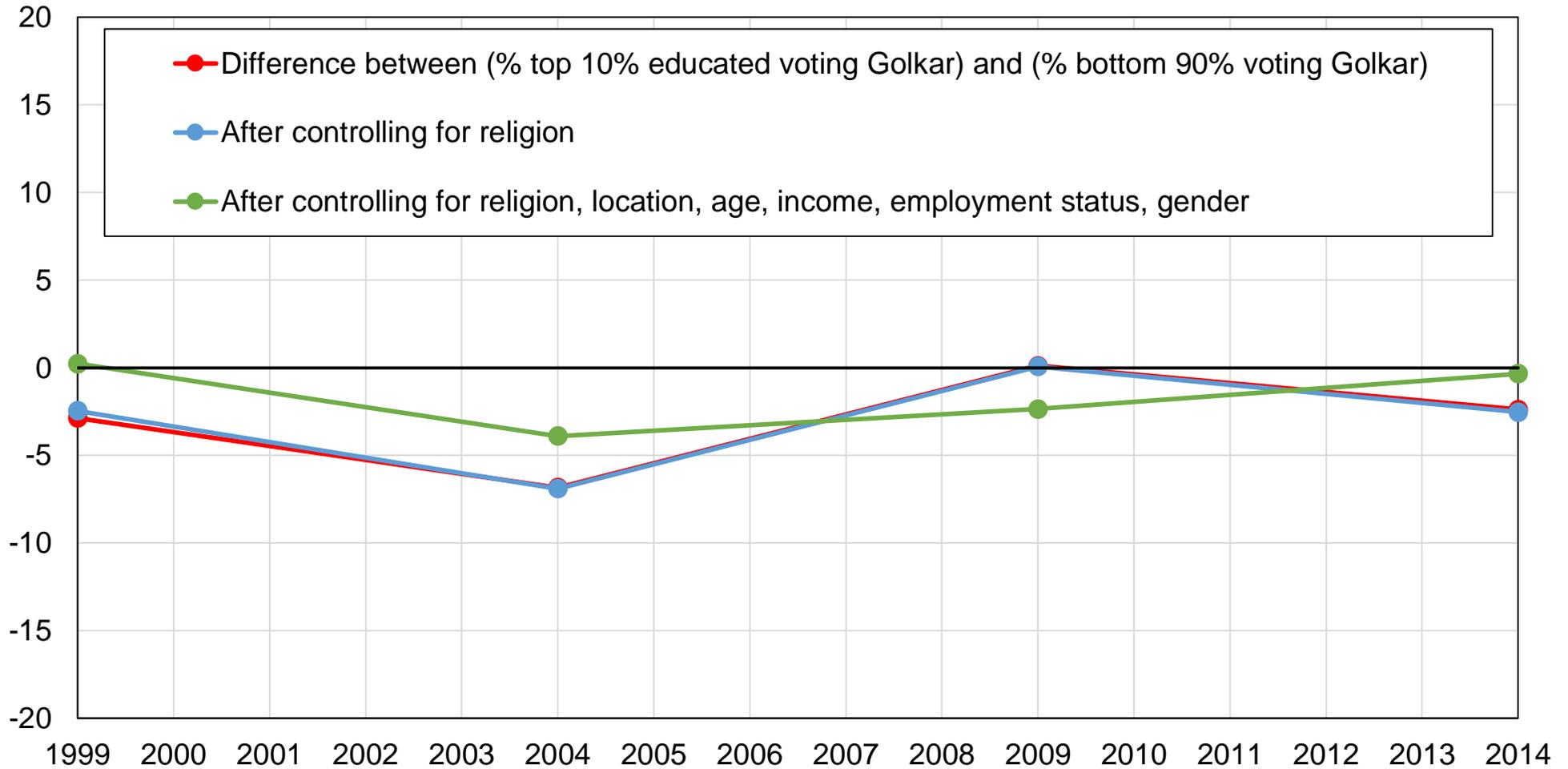
Figure DH1 – Vote for Golkar by education level



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar by education level.

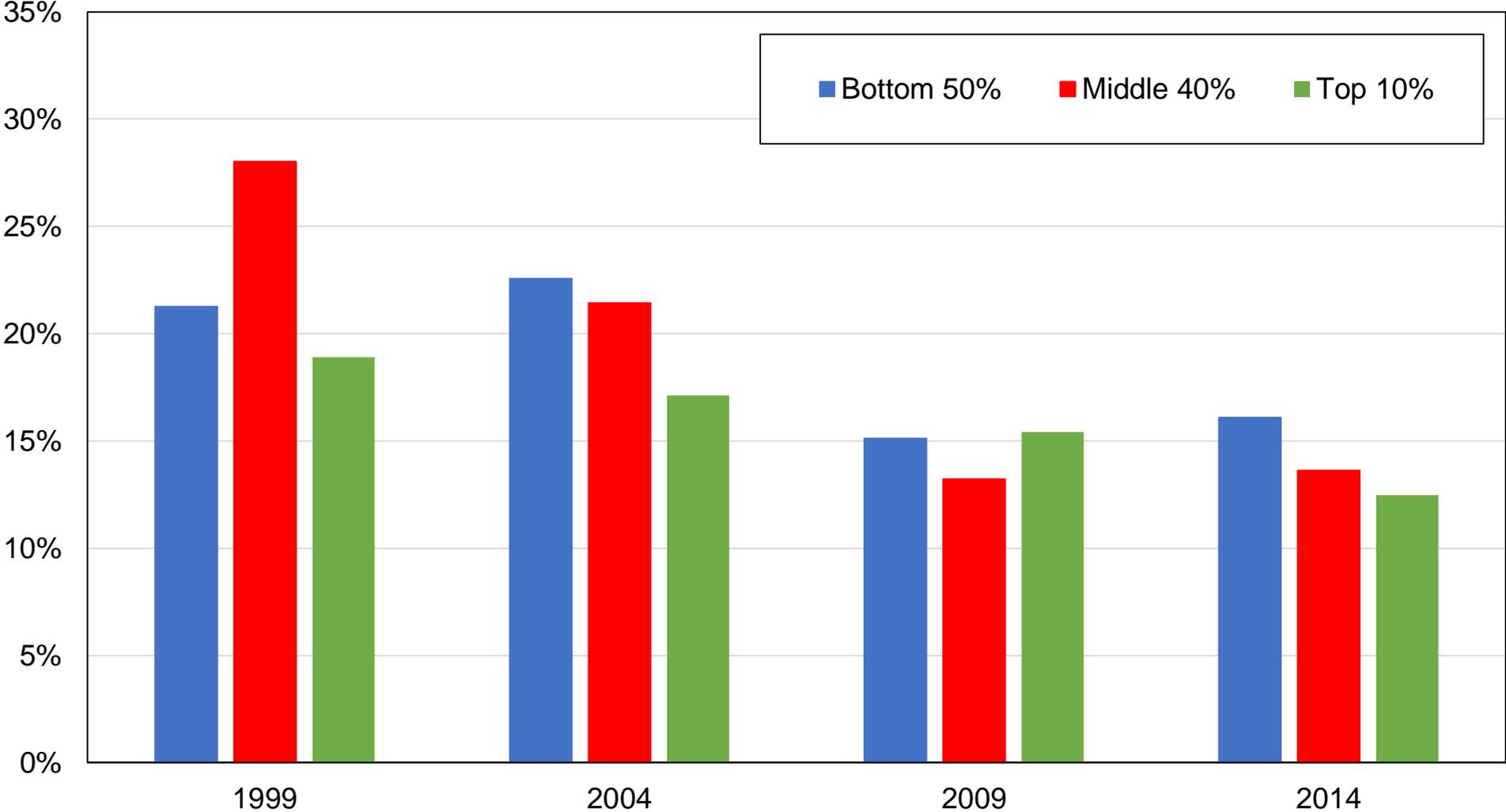
Figure DH2 – Vote for Golkar among higher-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

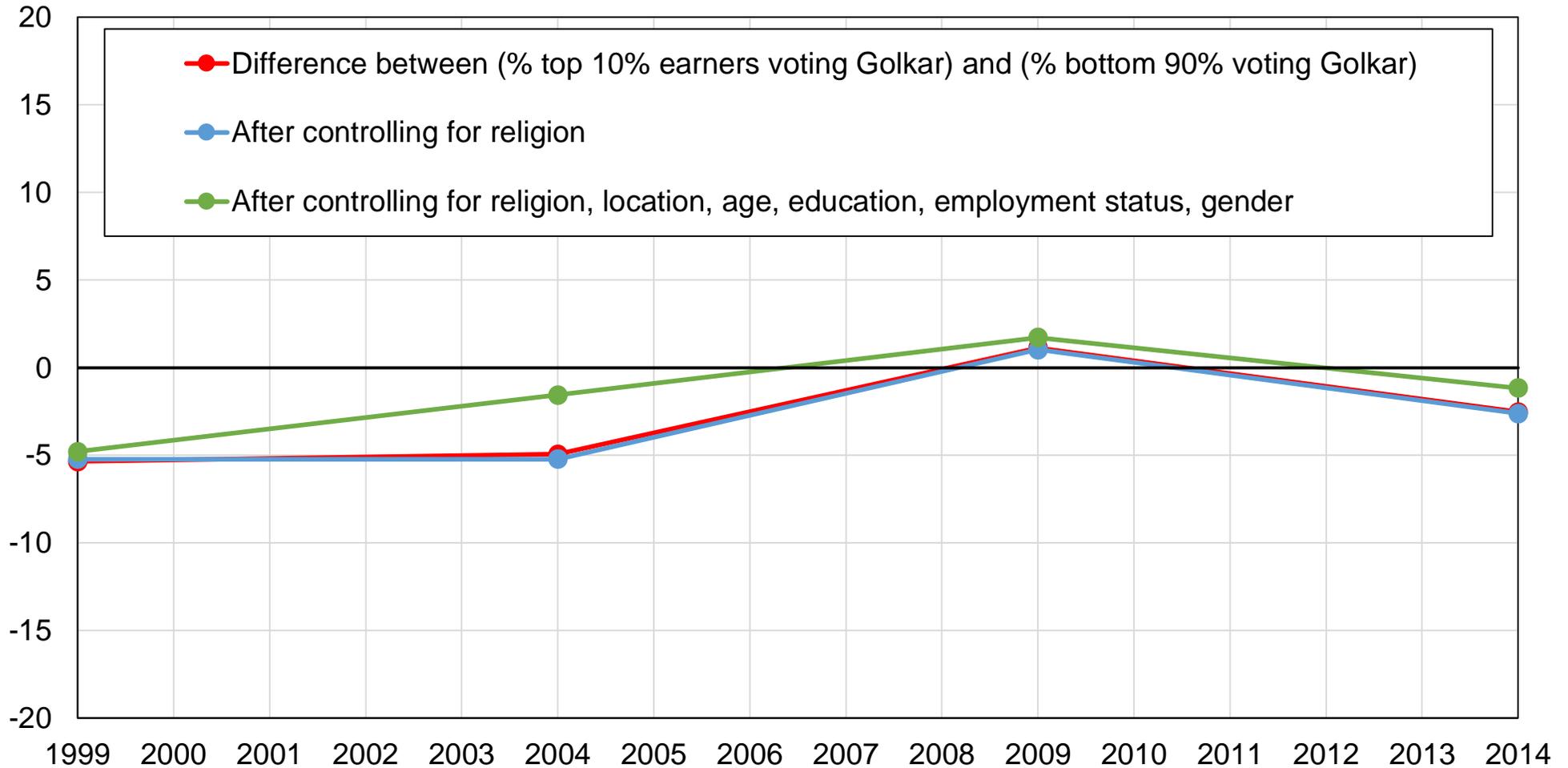
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters voting for Golkar and the share of other voters voting for Golkar, before and after controls.

Figure DH3 – Vote for Golkar by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar by income group.

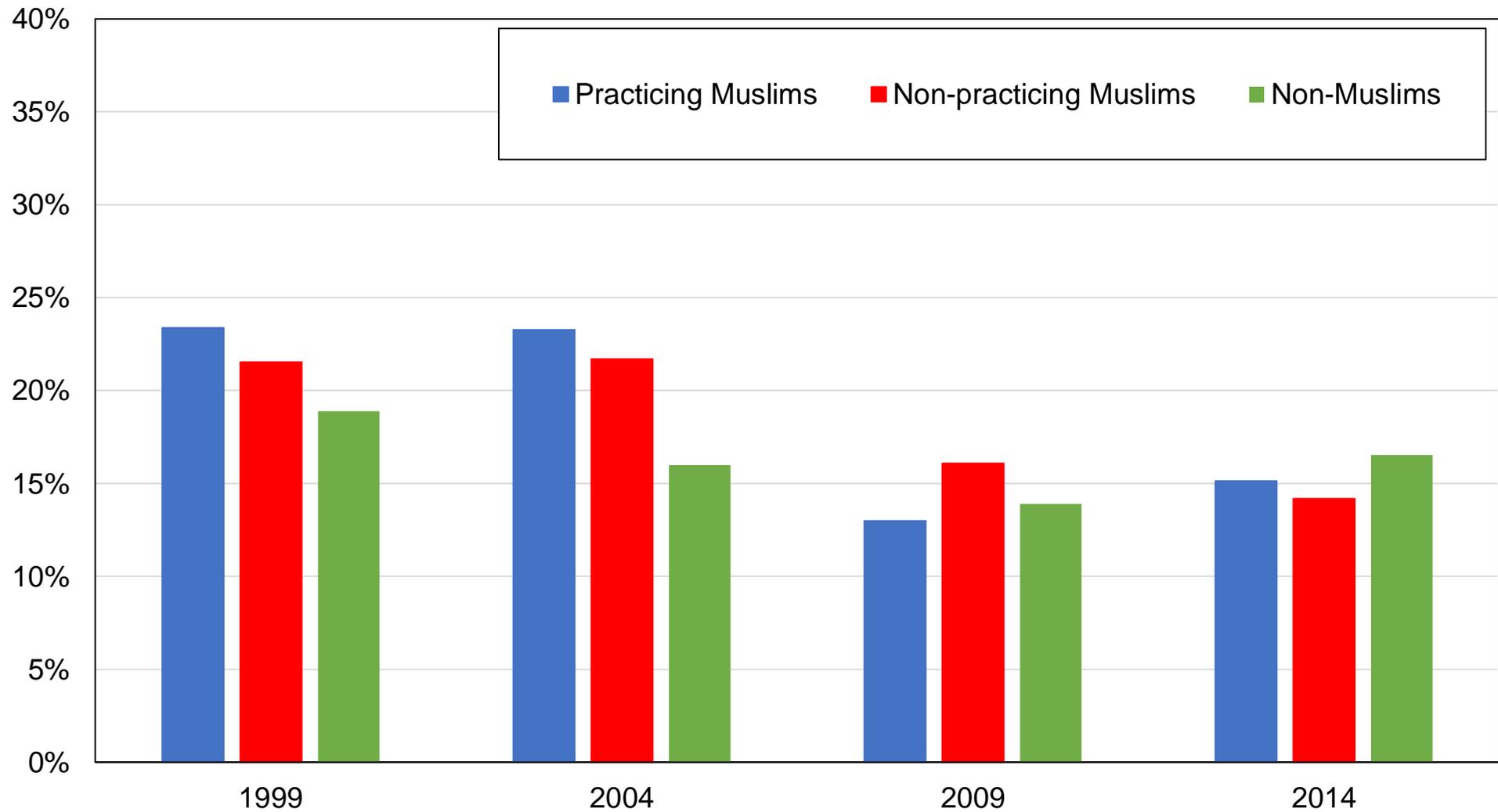
Figure DH4 – Vote for Golkar among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

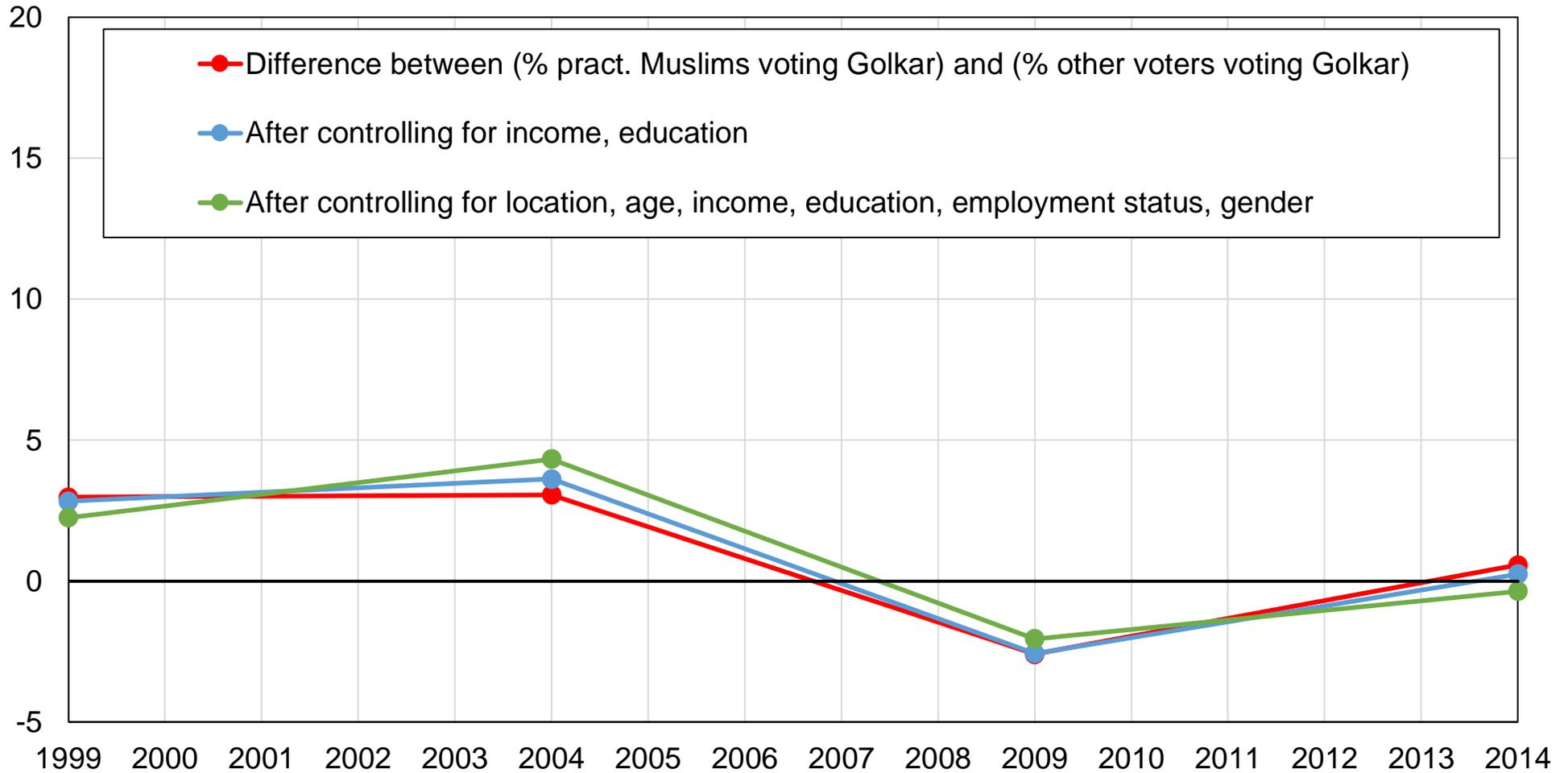
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners voting for Golkar and the share of other voters voting for Golkar, before and after controls.

Figure DH5 – Vote for Golkar by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar by religion.

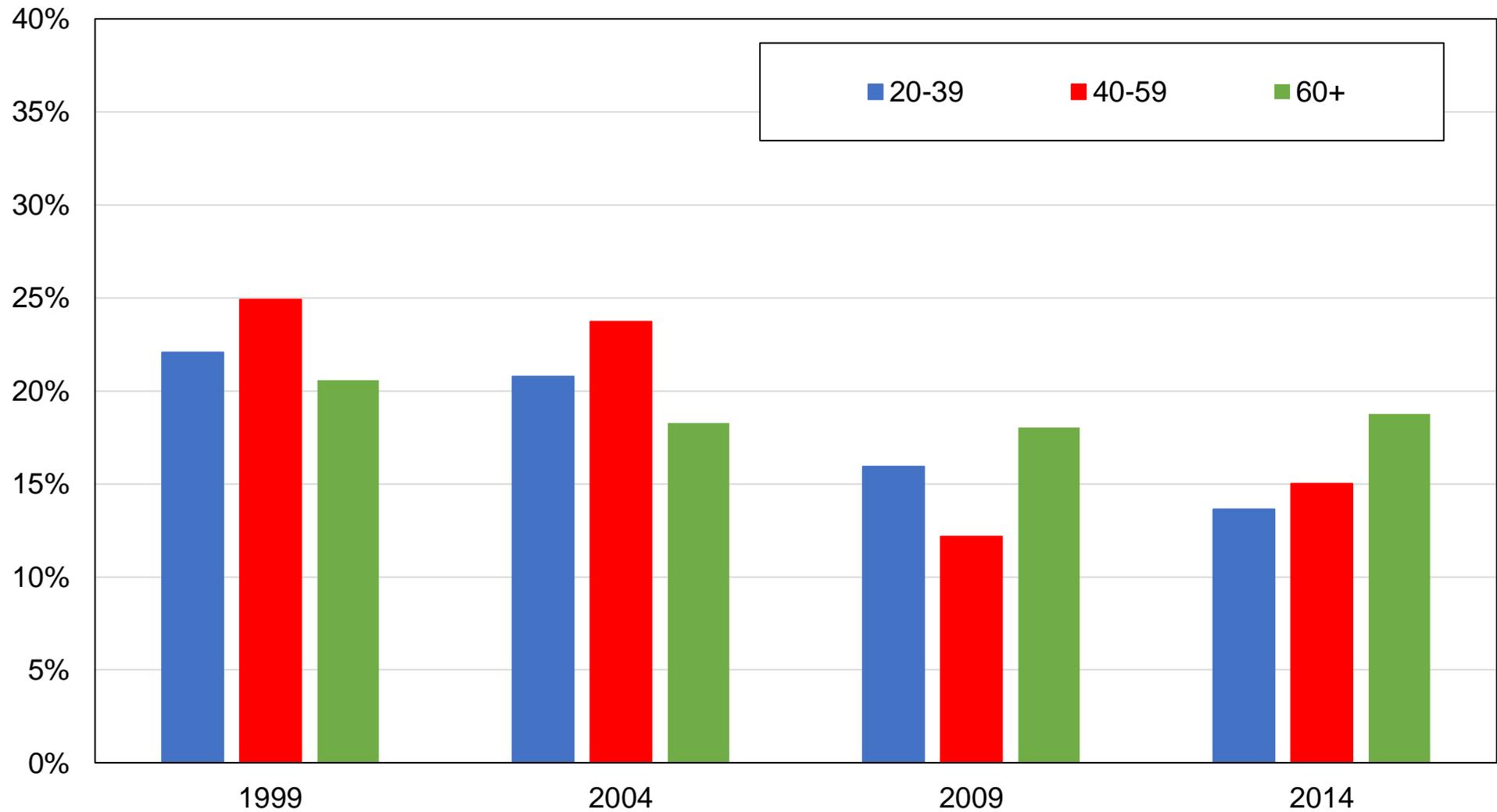
Figure DH6 – Vote for Golkar among practicing Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of practicing Muslims voting for Golkar and the share of other voters voting for Golkar, before and after controls.

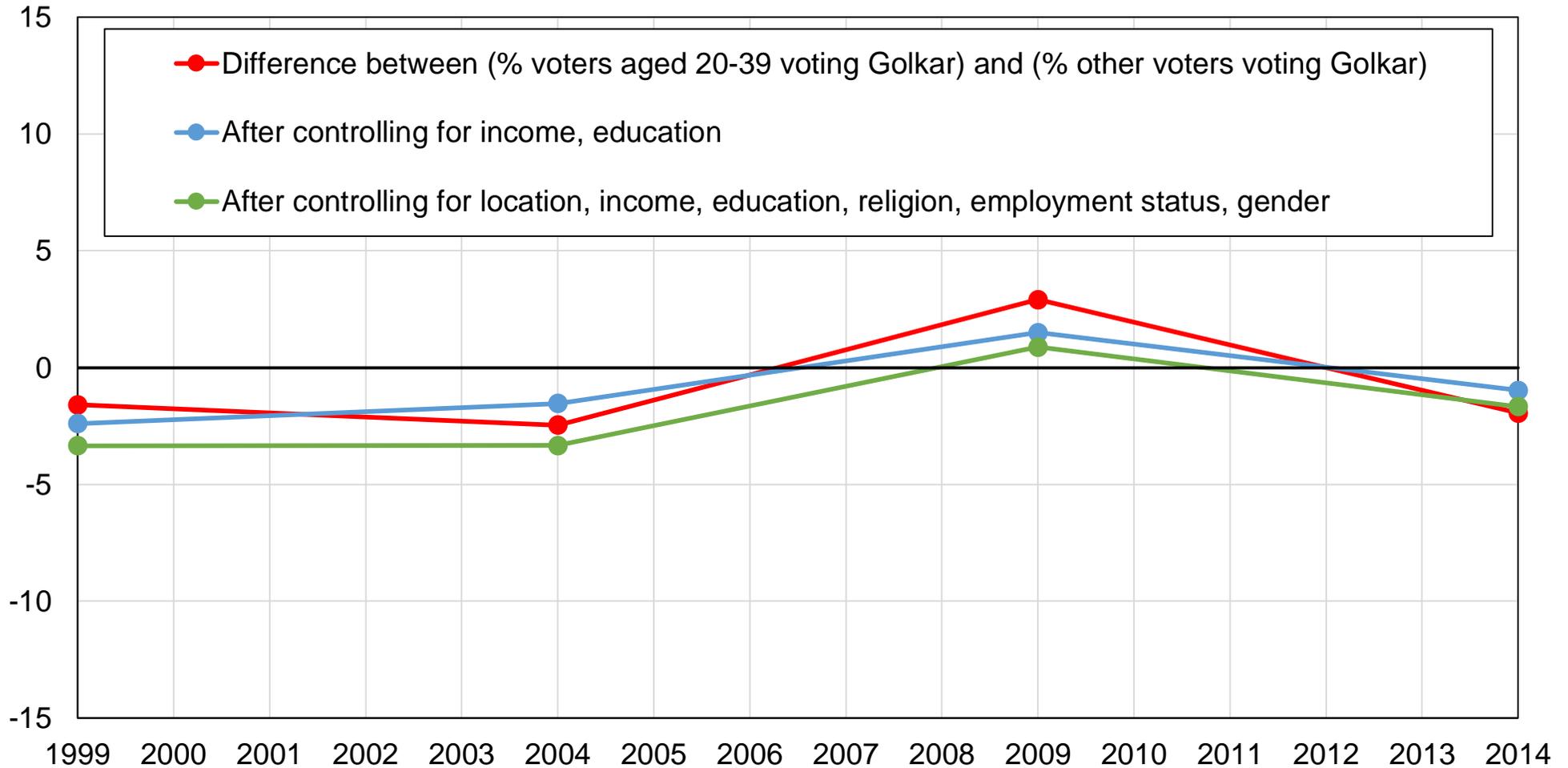
Figure DH7 – Vote for Golkar by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar/Gerindra/Hanura by age group.

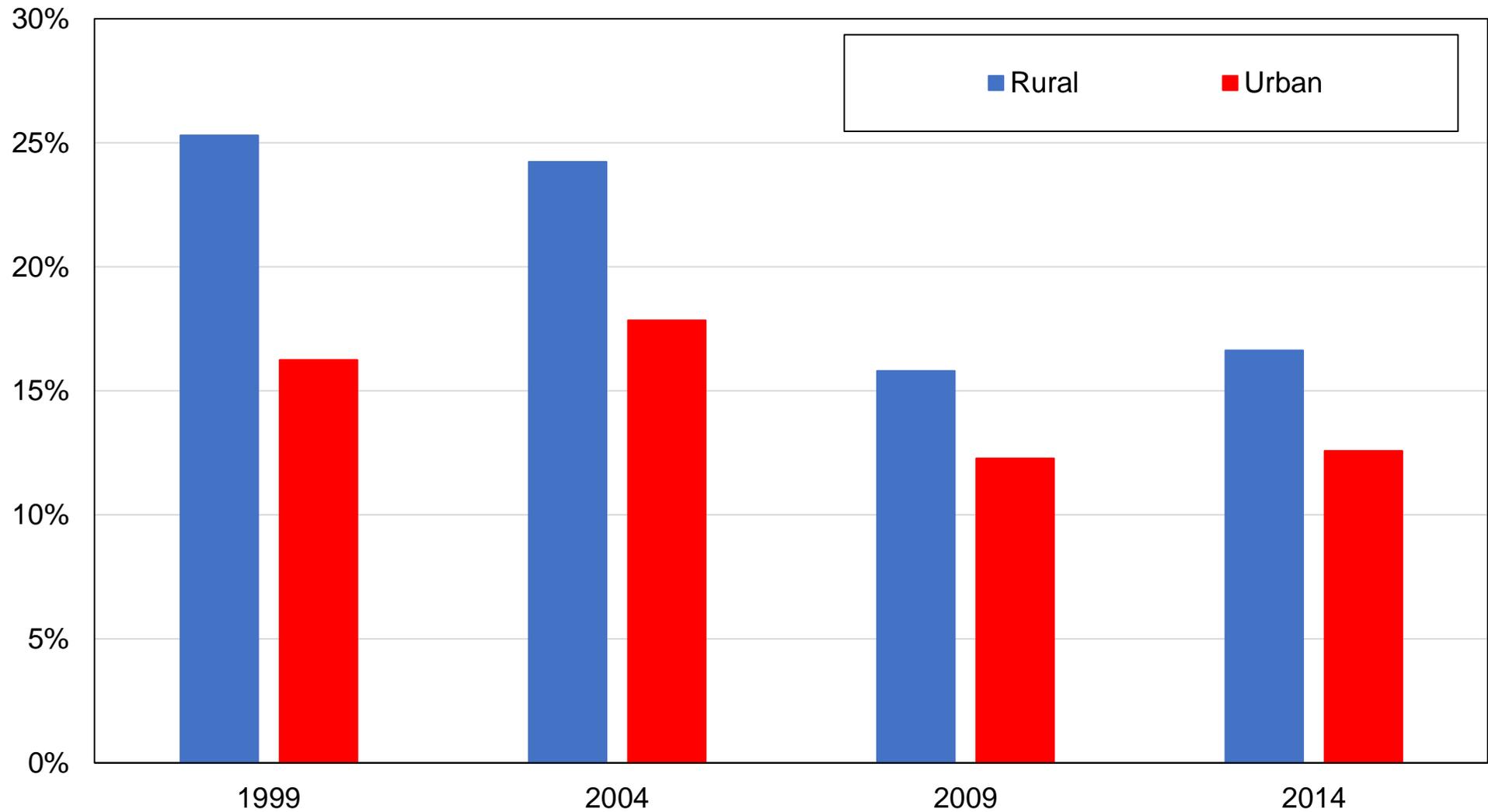
Figure DH8 – Vote for Golkar among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between share of voters aged 20-40 voting for Golkar and the share of other voters voting for Golkar, before and after controls.

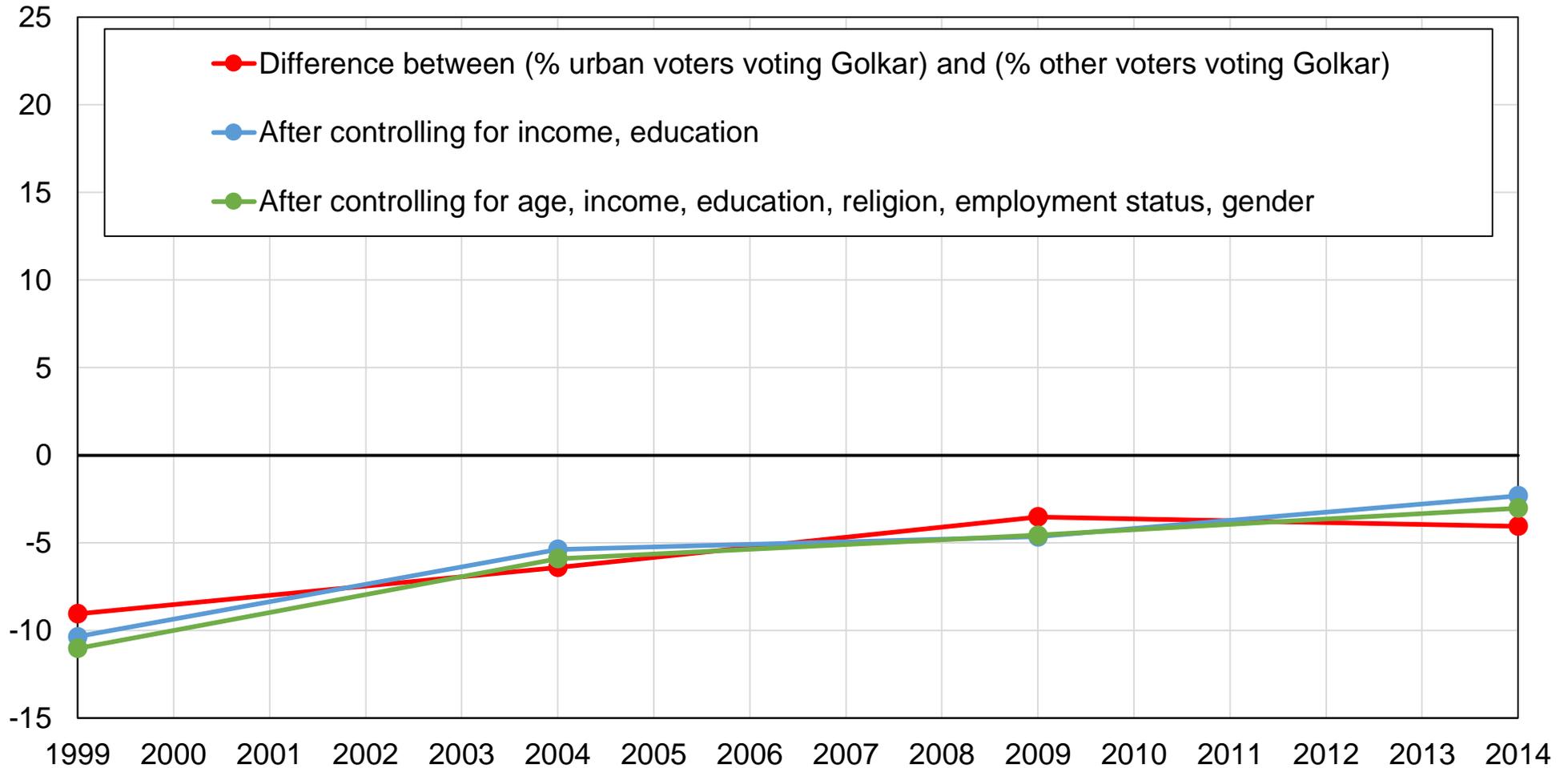
Figure DH9 – Vote for Golkar by rural-urban location



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar by rural-urban location.

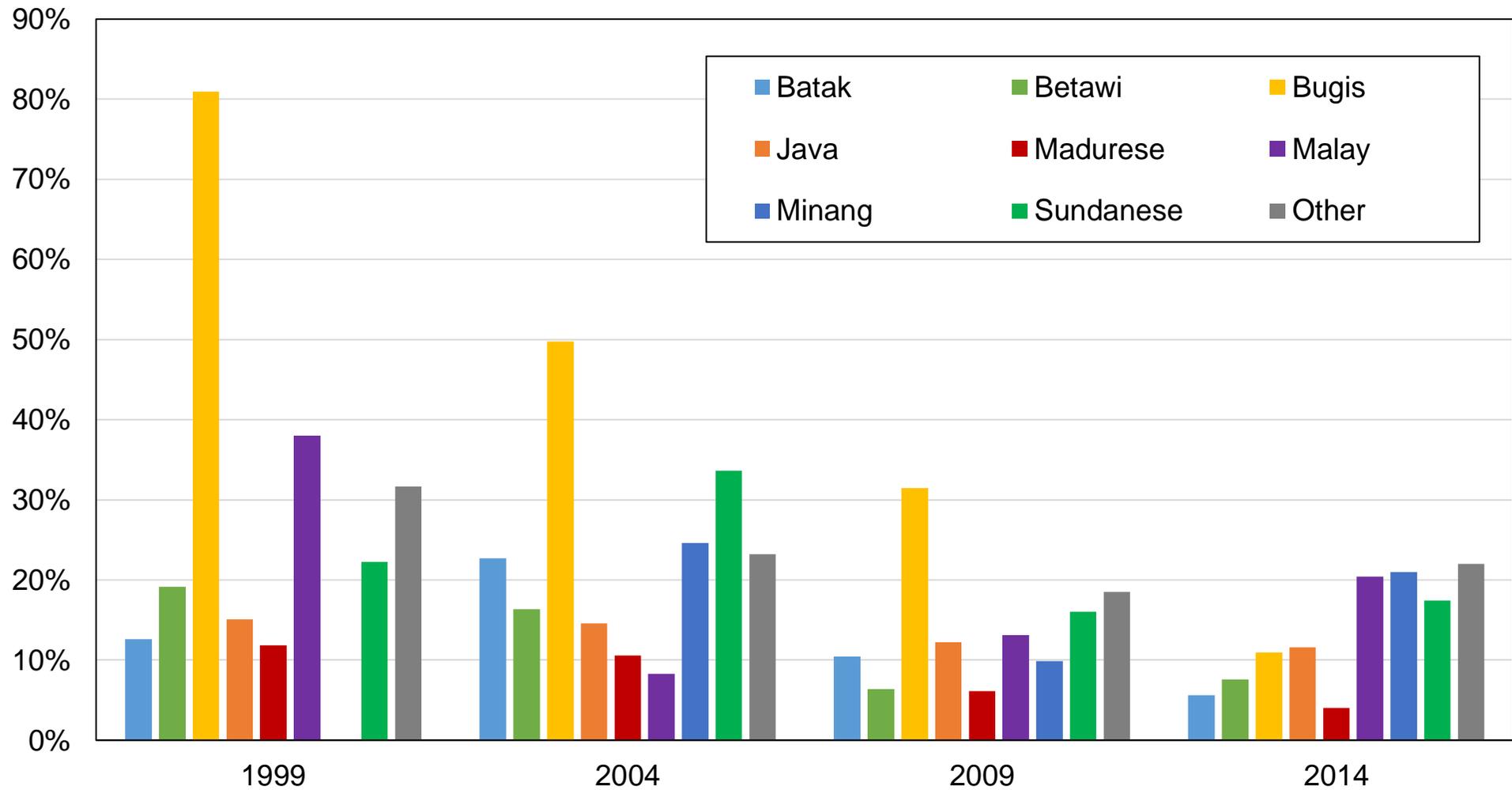
Figure DH10 – Vote for Golkar among urban voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

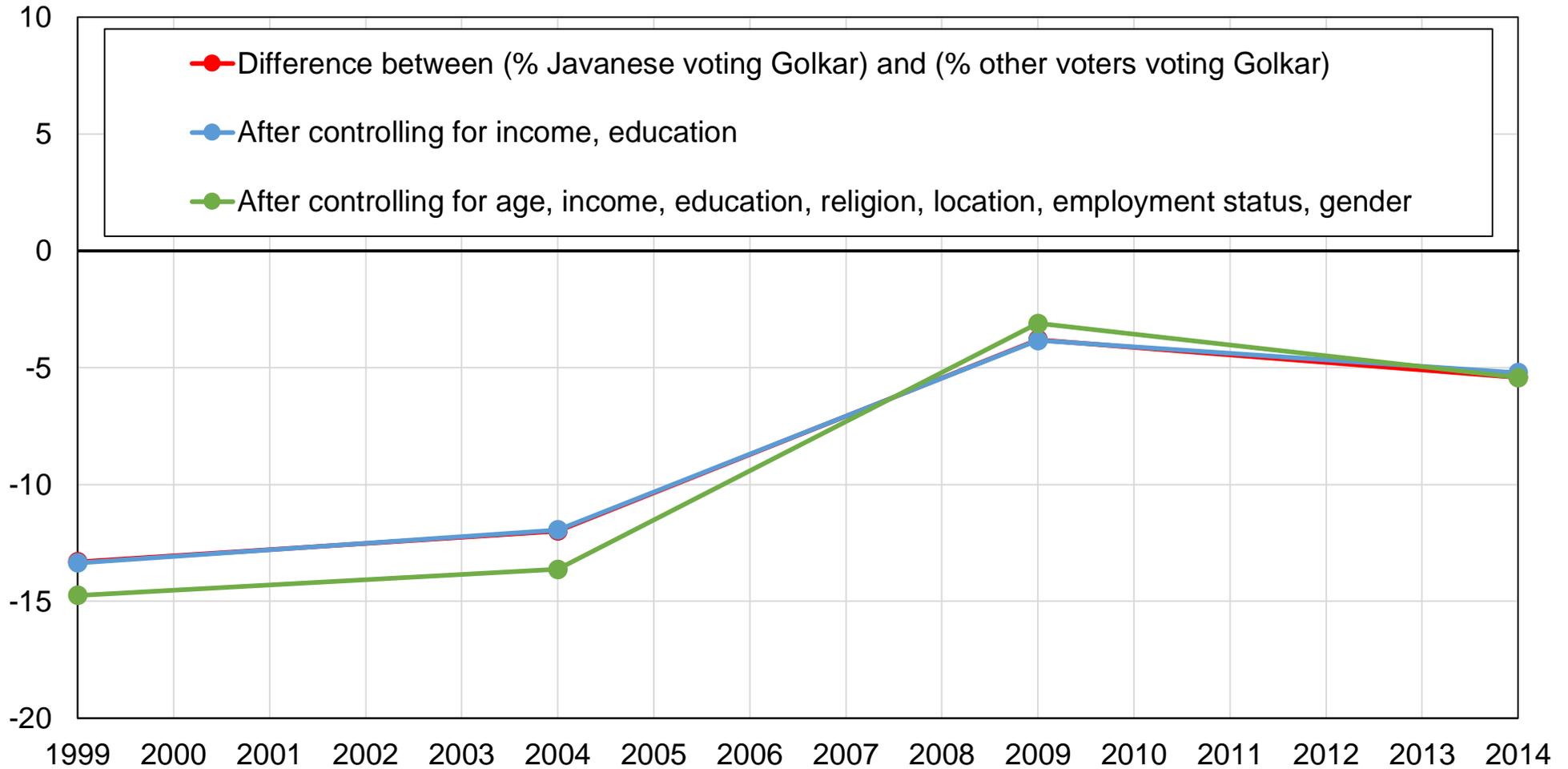
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of urban voters voting for Golkar and the share of other voters voting for Golkar, before and after controls.

Figure DH11 – Vote for Golkar by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Golkar by ethnic affiliation.

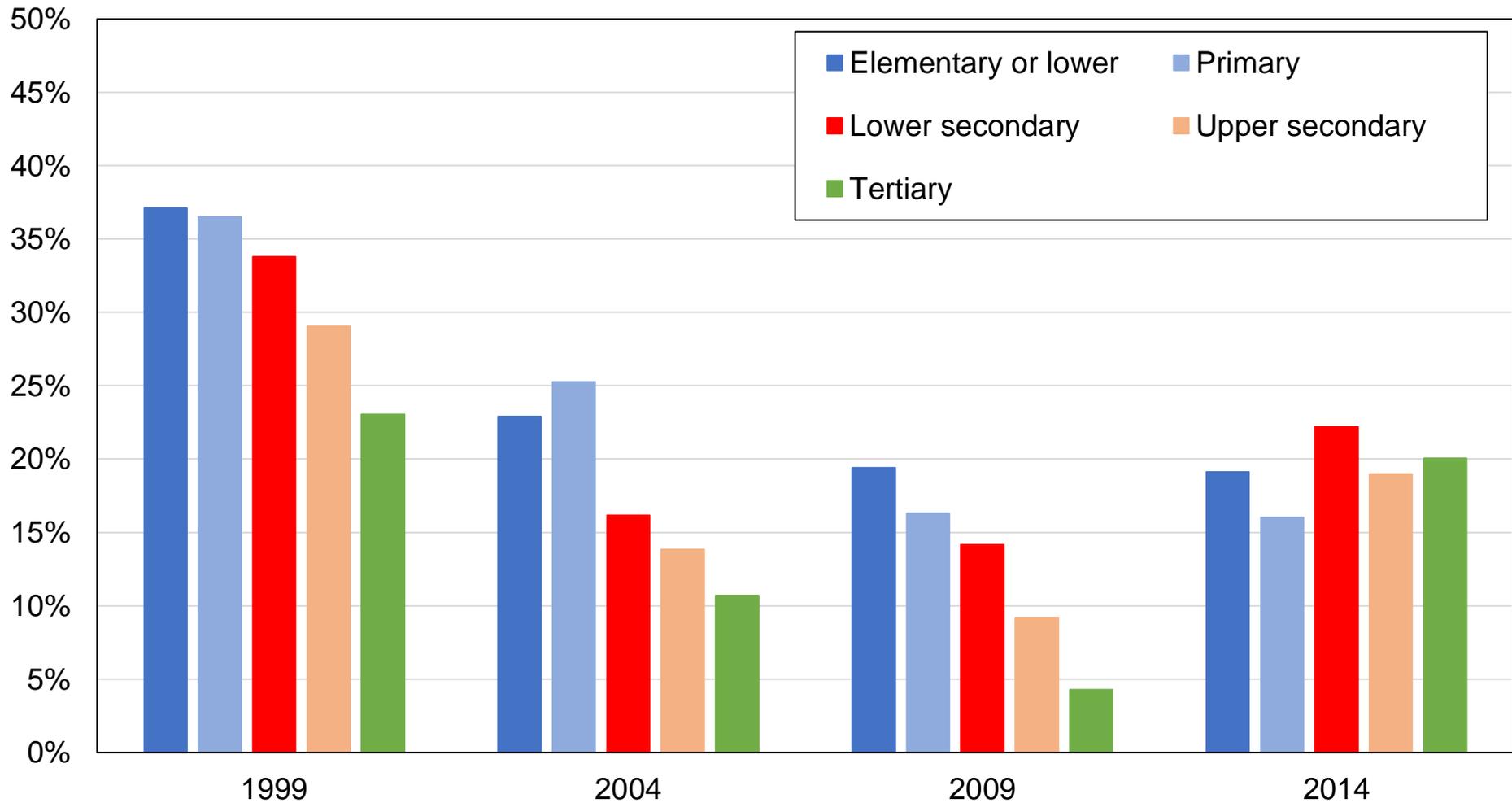
Figure DH12 – Vote for Golkar among Javanese voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Javanese voters voting for Golkar and the share of other voters voting for Golkar, before and after controls.

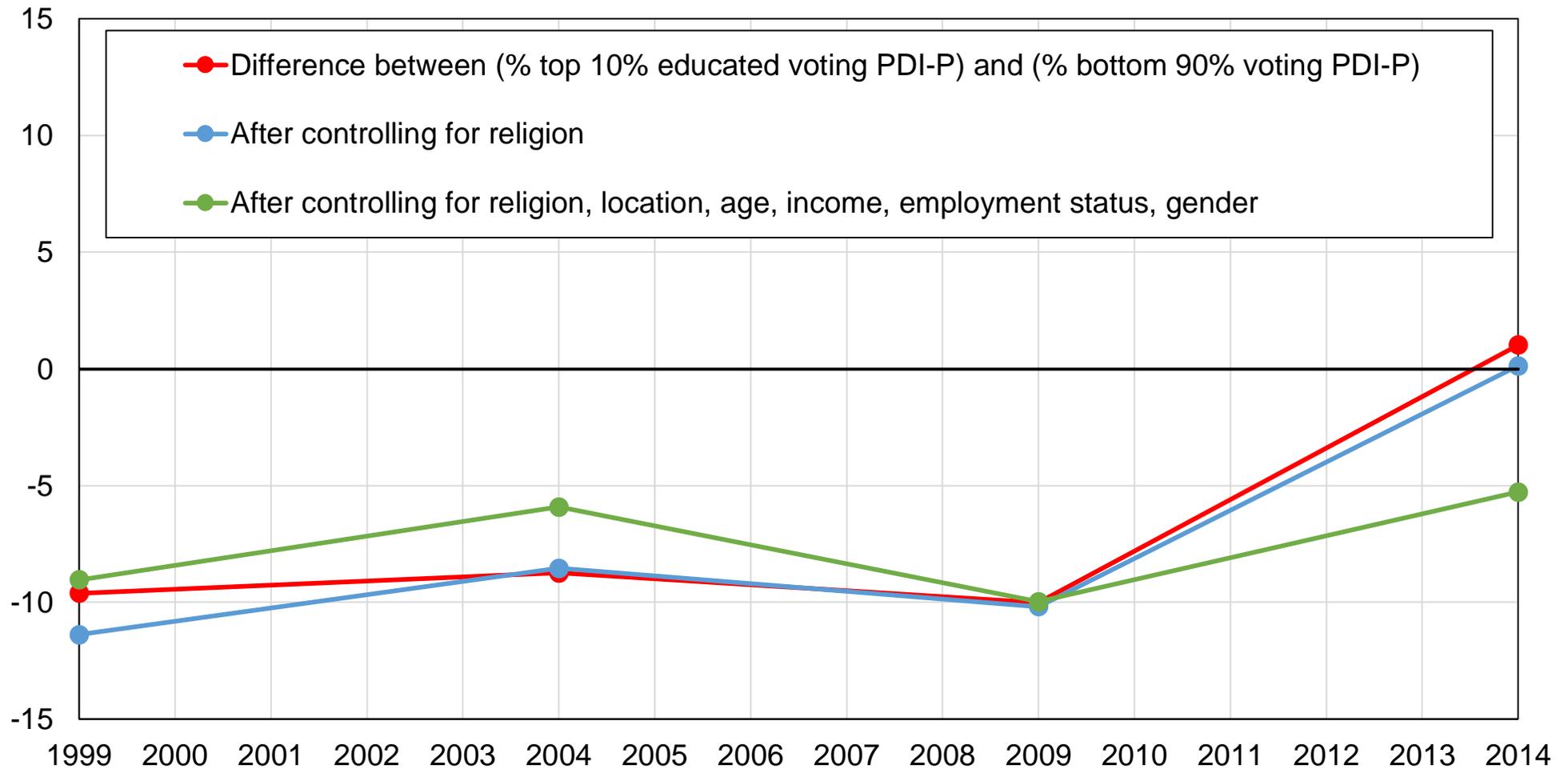
Figure DI1 – Vote for PDI-P by education level



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P by education level.

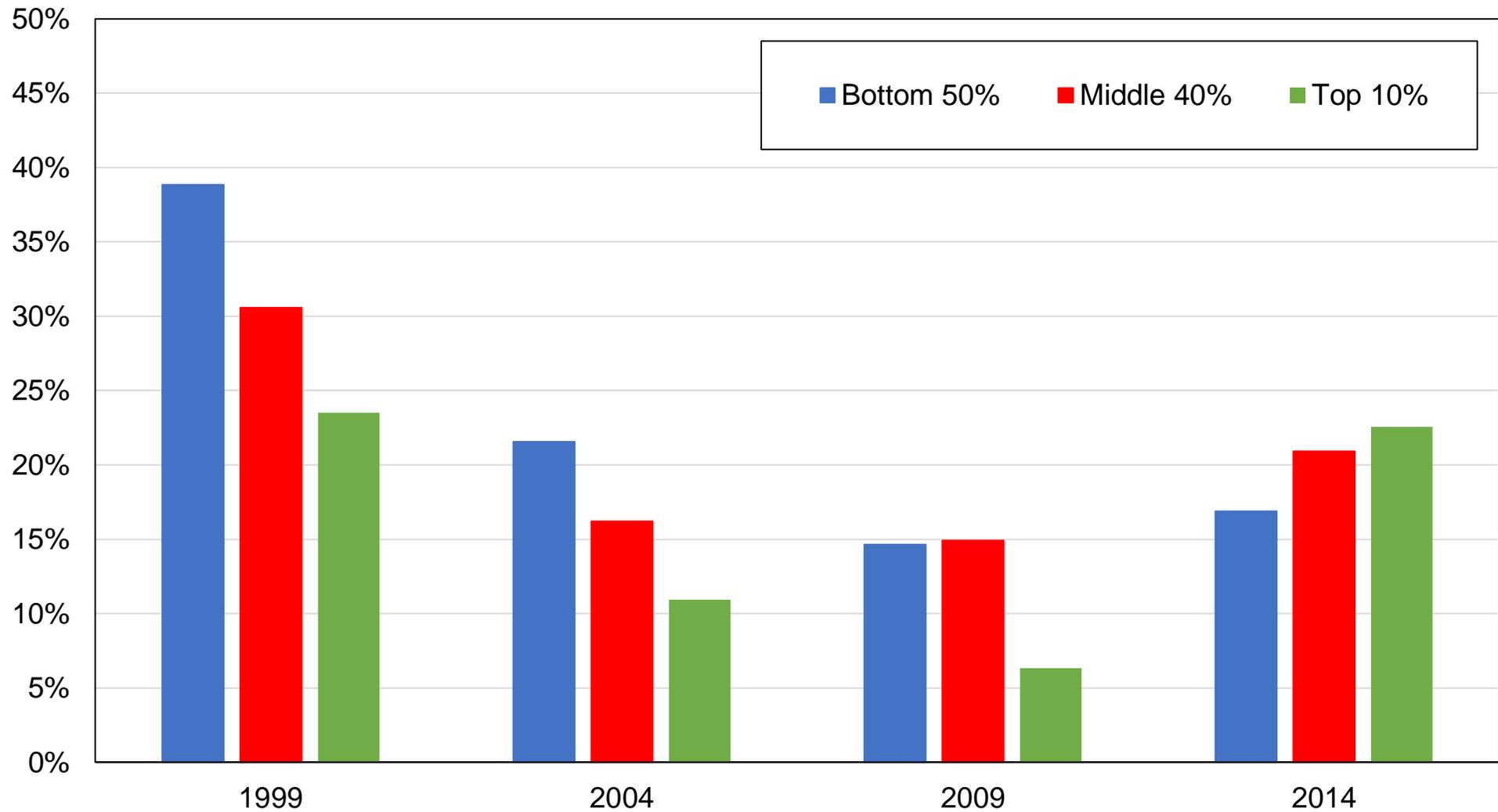
Figure DI2 – Vote for PDI-P among higher-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

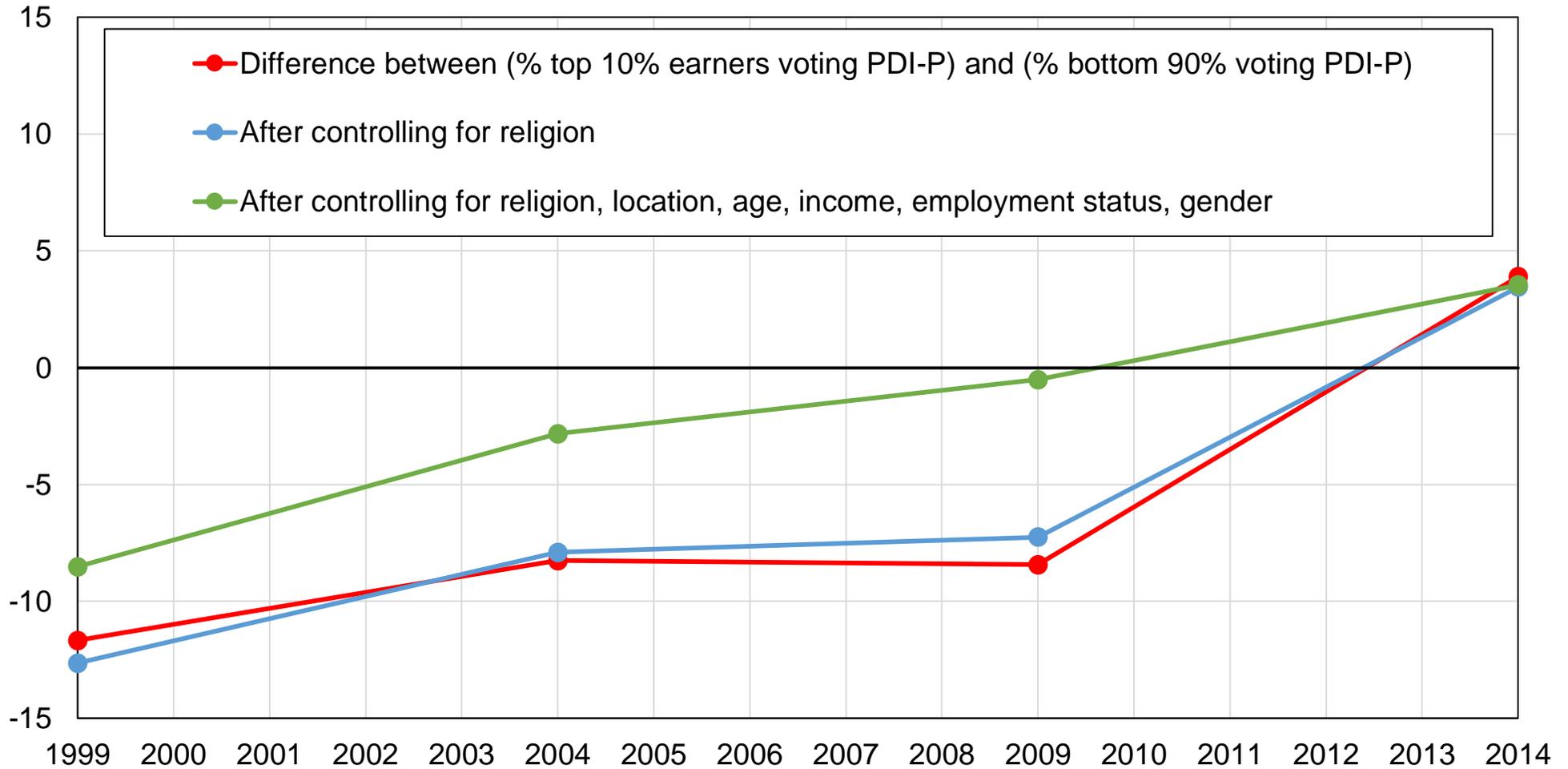
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters voting for PDI-P and the share of other voters voting for PDI-P, before and after controls.

Figure DI3 – Vote for PDI-P by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P by income group.

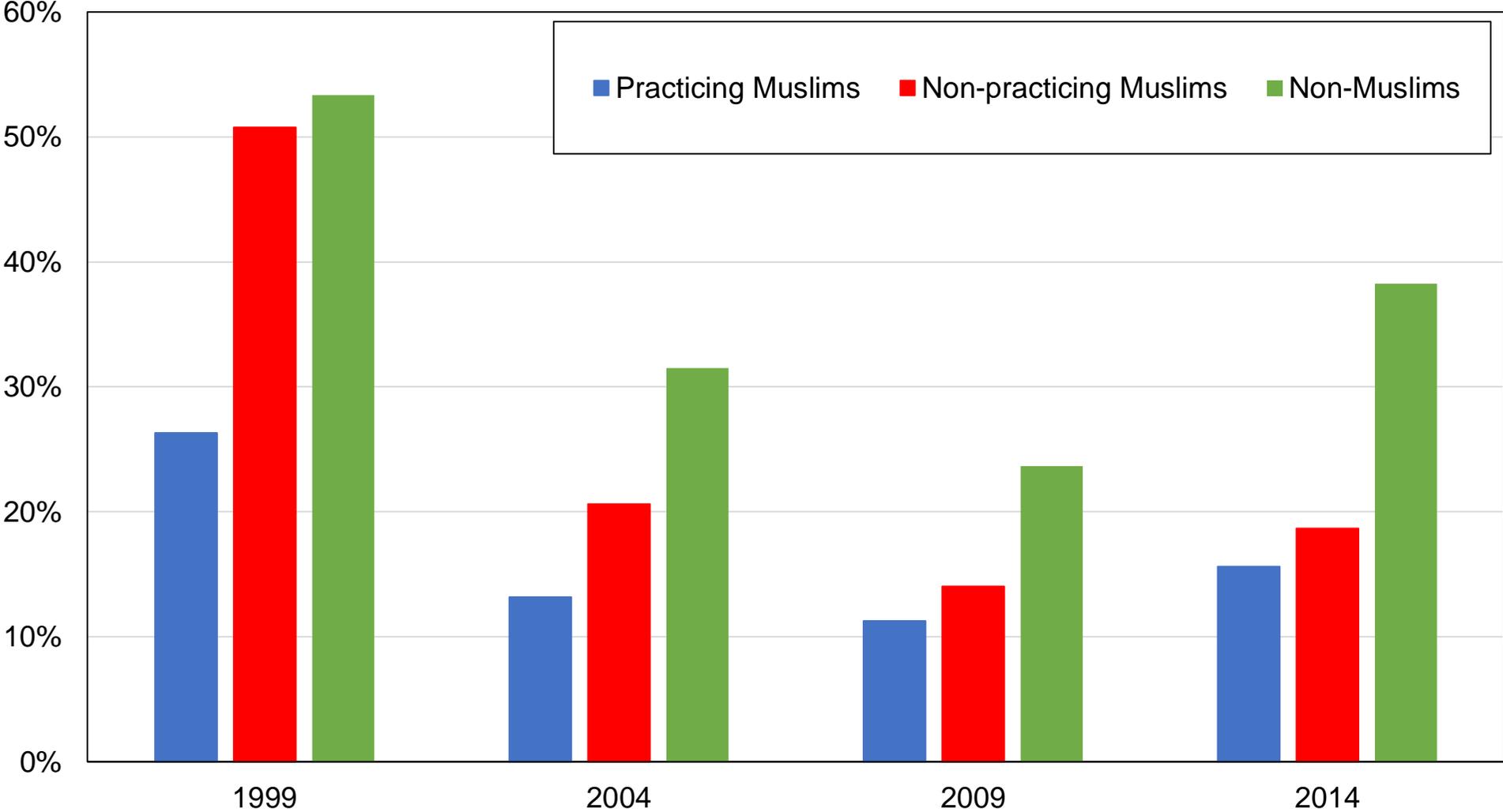
Figure DI4 – Vote for PDI-P among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

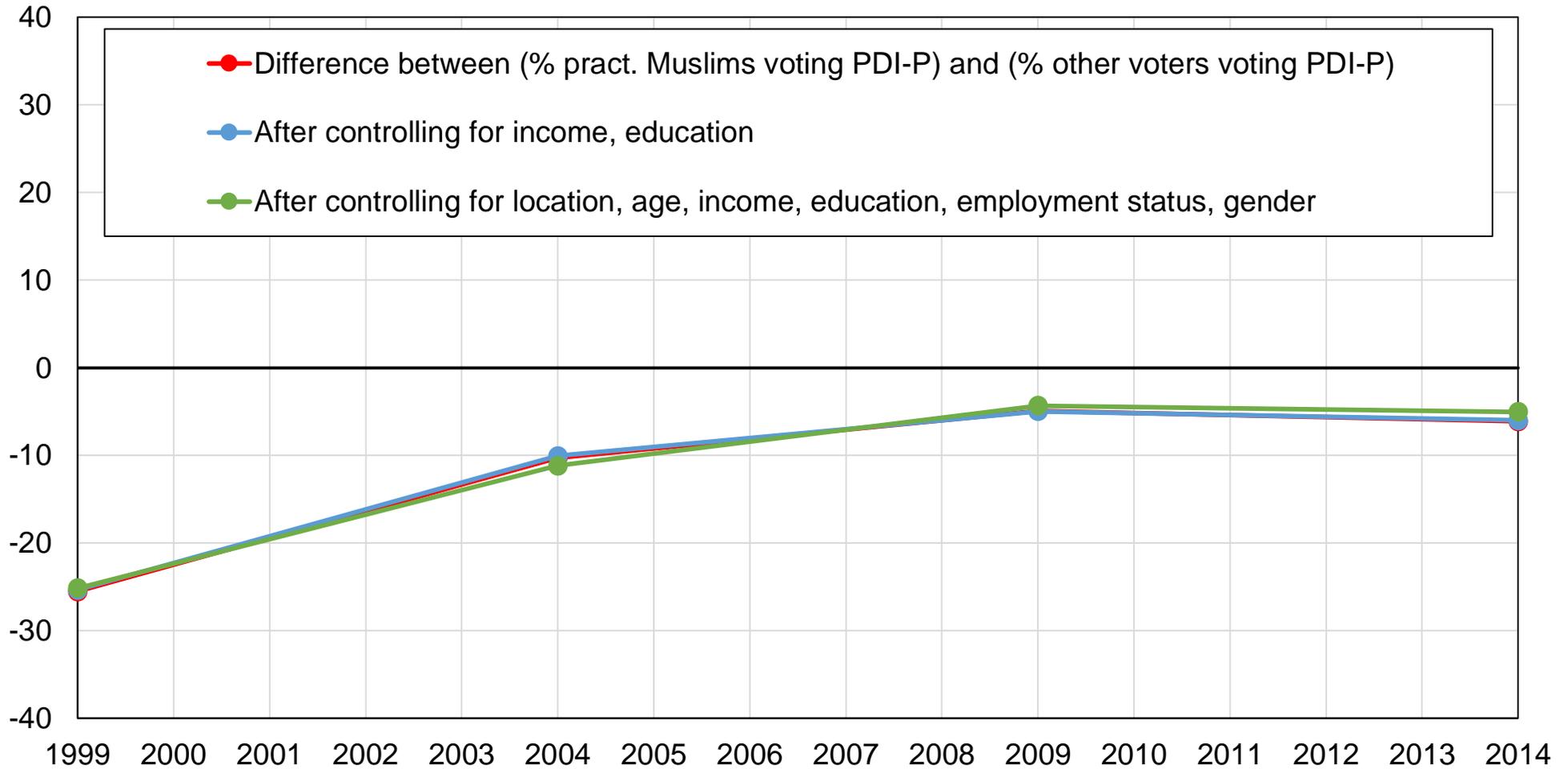
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners voting for PDI-P and the share of other voters voting for PDI-P, before and after controls.

Figure DI5 – Vote for PDI-P by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P by religion.

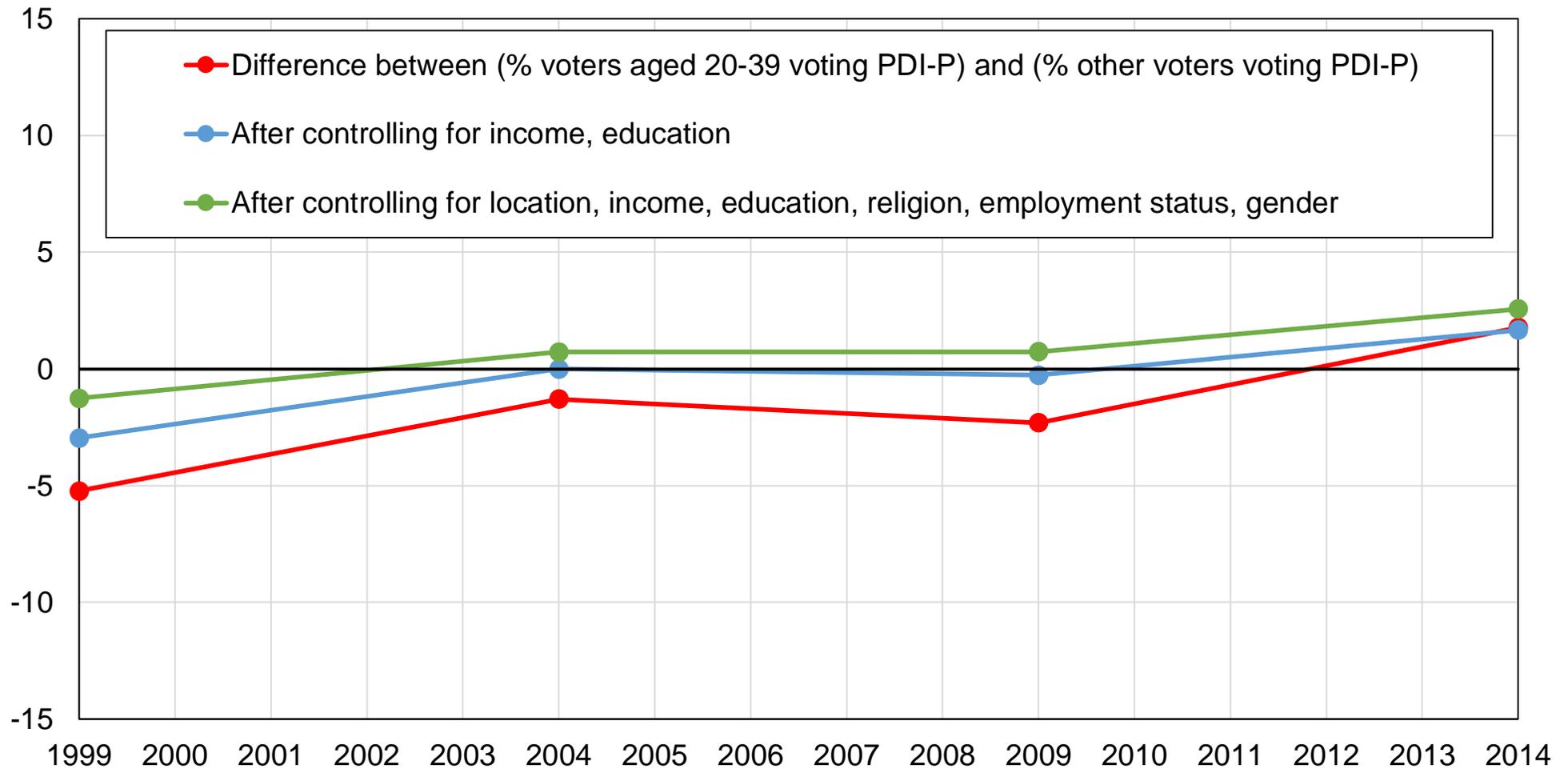
Figure DI6 – Vote for PDI-P among practicing Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of practicing Muslims voting for PDI-P and the share of other voters voting for PDI-P, before and after controls.

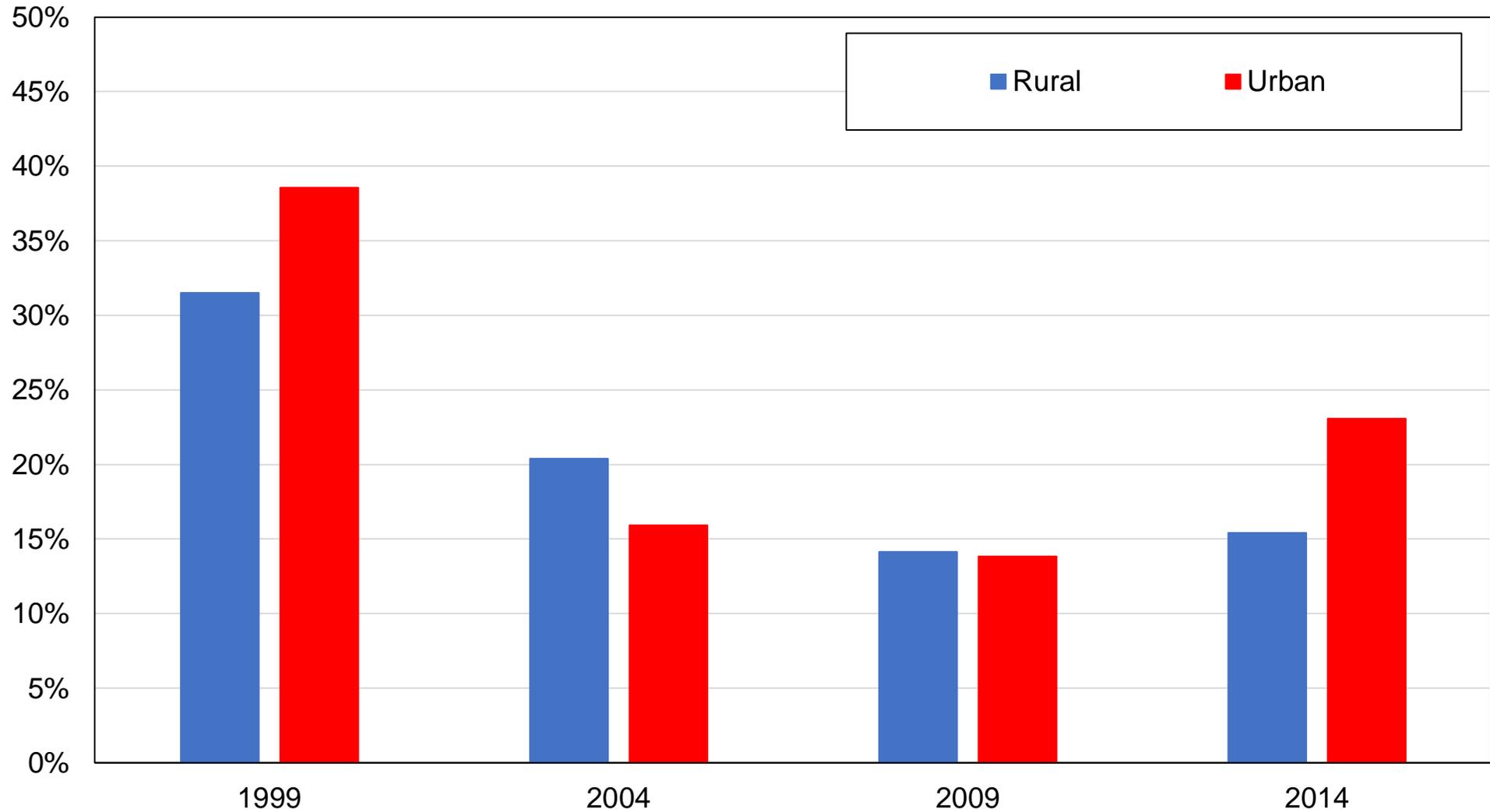
Figure DI7 – Vote for PDI-P among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between share of voters aged 20-40 voting for PDI-P and the share of other voters voting for PDI-P, before and after controls.

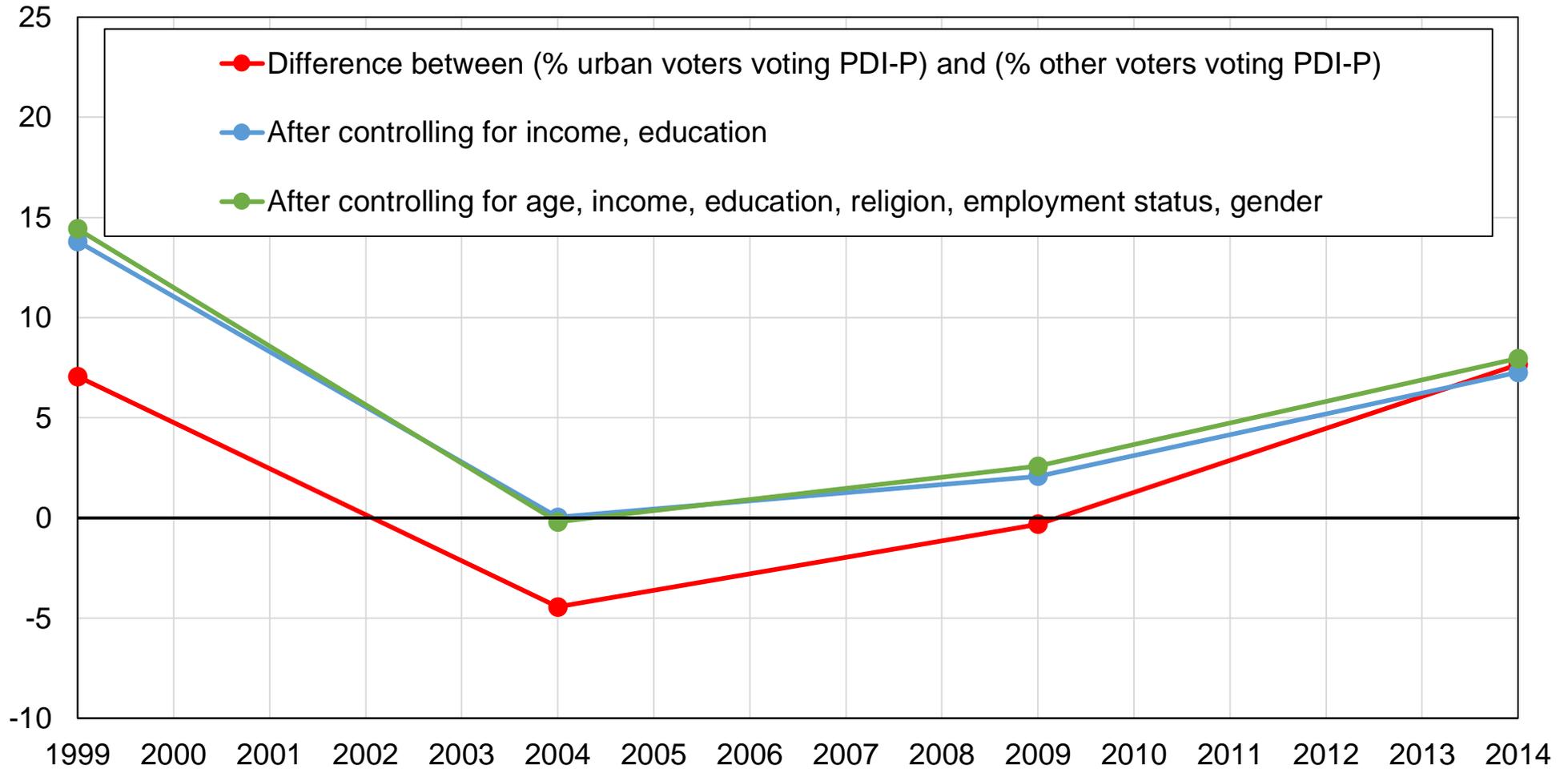
Figure DI8 – Vote for PDI-P by rural-urban location



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P by rural-urban location.

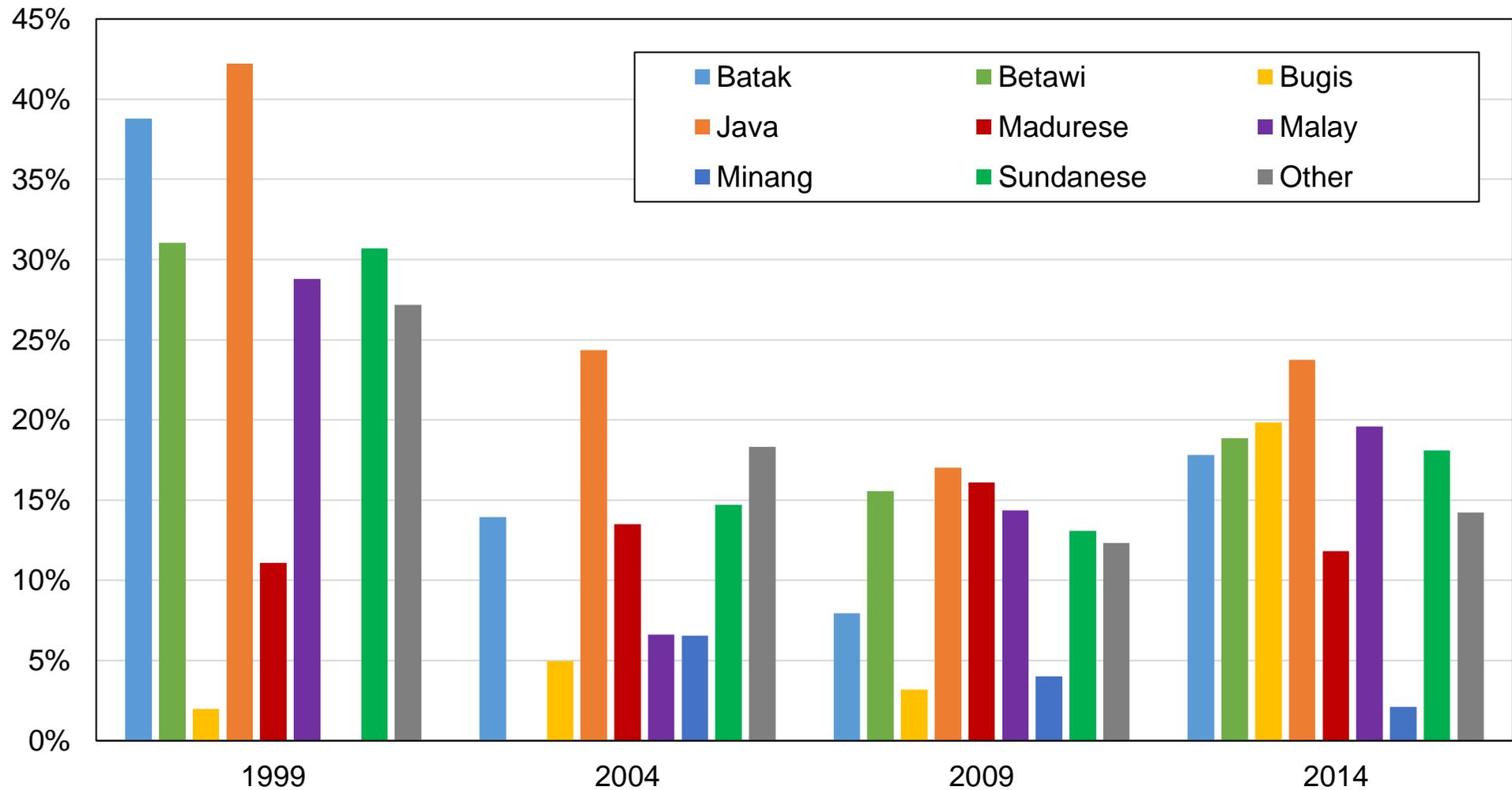
Figure DI9 – Vote for PDI-P among urban voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

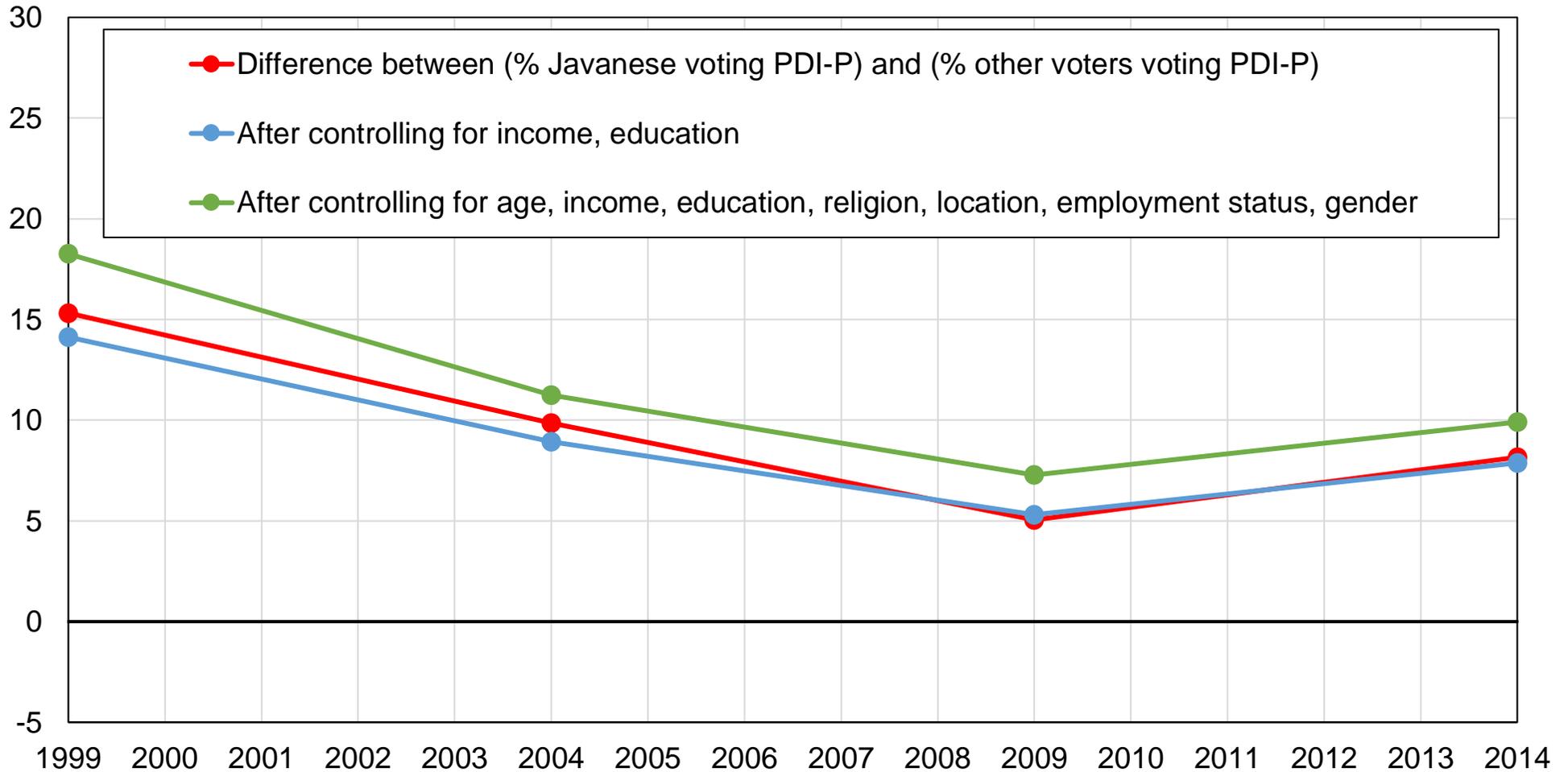
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of urban voters voting for PDI-P and the share of other voters voting for PDI-P, before and after controls.

Figure DI10 – Vote for PDI-P by ethnicity



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by PDI-P by ethnic affiliation.

Figure DI11 – Vote for PDI-P among Javanese voters



Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Javanese voters voting for PDI-P and the share of other voters voting for PDI-P, before and after controls.

Table DA1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1999	CNEP, 1999	Comparative National Elections Project	2488
2004	CNEP, 2004	Comparative National Elections Project	1194
2009	CNEP, 2009	Comparative National Elections Project	1980
2014	CNEP, 2014	Comparative National Elections Project	1737

Source: authors' elaboration.

Table DA2 - Complete descriptive statistics by year

	1999	2004	2009	2014
Gender: Man	50%	50%	50%	52%
Ethnicity: Batak	3%	4%	3%	2%
Ethnicity: Betawi	3%	1%	1%	3%
Ethnicity: Bugis	2%	4%	3%	4%
Ethnicity: Java	45%	42%	41%	41%
Ethnicity: Madurese	4%	3%	4%	6%
Ethnicity: Malay	2%	3%	6%	5%
Ethnicity: Minang	0%	2%	3%	3%
Ethnicity: Other	25%	24%	23%	22%
Ethnicity: Sundanese	17%	17%	14%	15%
Education: Elementary or lower	30%	18%	24%	16%
Education: Primary	23%	26%	26%	29%
Education: Lower secondary	20%	19%	19%	23%
Education: Upper secondary	20%	27%	23%	24%
Education: University or higher	7%	10%	9%	9%
Age: 20-40	76%	62%	51%	48%
Age: 40-60	17%	35%	42%	44%
Age: 60+	7%	3%	7%	8%
Employment status: Employed	64%	66%	28%	62%
Employment status: Inactive	36%	33%	72%	38%
Location: Rural	68%	58%	62%	53%
Religion: Islam	88%	87%	88%	91%
Religion: Christian	10%	11%	10%	7%
Religion: Others	2%	2%	2%	2%
Collective prayer: Never	2%	6%	14%	13%
Collective prayer: Sometimes	15%	36%	35%	38%
Collective prayer: Often	53%	36%	37%	33%
Collective prayer: Very often	29%	22%	14%	16%

Source: authors' computations using Indonesian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by year for selected available variables.

Table DA3 - Full structure of the vote in the 2014 Indonesian election

	PDI-P	PD	Golkar	Nasdem	Hanura	Gerindra	Islamic Parties
Overall vote share	18,95%	10,19%	14,75%	6,72%	5,26%	11,81%	31,41%
Education							
Primary or lower	17%	9%	18%	8%	5%	11%	31%
Secondary	21%	11%	12%	7%	5%	12%	32%
Tertiary	20%	13%	13%	2%	6%	14%	33%
Income							
Bottom 50%	17%	10%	16%	8%	5%	11%	33%
Middle 40%	21%	10%	14%	6%	6%	11%	30%
Top 10%	23%	12%	12%	3%	5%	15%	30%
Religion							
Practicing Muslims	16%	9%	15%	7%	5%	12%	35%
Non-practicing Muslims	19%	10%	14%	6%	7%	11%	32%
Non-Muslims	38%	13%	17%	13%	1%	10%	8%
Location							
Urban	23%	7%	13%	5%	5%	13%	34%
Rural	15%	13%	17%	9%	6%	11%	29%
Gender							
Woman	20%	10%	16%	6%	6%	9%	32%
Man	18%	10%	13%	8%	5%	15%	31%
Age							
20-39	20%	12%	14%	6%	6%	12%	29%
40-59	18%	8%	15%	7%	4%	12%	34%
60+	18%	10%	19%	9%	5%	9%	31%
Ethnic group							
Madurese	12%	2%	4%	7%	9%	18%	48%
Bugis	20%	14%	11%	5%	0%	24%	26%
Minang	2%	14%	21%	4%	0%	26%	33%
Sundanese	18%	10%	17%	4%	5%	9%	36%
Betawi	19%	7%	8%	7%	3%	11%	45%
Java	24%	8%	12%	7%	5%	10%	33%

Batak	18%	14%	6%	0%	10%	9%	39%
Malay	20%	14%	20%	7%	4%	12%	23%
Other	14%	15%	22%	10%	7%	12%	20%

Source: authors' computations using CNEP surveys.

Note: the table shows the detailed structure of the vote for Indonesian political parties in the 2014 legislative election. Islamic parties include the PAN, PBB, PKB, PKS, and PPP.