

INDEX

A

- Abang Tambul Husin, 337, 338
abangan, 14
 Abdillah Kamarullah, 332
 Abdul Djabar Burkam, 251
 Abdul Gafur, 310
 dispute with Sultan of Ternate, 309
 Abdullah Basyid, 88
 Batam mayoral elections (2006), 83
 Abdurrahman Wahid, 3
 shelving division plan for Papua, 262
 Abeng, Mikail, 339, 345
 Abidin, Anthony Zeidra, 137
 Abramsky, 2
 Abun Ediyanto, 341, 346
 Aburizal Bakrie, 95
 Academies of Local Government, 42
 Aceh, 30
 special autonomy, 49
 Achmad Purnomo, 218
 Act of Free Choice, 280
adat
 multiple meanings of, 300
 Adnan Amal, 324
 Adnan Arsal (Ustaz), 366
 A.H. Thony, 244
 Ahmad Dachlan
 Batam mayoral elections, 81
 Ahmad Dahlan, 88, 91
 Batam mayoral elections (2006), 82,
 83
 Aji Sofyan Lex, 251
 Akil Mochtar, 350
 Aksa Mahmud, 72, 270
 Ali Irfan, 159
 Aliansi Masyarakat Pendukung Ulama
 (AMPUH), 203
aliran, 14
 abangan, of, 176
 end of, 65
 politics of, 63
 re-emergence, 16
 Alisjahbana, 244
 Alwi Shihab, 96
 Amin Syam (HM), 115
 Amien Rais, 220
 Amir Anin, 120
 Amir Machmud, 42
anak rona, 290
anak wina, 290
 ancient regime, Europe, 11
 Anderson, Benedict, 9
 Ananto Tri Sasongko, 180
 Andi Burhanuddin, 110
 Andi Harta Sanjaya, 110
 Andi Ilyas Mangewa, 104
 Andi Kemal Burhanuddin, 104
 Andi Munarfah, 110
 Andi Rizal Mappatuntu, 110
 Andi Soetomo, 110
 Angkatan Muda Demokrat, 203
 Angkatan Muda Ka'bah, 203

- anti-Freeport demonstrations, 275
Anti Pornografi-Pornoaksi legislation, 219
 anti-pornography bill, 25
 Antlov, H., 154
 Anton Bagul Dagur, 283, 286
 complaints of irregularities, 296
 invested large amount of money in
 re-election campaign, 298
 obstructing formation of West
 Manggarai, 288
 supporters, 294
 Aragon, Lorraine, 357
 Arie Ruhyanto, 72
 Arif Afandi, 244, 248, 250
 Arobi Ahmad Aituaaruw, 268
 Asia Barometer Survey, 61
 Asia Foundation, 3
 Asian economic crisis, 4
 Asian values, 5
 Asman Abnur, 95
 Aspar Aswin, 332
 Asrom/Kusbarayanto, 217
 Atar Sibero, 43
 Ataturi, Abraham, 262
 Atururi, Bram, 264
 Attorney General
 investigations, 232
 August Weidmann Foundation, 119
 Autonomy Award, 162
 Aziz Umar, 194, 196, 216, 217
- B**
babonisasi programme
 Bantul district, 198
 Badan Intelijen Negara (BIN), 264
 Baiduri Ahmad, 337, 338
 Bali, 260
 Bambang Arif, 251
 Bandar Lampung, 365
 Bank Perkreditan Rakyat, 331
 Banten
 Regional Budget, 136
 Banten case, 135
 Banten province, 135
 Bantul district, 212, 213
 campaigning activities, 197
 candidates, issues raised, 197
 money politics, 191
 pilkada, 190–208, 194–98
 politics of incumbency, 198–203
 populist policies, 198–203
 primary school teachers, 199
 results, 195
 seats in local parliament, 196
 Banyuwangi, 157
 pilkada elections, 155
 Barnabas Suebu, 269
 Basuki Rachmat, 41
 Batam, 243
 Abdullah Basyid-Richard Pasaribu, 83
 Ahmad Dachlan-Zulbahri, 82, 91
 Ahmad Dahlan-Ria Saptarika, 82, 83
 bonded zone plus, 78
 campaigns, 85–86
 candidates and party coalitions, 81
 competing authorities, 78
 custodianship of BIDA, 78
 economic transformation, 76
 Elections Commission (KPUD), 87
 election results, 88–90
 foreign investments, 76
 Free Trade Zone, 95
 Golkar-PKS coalition, 96
 history and politics, 76–79
 inauguration of mayor, 88–90
 investment by Singapore, 77, 94
 local media, 86
 Local Planning Board, 92
 Malay population, 77
 mayoral elections, 23, 74–100
 candidates' personalities, 93
 mayoral elections (2006), 79
 phases, 78
 Nazief Soesila Dharma-Sahat
 Sianturi, 84, 85
 nomination of candidates, 79, 80

- results, 89
 - voting, 86–88
 - PAN, 91
 - political disillusionment, 88
 - putra daerah*, 77
 - registered voters, 87
 - uncertainty among investors, 78
 - voter turnout, 87
- Batam Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 91, 95
- Batam Industrial Development Authority (BIDA), 76, 91
 - conflicts, 92
 - Habibie, 77
 - Ibnu Sutowo, 77
- Batam mayoral elections (2006)
 - party coalitions, 80–85
- Batam Municipal Assembly
 - composition of parties, 80
- Batam Pos*, 86
- Batam Singapore Club, 99
- Bengkayang, 349
 - pilkada* results, 338, 339
- Benny Pensong-Hugo Agato team, 342
- Berita Nasional*, 224, 226
- Berlusconi, Silvio, 245
- Biak, 267
- billboards, 214–17
- black campaign, 214, 294
- Budi Harijono, 244
- Bungkundapu, 364
- bupatis*, election of, 212
- bureaucrats, former, 156
- boat rent
 - definition, 130
- Broad Guidelines of National Strategy, 42
- C**
- campaign activities
 - Bantul district, 197
- campaign money
 - use for rallies and entertainment, 167
- campaign techniques, 154
- campursari*, 219
- candidates
 - direct voting for, 12
 - elections for district heads, 18
 - importance of personal networks, 23
 - joint nomination, 156
 - Manggarai *pilkada*, 293
 - nomination, Batam mayoral elections (2006), 80
 - male, 215
 - political conflicts, 8
 - Poso *pilkada*, 363
 - relationship with voters, 24
 - screening by local election commission, 152
- case studies
 - Kutai, 231–35
 - pilkada*, 26
- Castles, Lance, 62
- Cendrawasih University, 275
- census, outdated, 277
- Central Sulawesi, 28
 - framework for study, 353
 - local elections, 352–73
- centralized party systems
 - advantageous for presidential elections, 70
- Central Highland Papua, 274
- Central Irian Jaya, 262
 - establishment of, 264
- Choirul Anam, 96
- Chubb, clientelist model, 316
- Chusnul Mari'yah, 187
- citizen as centre of governance, 41
- civil liberties
 - New Order, during, 2
- civil society
 - co-optation of, 7
 - Jepara, 158
- clientelism, state level, 8
- Communist Party (PKN), 14

- consolidated democracy
 - definition, 6
- Constitution (1945), 30, 45
 - amendments, 13
- Constitution (2002), 57
- constitutional amendments, 5
- Constitutional Court, 30, 32, 119
 - appeal of KPU, 58
 - rule on district heads seeking re-election, 165
- Constitutional Democracy period, 13
- constitutionalism, 21
- Consultative Body, 39
- corruption
 - spread of, 4
 - state level, 8
- Credo
 - Christain Rotok/Kamelus Deno team, 283
- Crosby, Milton, 339, 340, 344
- Crown for the People, 193

- D**
- Dadang Yuliantara, 202
- Damanik, Rinaldy, 366
- dangdut*
 - use in campaigning, 220
 - use during campaigning, 165
- Dayak
 - conversion to Islam, 328
 - definition, 327, 328
 - marginalization, 329–30
- Dayak Partindo, 329
- Dayak politics
 - awakening of, 330
- Dayak-based NGO, 330–33
- Dayak-Christians, 28
- Dayaklogy Institute, 331
- decentralization
 - direct election system, 127–28
 - diverse implications, 4
 - elections, 147
 - rise of preman, 4
- decentralization laws
 - modification of, 2
- decentralization policy
 - expectations, 127
 - impact of, 126
- decentralization politics
 - criticism of, 40
- Dede Yusuf, 217
- Dee Atmawijaya, 364
- definitions
 - boat rent, 130
 - consolidated democracy, 6
 - Dayak, 327, 328
 - democracy, 4
 - elections, 9–13
 - jawara-pengusaha*, 135
 - otonomi kebablasan*, 143
 - Papuanness, 274
 - petrol money, 161
 - pilkada*, 72, 147
 - sembako*, 131
- democracy
 - consolidation of, 5, 74
 - definition, 4
 - electoral, *see* electoral democracy
 - emergence of, 3
 - rule of law, 1
 - spirit of, 127
 - transition to, 17
 - types of, 6
- Democrat Party-National Mandate
 - Party coalition (PD-PAN), 244
- Democratic Audit, 31
- democratic behaviour, 127
 - lack of, 128
- democratic consolidation, 7
 - problems, 17–28, 53–73
- democratic decentralization, 150
- democratic transitions, 2, 11
- democratization, 2
 - factors inhibiting progress of, 7
 - formal-legal, 149
 - direct election system
 - local government heads, 75

- Deno, Kamelus, 283
Department of Home Affairs, 149
Dewan Adat Papua, 274
Dewan Pemerintahan Daerah (DPD), 39
Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD), 38, 58
Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR), 57, 58
Dhakidae, 14
direct elections
 introduction, 2
 local heads, 21
 president, 7
 proponents of, 151
 rationale for, 22
 role of political parties, 22
direct local elections
 first, 212
direct presidential election
 Kebumen district, 186
direct regional elections
 rationale, 54–57
direct voting
 local level, 5
Director General of Local Autonomy, 43
dispute resolution, 20
district government heads
 elections in South Sulawesi, 101–24
district heads
 elections of, 147–73
 from indirect to direct, 150
 nomination by fraksi, 152
Djalil, Elyakim Simon, 339, 340, 349
Dongos Incident, 159
DPRD
 Kebumen, composition in, 177
 rubber stamp institution, 40
dualism, 21
dualistic relationship, 43–45
- E
East Java, 53
East Java Rector's Forum, 244
East Kalimantan, 260
East Manggarai district
 formation, 300
East Timor, 49
Eastern Nusa Tenggara, 17
Ebiet G. Ade, 217
Effendi, Jansen Akun, 343
Effendi Kasmin, 104
Election Commission, 19
Election Day, 211
election fatigue, 19
election monitoring
 efforts undertaken, 230
election patterns, 213
elections
 decentralization, 147
 definition, 9–13
 empowering of voters, 151
 examination of, 13–16
 Janus-faced characteristic, 9
 liberal democratic theory, 150
 objectives, 151
 recruitment of leaders, 151
 source of legitimacy, 151
elections (1955), 14
elections (1999), 18
 role of television, 212
elections (2004)
 Jepara, 159
electoral activity, increase in, 2
electoral democracy, 5
 presence of rules and regulations, 6
electoral processes, 55
electoral reform, 149
electoral system
 institutionalization of, 29
 stabilization of, 16
electoralism, logic of, 10
electorate
 shaping of an, 10
elite rotation, 156–57

- elites
 attitude towards common village folk, 284
 concentration in provincial capital, 41
 holding of power, 9
 perception of voters, 24
 privileged control of, 12
- elitism theory, 144
- entrepreneurs
 candidates, as, 156
- Erie
 American case studies, 317
- Erin Odang, 97
- Erlangga Satriagung, 244
- Europe
 ancient regime, 11
 transition to democracy, 29
- executive branch
 excessive domination of, 7
- Evans, Kevin, 62
- Evans, Michael, 143
- F**
- façade democracy, 5
 definition, 6
- Fachruddin, 106, 107, 108, 120
 Pangkep, 117
- Faizal Hamid (Uztad), 337
- Fak Fak, 266, 267, 273
- Feith, Herbert, 62, 348
- financial sponsors
 role of, 47
- Fininvest conglomerate, 245
- Fitra (Forum Indonesia untuk Transparansi Anggaran), 350
- floating mass
 elites to see voters as, 24
- Flores
 majority Roman Catholic, 285
 map of, 287
- Ford Foundation, 3
- foreign investments
 Batam, 76
- Forum, 70, 85, 86
- Forum Komunikasi Pemuda Melayu, 334
- former bureaucrats, 156
- Forum Silaturahmi Masyarakat Sleman Berdaya, 228
- fraksi*, 152
- Franciscan Justice and Peace Commission, 288
- free and fair elections, 6, 7
 first, 3
- Freedom Institute, 119
- Freeport McMoRan, 262, 275
- FRI Jatim, 244
- full democracy, 5
- functional groups, 13
- G**
- Gadjah Mada University, 184, 185
- Gaffar Patappe, 104
- Galtung, Johan, 354
- Gandung Pardiman, 227
- Gatot Sudjito, 244
- Gebze, John Gluba, 274
- Geertz, Clifford, 14
- gender
 role in politics, 174–89
- geneological relationships, 47
- General Allocation Fund (DAU), 149
- Gereja Kristen Sulawesi Tengah (GKST), 357
- Giriloyo, 195
- Golkar (Golongan Karya), 13, 15, 63, 72
 Dayak politicians, 330
 defeat in legislative elections (1999), 155
 North Maluku, 320–21
 organizational structure, 276
 poor showing at *pilkada*, 118
 strength in North Maluku, 314–22
 success in North Maluku, 318–22
 support of Syaukina, 232

- golongan putih, *see also* golput
golput, 19
 Kebumen district, 183
golput phenomenon, 183
 good governance
 pressure on for, 8
 Government Regulation, 54, 263
 governance
 informal practices, 125–46
 Governor of the Special Province of
 Jogjakarta, 193
 GPH Yudhanigrat, 194, 196, 216,
 217, 224
 grass-roots voters, 54
 rejection of candidates supported by
 political parties, 70
 response to candidacy processes, 68,
 70
 growth triangle
 Batam-Singapore-Johor, 77
 gubernatorial elections
 Papua, 259–82
 Guided Democracy Period, 13
 Gunung Kidul, 212, 214, 227
 candidates in, 215
 Gus Dur, *see also* Abdurrahman Wahid
 attending Nur Yachman's rally,
 166
- H**
- Habibie, B.J., 3, 77
 Habibie Cabinet, 213
 Hana Satriyo, 175
 Hari Sabarno, 263
Harian Pos Kota Kutai Baru, 233
 Harta Sanjaya, 112, 113
 Hartono (General), 223
 Harwell, Emily, 330
 Haynes, classifications of, 7
 Hendro Martoyo, 159, 161
 keen eye on media, 163
 nomination by PPP, 165
 reasons for likely victory, 162, 163
 unlikely loss, 163–64
 victory, 167
 Hendro Plered, 218
 Hendropriyono, 264
 Hesegeg, Alex, 271
 Hidayat Nur Wahid, 97, 223
 High Court (Mahkamah Agung)
 settlement of disputes, 20
 Hilly, Benyamin, 244
 Human Rights Commission
 (KOMNAS HAM), 288
 Huntington, 7
 Husbandri, 96
- I**
- Ibnu Sutowo, 77
 Ibo, John, 271, 272, 274, 278
 Idham Samawi, 194, 195, 198, 199,
 204, 218
 criticisms against, 200, 201
 superior position, 205
 views of ordinary people, 200
Ikrar Nusa Bhakti, 281
 illiberal democracy, 31
 Indonesian Association of Commercial
 Radio Stations, 254
 Indonesian Association of Economics,
 40
 Indonesian Association of Local
 Television Stations, 250
 Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW),
 129, 130, 350
 Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), 15
 Indonesian Environmental Network,
 289
 Indonesian Journalists Association, 153
 Indonesian Survey Circle, 88
 informal economy, 128
 informal governance practices
 dangers, 125–46, 132–34
 decentralization policy
 effect of, 126
 emergence, 128

- informal market practices, 133
 Institute of Dayaklogy Research and Development, 331
 International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), 32
 intra-Papua migration, 267
 intra-Papuan struggle, 279
 Inul Daratista, 219
 Ismeth Abdullah, 78
 Ismunder Syah, 321
 Istar Yuliadi, 218
 Iwan Dzulvan Amir, 227
- J**
- Jambi
 student protests, 139
 Jambi case, 137–41
 Jambi Legislative Assembly, 138
 Jambi Pro-People Student Movement, 139
 Jambi Provincial Annual Budget, 138
 Jambi Tourist and Recreation Park, 138
 JAMPPPI (Community Network of Election Monitors), 230
 Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih Untuk Rakyat (JPPR), 155
 Javanese domination, 32
Jawa Pos, 72
 Jawa Pos conglomerate, 253
 Jawa Pos Group, 243
jawara-pengusaha
 definition, 135
 Jayapura, 265, 266
 demonstrations, 274
 Jepara, 24, 158–60
 candidates, 164–67
 civil society, 158
 elections (2004), 159
 open local political economy, 160
 pilkada election, 148
 political public, 168
- Jogjakarta, 193
 daerah istimewa, 212
 decline of royal power, 203–205
 formation of special region, 227
judil surveys, 230
 Justice and Prosperous Party, 196
 Jusuf Kalla, 125
- K**
- Kabupaten Pangkep, 104–108
 Kahpat, Sebastian, 338, 345
Kalimantan Review, 331, 332
Kampanye Dialogis, 224
 Kao communities, 307
 Kapuas Hulu, 349
 pilkada results, 337
 Karma, Constant, 272
 Karsoprayitno, 179
 Kasultanan Jogjakarta
 importance of, 192–94
 survival of, 206
 Kebumen district, 25, 174–89
 campaigns, 180–86
 candidates, 180
 candidates for *pilkada*, 177
 composition of DPRD, 177
 direct presidential election results, 186
 effect of political fatigue, 183
 level of participation in elections, 184
 pilkada results, 180–86
 political landscape of, 176–80
Kedaulatan Rakyat, 195, 202, 224
 Ken Sudarto, 185
kepala daerah, 38, 40, 44, 46
 role of, 21
kepala wilayah, 40
 Kepulauan, 103
 Ketapang, 349
 pilkada results, 336
 Koh Syamsir *see* Syamsir Amas
 Komaruddin, 270, 271

- Komaruddin Watubun, 273, 281
komisi
 business partners, from, 179
 Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah (KPUD), 19
 Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU), 19
Kompas, 72
 Kota Poso, 366
kraton elephants
 use during campaigning, 222
 Kukar District Government Radio Station, 234
 Kukar TV, 233
 Kutai
 case study, 231–35
 Kutai Kartanegara, 250
 candidates, 233
kyai, 161
 Kyai Arga, 222
- L**
 Labuan Bajo, 300
 Landak, 335
 Layang, Jacobus, 332
 Law No. 22/1999, 17, 125, 176
 Article, 7, 44
 Law No. 23/2000, 135, 144
 Law No. 32/2004, 17, 18, 30, 56, 102, 149, 176, 194
 le Maistre, Joseph, 49
 Lembaga Bela Banua Talino, 331
 Lembayu, 334
 legal reforms
 post-Soeharto, 148
 Legislative Assembly, election, 56
 legislative elections (1999)
 Golkar, defeat of, 155
 legislature, regional, 55
 liberal democracies, 5
 advanced, 157
 progress towards, 25
 Liberal Democracy Period, 13
 liberal democratic theory, 150
- Liem Sioe Liong, 77
 Lilik Lujayanti, 99
 Lilirilau, 113
 Lina Thyll-Duerr Foundation, 119
 Lis Sigilipu, 364
 Local Assembly
 elections of local government, 74
 local democracy
 role of *pilkada*, 48
 local election commission
 screening of candidates, 152
 local elections, 2–4
 democratization process, 17
 media impact on, 229–55
 Papua and Indonesia, similarities, 276–78
 victory of minor political parties, 71
 local heads (*kepala daerah*), 21
 local government heads
 direct election system, 75
 local-central government relationship, 40, 41
 logic of electoralism, 10
 LP3ES (Institute for Research, Education and Information on Social and Economic Affairs), 230
 survey conducted, 61
 Lukas Enembe, 267, 268
 Luna, Yacobus, 338, 339, 344
- M**
 Majelis Adat dan Budaya Melayu, 334
 Majelis Rakyat Papua (MRP), 261
 Majun, Laurentius, 337, 345
 Makian communities, 307
 Malay origin
 Batam population, 77
 Malay-Muslims, 28
 Malino Declaration, 360
 Maluku, 235, 260
 Manado, 235, 236, 239–43, 250
 choice of mayor, 242

- communication means influencing voter's choice, 241
 - Golkar funding, 239
 - Manggarai, 27, 283–85
 - accusations of irregularities, 284
 - choice of people or rule of law, 295–99
 - during Reform Period, 285–89
 - election preparations, 293
 - new form of democracy, 299
 - pilkada*
 - candidates, 292
 - results of, 297
 - wealth of candidates, 293
 - Sultan's second attempt at political revival, 308
 - tim sukses*, 291
 - Manokwari, 262, 265, 266
 - Mansur, 116
 - Mappatuntu, 112
 - mayoral elections
 - Batam, 74–100
 - Batam (2006), 79
 - Marissa Haque, 217
 - Masiun, Stephanus, 342
 - Masun Duri, 171
 - Masyumi, 14
 - Matari Advertising Company, 185
 - mayoral elections
 - Batam, 23
 - Mecer, A.R., 331
 - media
 - Batam mayoral elections (2006), 86
 - impact on local elections, 229–55
 - Kutai, 231–35
 - Manado, 239–43
 - North Sulawesi, 235–39
 - Media Indonesia, 245
 - media relations
 - Hendro Martoyo, 163
 - Megawati Sukarnoputri, 3
 - relations with Rustiningsih, 184
 - West Irian Jaya dispute, 263
 - Melanesian race, 262
 - Melawi
 - pilkada* results, 343, 344
 - Mertasaranan, 219
 - Merauke, 274
 - Metro TV Network, 245
 - military
 - seats in National Assembly, 3
 - Military Academy, Magelang, 42
 - Minister of Home Affairs, 149
 - Kutai *pilkada*, 232
 - personal influence, 41–43
 - Minister of Research and Technology, 94
 - Ministry of Home Affairs, 17, 58, 60
 - modern society
 - fundamental trends, 11
 - Mohammad A. Musa'ad, 268
 - money politics, 4, 22, 126, 129–31, 191
 - direct, 130
 - direct and indirect, 129
 - justification for practices, 142
 - practices of, 333
 - unavoidability, 161
 - Morkes Effendi, 336, 337, 345
 - Mubijarto (Professor), 42
 - Muhammad Irkham, 251
 - Muhaimin Iskandar, 96
 - Muhammad Nur, 98
 - Muhammad Nusa'ad, 273
 - Muhammadiyah
 - Bantul district, 202
 - multi-dimensional agenda, 43
 - Mulyadi Yamin-Susanna Regina team, 342
 - Munarfah, 112, 113
 - municipal government
 - decentralized, 92
- N**
- Nada Faza Soraya, 91, 98
 - Nadhlatul Ulama, 14

- Jepara, 158
 Bantul district, 202
 Nashirudin, 181
 National Assembly (DPR), 248
 military guaranteed seats, 3
 political parties, 152
 National Budget
 project fees, 137
 National Court, Ruteng, 296
 National Democratic Institute of
 International Affairs (NDI), 26,
 230
 national election campaigns, 211
 National Election Commission, 57
 National Ulama Awakening Party
 (PKNU), 96
 Nationalist Party (PNI), 14
 Nationhood and Caring Party, 196
 Nazief Soesila Dharma, 84, 85
 neo-patrimonial social political system,
 8
 neo-traditional moral hierarchy
 system of, 8
 New Order, 13
 end of, 2, 15
 criticism of, 40, 41
 New Order regime
 collapse of, 74
 non-government organizations, 32
 media-related, 153
 non-oil exports
 Batam, 78
 North Maluku, 27
 attempted return of Sultan, 303–26
 community polarization, 323
 geographical information, 304
 Golkar
 campaign financing, 319
 political protection, 319–20
 Golkar's success factors, 318–22
 legislative election (2004), 310–
 11
 local elections (2005), 312–14
 local party machine organization,
 320–21
 patron-client bonds, 316
 gubernatorial elections (2002), 309–
 10
 patronage as policy
 success of Golkar, 318–22
 popular candidate selection, 321
 Queen Nita, 311
 strength of Golkar, 314–22
 Sultan's first attempt at political
 revival, 305–308
 theory of political machines, 315–
 18
 North Sulawesi, 235–39, 256
 choice of Governor based on
 communication, 237
 methods influencing vote for
 Governor, 238
 Voter Attitude Survey, 236
 Notosuwito, 202
 Nur Yachman
 campaign in Jepara, 166
 Nyi Gilang, 222
- O**
 O'Donnell, Guillermo, 30
 Oevaang Oeray, 329, 330, 348
 Ong Boon Nga, 227
 Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM),
 261
 Ostrom, Vincent, 127
otonomi kebablasan, 143
 Outer Islands, 14, 47
 Oyugi, 127
- P**
 Paal Merah, 138
 Paguyuban Lurah Tunggul Jati, 201
 Paharuddin Nur, 120
 Pancasila Democracy Period, 13
 Pancur Kasih Foundation, 331, 332,
 349, 350

- Pangkajene, 103
- Pangkep, 103
- pilkada* compared to Soppeng, 115–17
- pilkada* results, 108–109
- pilkada* voting, 109, 114
- panwas*
- Kebumen district, 180
- panwaslu*, 59
- election watch, 72
- Papua
- Act of Free Choice, 280
- candidates, bureaucrats, 276
- candidates from coast and interior, 267–73
- democratic deregulation, 378
- direct elections, 260
- elections, 266
- gubernatorial elections, 259–82, 260
- local elections, 261–63
- number of tribes, 280
- special autonomy, 49, 261–63
- Papua Development Board, 270
- Papuan People's Council, 27
- Papuanness
- debate on, 279
- definition, 274
- Papuans
- economic marginalization, 267
- Parliamentary Democracy period, 14, 39
- Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI), 175
- Partai Demokrat, 161
- Partai Demokrat Kebangsaan
- North Maluku, 308
- Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), 72
- Partai Pelopor, 96
- Partai Persatuan Dayak
- abolishment of, 348
- party coalitions
- Batam mayoral elections (2006), 80–85
- party system, centralized, 22
- party systems, stabilization of, 16
- Pasaribu, Richard, 88
- Batam mayoral elections (2006), 83
- Patappe, 106, 108
- patrimonialism, 9
- patron-client networks, 8
- patron-client relationships, 154
- pawai budaya*, 221
- PBB
- Islamist political party, 63
- PDI-P, 63
- Batam, 91
- pela-gandong* communal institutions, 370
- Peluso, Nany Lee, 330
- pemilihan kepala daerah langsung *see* *pilkada*
- pemilihan umum*, 57
- Penembahan Hospital, 198
- People's Consultative Assembly, 94
- People's Voter Education Network, 155
- performances, 217–25
- petrol money
- definition, 161
- Petrus, Simon, 341
- PGRS/Paraku guerillas, 348
- pilkada*
- Bantul district, 190–208
- Banyuwangi, 155
- benefits of, 152
- Bengkayang, 338, 339
- campaign process, 153
- campaigns, 157
- candidates, 60
- case studies, 26
- decentralization of, 57–60, 59
- definition, 72, 147
- dominance of political parties, 19
- elections funded by regional governments, 58
- electoral processes, 59
- evidence of voter autonomy, 155

- Jepara, 148
 - future of, 160
- Kapuas Hulu, 337
- Ketapang, 336, 337
- legal basis, 17
- legitimacy issues, 157–58
- Manggarai, candidates, 292
- Melawi, 343, 344
- monitoring of, 106
- opening up of more opportunities, 18
- Pangkep, results, 108–109
- Papua, 259–82
- political parties, 53–73
- poor results of Golkar, 118
- Poso, candidates, 363
- practice of money politics, 129
- research on, 148
- results for Manggarai, 297
- results in Poso, 368
- role of political parties, 60, 61, 64
- schedule of, 56
- Sekadau, 341
- Sintang, 339–40
- Soppeng, results, 113–14
- South Sulawesi, 103–104
- voter turnout, 60
- voters, behaviour of, 20
- West Kalimantan, 347
- Yogyakarta, 211–28
- pilkada* (2005)
 - direct money politics, 130
- pilkada* election
 - bupati* level, 225
- pilkada* election campaigns, 213
- pilkada* langsung, 38–49
 - problem with system, 45–48
- pilkada* process
 - correlation with performance of local government, 129
 - positive effects of, 59
- Plengkung Gading, 202
- Pokja, 30, 234
- political activity
 - intensification of, 11
- political culture
 - Kebumen district, 176
- political decentralization, 74
- political equality, 127
- political fatigue
 - Kebumen district, 183
- political investors
 - involvement of, 132
- political participation
 - importance of, 128
- political parties
 - Batam Municipal Assembly, 80
 - coalition-building, 62
 - coalitions, 61, 62, 68
 - pragmatism, 68
 - coalitions between different ideological lines, 65
 - dominance in *pilkada*, 19
 - organization malfunction of, 79
 - organizational conflicts over candidates, 69
 - political culture of, 64
 - ideological irrelevance, 15
 - problems of, 61
 - re-emergence, 15
 - role and limitations of, 54
 - role in direct elections, 22
 - role in *pilkada*, 60, 61
 - successful coalitions, 66, 67
 - victory of minor parties, 71
 - weak, 9
 - weakening of, 90–92
- political reforms
 - advocates of, 74
- political system
 - reform, 29
- politicians
 - long-standing, 156
 - oligarchic nature of, 191
- politics
 - importance of personal networks, 101–24

- Pontianak, 335
- populist policies
 Bantul district *pilkada*, 198–203
- Positive peace-negative peace
 framework, 354
- Poso, 27, 28
 chronology of communal conflict,
 358–61
 Golkar, 363
 implementation of decentralization,
 356
 local population, 356
 Malino Declaration, 360
 Partai Damai Sejahtera, 356, 362
 Partai Demokrat, 364
 Partai Patriot Pancasila, 364
 PDI-P, 364
pilkada, 362–369
 candidates, 363
pilkada results, 368
 recent conflict history, 357–61
 socio-political dynamics, 355–57
- post-New Order
 institutional changes, 102–103
- post-*pilkada* system
 informal governance, 137–41
- post-Soeharto period
 legal reforms, 148
- Power of Freies Ermessen, 40
- pre-*pilkada*
 informal governance, 135
- preman*
 rise of, 4
- premanisme proyek*, 136, 142
- presidential direct elections, 7, 55
- presidential elections, 5
- presidential system, 5
- principle of law
 respect for, 21
- private government, 135
- Prodata Batam, 95
- Program Pemberdayaan Sistem Hutan
 Kerakyatan, 331
- project fees
 category and source of funds, 137
- project racketeering, 136
- Prosperity and Peace Party (PDS), 244
- Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) *see*
 Partai Keadilan Sejahtera
- PT Jawa Media Televisi, 243
- PT Karya Restu, 138, 144
- PT Lasana Aneka Sarana, 138
- Public Works Service, 162
- Publika Manado, 240
- Puncak Jaya, 267
- putra daerah*, 28, 77, 157, 178
- Q**
- qasidah*
 use in campaigning, 219, 220
- quasi-democratic government, 47
- Queen Nita, 311
- Quick Count, 244
- R**
- Rachmawati Sukarnoputri, 96
- Rahmat Katilah, 343, 344
- rallies, 217–25
- Ratna Widiasuti, 155
- Reagan, Ronald, 248
- recreational campaign, 153
- recruitment practices, 156
- Reform Period, 13, 14
 Manggarai, 286
- reformasi, 148–50
- reformasi movement, 4, 43, 44
- reforms
 calls for, 3
 role in politics, 174–89
- regent's assistant, 300
- regional autonomy
 critics, 149
 laws, 22
 move towards, 2
- Regional Budget
 project fees, 137

- Regional Election Commission (KPU), 58, 153
 Batam, 87
 Kebumen district, 180
 Regional Election Oversight Committee (Panwasda), 153
 regional heads (*kepala daerah*)
 legal position, 55
 role of, 21
 Regional Income Service, 162
 regional leaders
 election of, 18
 regional legislature, 55
 regional Representative Council, 194
 registration data, outdated, 277
 Reno, William, 128, 132, 133
 representation, question of, 10
 Rhoma Irama, 219
 Ria Saptarika, 88
 Batam mayoral elections (2006), 82, 83
 Riau, 243, 260
 Rimba Rogi, 251
 Riswanto, 194
 Rogi, Jimmy Rimba, 239, 240
 Rotok, Christian, 283, 296
 confirmed as regent, 296
 rule of law, 1
 Rulli, 117
 Rustiningsih
 anti-KKN stance, 178
 charges of corruption, 182
 first woman *bupati*, 175
 head of PDI-P in Kebumen, 178
 Kebumen District, 174
 member of PDI, 175
 neo-patron–client relationship, 186
 number of votes, 181
 reasons for success in *pilkada*, 185
 relations with Megawati, 184
 use of information technology, 185
 victory by wide margin, 183
- S**
 Sahat Sianturi, 84, 85, 97
 Salim Group, 77
santri, 14
 Jepara, 166
 Sarundajang, 235, 251
 Sasongko, 179
 School for Village Government, 202
 Schulte-Nordholt, Henk, 132, 134
 Schwarzenegger, Arnold, 248
SDM rendah, 284
 Sekadau
pilkada results, 341
selawatan
 use during campaigning, 219
 Selo Sumardjan (Prof), 42
sembako
 definition, 131
 Sentani, 267
 Serang, 135
 Serui, 267
 shadow state, 128, 133
 Sierra Leone
 study on, 132
 Singapore
 investment in Batam, 94
 Sintang
pilkada results, 339–40
 Sir Karl Popper Foundation, 119
 sistem *pilkada* langsung *see* direct elections
 Sleman, 212, 213
 Ebiet G. Ade, 217
 Sutrisno/Yulianto team, 216
 Smeru Institute, 3
 Smith, Brian, 127
 social organizations
 Batam mayoral elections, 85
 Soeharto
 fall of, 5
 New Order regime, 306
 Soepardjo Rustam (General), 42, 49
 Sodakh, A. J., 235

- Sofian Hadi, 344
- Solossa, Jaap, 262, 263
 death of, 272
- Sondaqh, Angelina, 217
- Soppeng, 103
pilkada, 109–13
pilkada compared to Pangkep, 115–17
pilkada results, 113–14
- Sorong, 266, 267
- South Asia
 study of democracy in, 4
- South Sulawesi, 101–24
 candidate's sociological profiles, 103
 elections for district head, 23
pilkada, 103–104
 voter turnout, 103
- Special Allocation Fund (DAK), 149
- special autonomy, 26
- Special Autonomy Region, 274
- spirit of democracy, 127
- state actors
 lack of democratic behaviour, 128
- student protests
 Jambi, 139
- Suara Merdeka*, 161, 165
- Subiyanto-Sri Purnomo team, 217
- success teams, 233
- Sudiro Lesmana, 138, 139
- Suebu, 270
 election campaign, 271
- Sukarno
 policy of centralizing power, 306
 fall of, 62
- Sulawesi
 migrants from, 267
- Sultan Haji Mudaffar Shah II, 303
 return of, 303–26
- Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, 193
- Sultan Hamengkubuwono X, 193,
 196, 201, 204, 213
- Sultan of Jogjakarta, 193
- Sultan of Ternate, 27
- Sultanate of Jogjakarta, 191
- Suman Kurik, 343, 344
- Sumarno
 running mate of Idham Samawi,
 195
- Sumarsono, 118
- Sumawati Sukarnoputri, 96
- Supriyanto, 179
- Surabaya, 243–48
 method determining choice of
 mayoral candidate, 246
 method of choice of mayoral
 candidates, 247
 Voter Attitude Survey, 244
- Suryatman Gidot, 344
- Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, 3, 55,
 125, 263
- Sutrisno/Yulianto
 Sleman, 216
- Syafruddin Nur, 104
- Syamsir Amas, 304, 312
 personal skills, 322
- Syariah law, 32
- Syarif Hidayat, 325
- Syaukani Hassan Rais (Prof), 232
- T**
- Tajuddin Noor, 251
- Taman Rimba, 138
- Tamrin Amal Tomagola, 324
- Tanjungpura University, 330
- Taufik Fachruddin, 104
- teachers
 Bantul primacy schools, 199
- television
 impact in Manado elections, 240
- Telivisi Kutai Kartanegara, 233
- Tender Committee, 136
- Ternate, 27
 application of Chubb's post-conflict,
 317
 conflict in, 307, 308, 323
 elections, 304

entrenchment of local New Order elites, 323
 kraton records, 306
 local elections (2005), 312–14
 National Senate election results, 311
 opposing Muslim forces, 308
see also North Maluku
 Thaksin Shinawatra, 245
 Timika, 262
 Third World
 consolidation of democracy in, 7
 Totok Sudarto, 194, 196
 triumphalism, 5
 Tualle, 116
 Tuan Besar, 135, 136
 influence on Tender Committee, 136
 Tuban, 53, 157
 Tutut Soeharto, 223
 two-turnover test, 7

U

unipolar legitimacy, 40
 United Development Party (PPP), 15
 United Party, 348
 United States of America
 disenfranchisement of prisoners, 2
 elections (2000), 1
 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 32
 Universitas Kutai Kartanegara, 232
 Untung Santosa, 227
 Usop (Prof), 277

V

Valdesz Junianto, 98
 van Mook (Dr), 49
 Viktor Slamet, 295
 Village Election Committees, 181
 village heads
 election of, 226
 vote-buying, 154
 vote counting
 disputes over, 20

Voter Attitude Survey, 234, 236
 Surabaya, 244
 voter registration
 problematic nature, 277
 voter turnout, 12
 voters
 autonomy doubted, 155
 elites, view of, 154–55
 irrational, 156
 lacking of autonomy, 161
 low turnouts in advanced liberal democracies, 157
 voting
 Batam mayoral elections (2006), 86–88
 Pangkep *pilkada*, 109, 114
 relationship to democracy, 1
 voting behaviour, 154–55

W

Wabiser, Dick Henk, 272, 277
 Wahyuddin Hussein, 244
 Wajong, Gabriel Thody, 283, 295
 Wardi Armowiyono, 96
 Water Boom case, 138
 Water Boom Project, 138, 139, 140, 141
 cancellation, 139
wayang kulit
 use during campaigning, 218
wedana, 41
 Wempie Frederik, 239
 West African countries
 study on democracy in, 4
 West Irian Jaya, 260, 262
 dispute, 263–67
 establishment of, 264
 West Kalimantan, 28
 birth of ethnic politics, 333–35
 Dayak bureaucrats, 327–51
 ethnic violence, 328
 ethnicity, 335–44
 Malay-Madurese violent ethnic clash, 334

pilkada, 335–44
 religious matters, 335–44
 winners of *pilkada*, 347
 West Manggarai, formation of, 288
 West Papua, 26
 Western Flores, 27
 White, Barbara Harris, 128, 132, 133
 White Hulubalang Paramilitary Group
 (Laskat Hulubalang Putih), 85
 Winarno, Jarot, 340, 344
 Work Unit Budget Document, 136
 World Bank, 3

Y

Yappika (Foundation for
 Strengthening Participation,
 Initiative and Partnerships in
 Indonesian Society), 230

Yayasan Tanah Merdeka, 367
 Yogyakarta
pilkada, 211–28
pilkada (2005), 25
 Yudha/Aziz campaign, 225
 Yudhaningrat factor
 Bantul district *pilkada*, 203
 Yusuf Kalla, 156, 270
 advice to district heads, 153

Z

Zainuddin MZ, 220
 Zangger-Weber Foundation, 119
 Zoerman Manaf, 138, 139
 Zulbahri
 Batam mayoral elections (2006), 81
 Zulfina Nora, 224
 Zulkifli Nurdin, 137, 139