

INDEX

A

absolutist class rule, 51
Ahok (Basuki Tjahaja Purnama), 2,
7, 57, 80, 91, 110, 118, 155, 160n2,
171, 179, 180, 188, 209, 241
blasphemy controversy, 2–3, 57–59,
91, 110
defeat and incarceration, 3
defeat of, 114–15
mass demonstrations against, 2, 119
mass mobilizations against, 98
mobilization against, 155
vocal opposition to, 114
Aidit, D.N., 98
Aku Cinta Islam (I love Islam, ACI),
161n14
“Alap-Alap” (Falcons), 205
Al-Habsyi, Fachry, 100
Aliansi Cerahkan Negeri (Brightening
the Nation Alliance or ACN),
155–56
Aliansi Cinta Keluarga (AILA) or
Family Love Alliance, 153–54
Ali Murtopo, 168
Al-Makmur mosque attack, 99–102
Amien Rais, 101
Andi Arief, 76
Andi Widjajanto, 78
Ansor, 121
anti-Chinese riots, 184

anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia,
91, 110
anti-Chinese disinformation using
social media, 91, 93, 95–99
asing dan aseng, 92, 94
colonization conspiracy theory,
93–94, 97–98
conspiracy narratives, 92–94
false narratives, 95
May Day rally, 94
in media, 94–95
semaphore of Amien Rais, 94
violence, 97–99
anti-foreign capital agitation, 56
anti-mobilization authoritarianism, 48
Armayanti, Nelly, 245–46
artificial intelligence (AI), 7, 67–68, 85
political micro-targeting using,
67–68
Aspinall, Edward, 221
authoritarianism, 22, 48, 113, 243
Automatic Identification System
(AIS), 68

B

Badan Musyawarah Betawi, 122
Badan Pemilihan Nasional (BPN), 276
Badan Permusyawaratan
Kewarganegaraan Indonesia

- (Indonesian Consultative
Citizenship Body or Baperki),
167–68
- Bakrie, Aburizal, 27, 183
- Bambang Soesatyo, 122
- Bandung Institute of Technology
(ITB), 76
- Bangkalan, swing of votes in, 231–32
- Banser, 121
- Baswedan, Anies, 3
- Bawaslu, 36
- Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), 92
- Betawi organization, 122
- bi-class political economy, 48
- binary electoral politics, 239–43
ideological stances, 240
religious binarism, 239–59
religious-geopolitical bifurcation
and, 247–56
- black campaign, 91
- Boyolali look (*muka Boyolali*), 207,
215
- Bravo-5, 148, 160n3
- Buruh Go Politik* (“Workers Go
Politics”), 127
- C**
- Cakra 19, 78
- campaign hashtags
#AksiBelaQuran, 155, 160n2
#2019GantiPresiden, 74–75, 155–56
#Jokowi2periode, 74
#MeToo, 157
#MuslimvoteMuslim, 155, 160n2
#NoHoax, 119
#NoIntimidasi, 119
#PEPESDatangKelar, 150
#PEPESKepung, 150
#PrabowoJumatanDimana, 76–77
#UninstallFeminism, 155
- Central Java
dominant parties in, 213–16
- identity politics and ideology,
208–13
- militancy and voluntarism, 202–8
- number of registered voters, 200
- population size, 200
- 2019 presidential election, 199–217
- Centre for Gender Studies (CGS),
151
- Centre for Strategic and International
Studies (CSIS), 168
- Chandra, Sri Vira, 151–52, 156
- Chinese Communist Party, 97
- Chinese Indonesians, 10, 183–86,
193n8. *See also* ethnic Chinese
political participation
- Cholil, Syaichona, 232
- Chung Hwa Hui (CHH), 166
- civil society groups, role of politics,
34, 37, 53, 63
- class absolutism, 48
- clique rule, 49–50
- collectivity of cliques, 46
- Communication Forum of the Sons
and Daughters of Military and
Police Retirees (FKPPI), 119
- Confucianism, 181
- Corona Team, 78–79
- Corruption Eradication Commission
(KPK), 63
- Council of Indonesian Muslim
Intellectuals and Young Ulama
(MIUMI), 151
- cyber campaign, 71–77. *See also* social
media
anti-Chinese disinformation, 95–99
influencers and buzzers, 74, 85n2
influential hashtags, 73–75, 155
Jasmev 4.0, 80–81
popular keywords, 71, 85n7
using Twitter, 71, 73, 76–77, 82,
85n6

- WhatsApp communications, 70, 72–73, 82, 85n6, 96–97, 156, 161n13
- women's political participation, 154–57
- D**
- democratic elections, indications of successful, 26
- democratic space, 55
- democratic stagnation, 6, 26–30
- factors contributing to, 32–35
- in Indonesia, 32–35
- Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII), 151
- Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD), 30
- Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (house of representatives, DPR), 23, 25, 151, 165
- Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD) Provinsi, 165
- Dhani, Ahmad, 59
- Dhyta Caturani, 157, 161n16
- digital feminist activism, 157–59
- disinformation campaign, 5, 7–8, 67, 100, 102–3, 152, 156
- Al-Makmur mosque attack, 99–102
- anti-Chinese, 91, 93, 95–99
- influence on voters, 68
- spread of, 99
- WhatsApp communications, 70, 72–73, 82, 85n6, 96–97, 156, 161n13
- Drone Emprit, 71
- E**
- Edy Rahmayadi, 246
- Eldin, Dzulmi, 245
- election characteristics and campaign strategies
- artificial intelligence (AI), use of, 67–68
- big data analysis, 77–83
- diversion of netizens' attention, 75–76
- "one package" campaign, 131–32
- patterns of cyber campaigning, 71–77
- social media platforms, use of, 69–71
- spread and penetration of eye-catching news, 69, 73–74
- trending topics, 74
- using Twitter, 71, 73, 76–77, 82, 85n6
- WhatsApp communications, 70, 72–73, 82, 85n6, 161n13
- electoral laws, Indonesia, 131
- Elimination of Sexual Violence (Rancangan Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual, or RUU-PKS), 152, 154
- elite-mass conflict, 50
- emak-emak* (mothers), 146–50, 152
- Employees Social Security System (BPJS Ketenagakerjaan), 117, 122
- Endah, Alberthiene, 206
- ethnic Chinese political participation, 166
- achievement of Chinese-Indonesian MPs, 179–80
- Christians among, 179
- 2014 election and 2019 election, 183–91
- informal, 180–83
- and name-changing regulation, 170–71
- in parliamentary elections, 171–79
- peranakan* and *totok* (*singkeh*), 166
- during post-Suharto era, 170
- reasons for demise of, 170–71
- F**
- Fadli Zon, 76, 95

- Fajar, Ustadz (Muhammad Fajrudluha), 119
- fake news, politics-related, 30, 34, 68–70, 77, 85n5, 92, 95, 97, 186–87
- anti-Chinese disinformation using social media, 95–99
- Facebook posts, 97–98
- “mosque attack” disinformation, 99–102
- Family Resilience Bill, 154
- Fatayat, 9
- Federasi Serikat Pekerja Metal Indonesia (FSPMI), 127
- feminist ideas of women’s emancipation, 147
- fiction intelligence, 93
- Fitriah Abdul Aziz, 151
- floating mass policy, 47
- Forkabi, 112
- Forum Betawi Rempug (FBR), 9, 112, 116–20, 122
- Forum Demokrasi Kebangsaan (Fordeka), 171
- Forum Umat Islam (FUI), 114
- Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defenders Front, FPI), 3, 61–62, 94, 98, 101, 110–12, 114–15, 118, 120–23, 189, 210, 226–30, 276
- discrimination against Shi’a community, 229
- full-fledged cyber election, 7
- G**
- Ganjar Pranowo, 11
- “#2019GantiPresiden” hashtag, 74–75
- Garuda, 23
- Gatot Nurmantyo, General, 6, 14n7
- Gatot Pujo Nugroho, 245
- General Elections Commission (KPU), 24–27, 30–32, 34, 36, 204, 224
- Gerakan Masyarakat Jakarta (GMJ), 114
- Gerakan Nasional Pembela Fatwa—Majelis Ulama Indonesia (GNPF—MUI), 276
- Gerakan Rabu Biru (Blue Wednesday Movement or GRB), 149–50
- Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia Baru (GRIB), 113
- Gerindra party, 60, 62, 136, 201, 203–4, 207, 274
- Golkar, 4, 13n1, 23–24, 168–69, 172–73, 175, 202, 274
- governance in Indonesia, 48
- Great Indonesia Movement Party (Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya or Gerindra), 1–2
- G30S (Gerakan Tiga Puluh September) movement, 168
- H**
- habaib*, 118, 226–28
- Habibie, B.J., 186
- Hakka Federation (Keshu Lianyi Hui 客属联谊会), 183
- Hamka, Jusuf, 189
- Hanura, 23
- Hasan, Bob, 50
- Hatta Rajasa, 184, 270
- Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), 3, 59, 71, 206, 221
- Huang Jinlai, 187
- I**
- Ida Fauziyah, 202, 204, 207
- identity politics and ideology, 12, 111, 121, 146–47, 150, 266–67
- in Central Java, 208–13
- ethnic and religious identities, 268
- ethnic Chinese, 165–68
- mismatch between performance in national and local elections, 275–77

- patronage and clientelist networks, 268–69
- in South Sumatra and Lampung, 269–70, 273–75
- ideological divide among voters, 2
- illiberal democracy, 55
- Indonesia Adil Makmur* coalition, 13n1
- Indonesia Indicator, 82
- Indonesia Maju*, 13n1
- Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN), 150
- Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI), 3
- Indonesian democracy, 4, 13, 21, 232
- flaws of, 22
- rule of law, 22
- stagnation of, 32–35
- Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. *See* Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)
- Indonesian economy, 128
- Indonesian elections, 2019, 1
- Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI), 47, 49, 213–15
- Indonesian National Police (Polri), 97
- Indonesian police, 14n8
- Indonesia-oriented Partai Tionghoa Indonesia (PTI), 166
- Indonesia's electoral politics, 4
- comparison of 2014 and 2019 elections, 5–8
- legislative candidates, 8, 15n12
- mobilization of conservative Islamic forces, 7
- open proportional system, 15n11
- role of Indonesian elites, 7
- use of instruments of government, 6
- use of new technologies, 7
- “Indonesia Tanpa Feminis” (Indonesia Without Feminism), 155
- Indonesia Tanpa JIL (Indonesia without Liberal Islam, ITJ), 161n14
- “Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran” (Indonesia Without Dating or ITP), 155, 161n13
- Instagram, 70, 74, 82, 97, 101, 155, 158–59
- Intelligence Media Management (IMM), 82
- International Council of Women (ICW), 146
- Islamic Defenders Militias (LPI), 210
- Islamic feminism in Indonesia, 10
- Islamic moderates-pluralists *vs* Islamic conservatives, 2
- Ismail Fahmi, 71, 86n10
- J**
- Jasmev 4.0, 80–81
- Jasmev Classic, 80–81
- Jasmev Glaring, 81
- Jasmev Hardcore, 81
- Jasmev Millennial, 81
- Jasmev Parahyangan, 81
- Jasmev Playground, 81
- Jejak News Agency, 100
- Jokowi, 46, 54, 57, 61, 67–68, 113–14, 146, 176, 183, 186, 199, 238, 275
- black propaganda against, 58
- campaign strategy, 211
- coalition, 11
- cyber campaign, 71–74
- defeat in Madura, 222–25
- digital campaigns, 77
- election campaigns, 70
- image of integrity, 212–13
- Islamic credentials, 3
- political setbacks, 3
- popularity of, 14n4
- 2014 presidential election, 186–88

- 2019 presidential election, 188–91, 199–217, 271–73
 rumours about, 70
 support for, 2014 and 2019, 4, 13n1
 swing of votes in Bangkalan, 231–32
 Twitter activity, 71
 women supporters of, 148–49
 Jokowi–Prabowo presidential race, 2014, 2, 5–6
 Jusuf, Teddy, 181
- K**
 Kalla, Jusuf, 184
 Kartono, Nono, 136
 Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (National Front of Indonesian Muslim Students, KAMMI), 161n14
 Khofifah Indar Parawansa, 149
kiai (religious teachers), 11
 Koalisi Aksi Menyelamatkan Indonesia (KAMI), 64n15
Koalisi Indonesia Hebat, 13n1
Koalisi Merah Putih, 13n1
 Komunitas Alumni Perguruan Tinggi (Community of University Alumni, KAPT), 81
 Kopasandi, 210
 Koster Rinaldi, 72
 Kwik Kian Gie, 179
- L**
 labour movement in national politics, 51–54, 127–28. *See also* Serikat Pekerja Metal Indonesi (SPMI)
 disconnection between union members and representatives in parliament, 132, 140–42
 features, 140
ngaparak strategy, 140
 role of non-union voters, 139–40
 land conflict cases and related deaths, 53
 La Nyalla Mahmud Mattalitti, 230
 Laskar Merah Putih, 112, 116, 119
 Laskar Pembela Islam (LPI), 226
 Lembong, Eddie, 183
 liberal democracy, 55
 Lie Ling Piao, Alvin, 179–80
 Liem Koen Hien, 167
 Lieus Sungkharisma (Li Xuexiong), 169, 189
 Lippo Group, 185–86
 Luhut Pandjaitan, 46
 Lutfi Hakim, 117
- M**
 Madura case, 11, 222–25
Magdalene, 157
 Mahfud MD, 230
Majalah Tempo, 188
 Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), 123, 153, 241, 246
majlis taklim (Islamic study groups), 10, 147, 156
 Mardani Ali Sera, 74
 Ma'ruf Amin, 2–3, 11, 67, 96, 119, 146, 189–90, 212, 220, 238, 241, 272–73, 275–76
 Masyumi Party, 49
 Medan, Anton, 189
 Megawati Sukarnoputri, 14n6, 52, 56, 173, 182, 214
 MEKAAR, 148
 militias and civilian proxies, use in politics, 112–14
 money politics, 28, 31, 33, 37, 243–45
 212 Movement, 58, 60, 62, 112, 115, 117–21, 124n4, 150, 241
 Muhammad al-Kathath, 124n4
 Muhammad Kholil bin Abdul Latif, 227
 multiparty system, 36

- Murba Party, 49
 Musa Rajeckshah, 246
 Muslimah Community for Islamic Studies (KKMI), 151
 Muslim feminist movement, 157–59
 Muslim women's social media, 155
- N**
- Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), 9, 62, 115, 118–19, 158, 204, 207, 220–21, 226, 230, 268
 women's wing of, 149
 Nahra, Mustofa, 74
 NasDem party, 185
 Nasir, Bachtiar, 151, 153
 National Campaign Team (TKN), 275
 National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), 122
 nationalist "replacement theory", 93
 National Monument (Monas), 209
 National Movement for Guarding Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulama Council (GNPF–MUI), 210
 National Movement for People's Sovereignty (GNKR), 96
 National Movement of Fatwa Defenders (GNPF), 241
 Neneng Hasanah, 129
 Neno Warisman, 156
 New Order electoral practices, 7, 146, 168, 185, 201, 268, 270
 New Order era (1966–98), 26, 33, 47–49, 127, 145
 clique rule, 49–50
 electoral democracy, 54–60
 elite-mass conflict, 50
 end of single-clique rule and erosion of class absolutism, 54–60
 form of governance, 51
 trade union activity, 51–54
 transition to democracy, 54–55
- Ngabalin, Abdul Ghani, 123n1
 Nissa Sabyan, 74
 non-elite political forces, 48
 Nur Azizah Tamhid, 151–52
 Nurdin, 130–32, 136–38, 141
 Nurfahroji, Moh, 136–37
 Nyumarno, 130–32, 137, 141–42
- O**
- Obon Tabroni, 133–38
Obor Rakyat (People's Touch), 68, 186–87
 OKE-OCE (One Kecamatan (sub-district), One Centre of Entrepreneurship), 149, 156
 Omnibus Job Creation Law, 2020, 63, 130
ormas (*organisasi kemasyarakatan* or mass/social organizations), 8–9, 112–14, 116, 121
- P**
- Paguyuban Sosial Marga Tionghoa Indonesia (PSMTI), 180, 184
 Paloh, Surya, 185
 Pangestu, Mari, 183
Paradoks Indonesia, 93
 Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party, PAN), 23–24, 60, 94, 131, 169, 173
 Partai Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Indonesia (PBI, PBTI), 169
 Partai Bulan Bintang (Crescent Star Party, PBB), 23, 151
 Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Party, PDI), 168
 Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, PDIP), 13n1, 23–24, 61, 131, 146, 169, 173, 175, 180, 184, 201,

- 203–5, 207, 213–16, 238, 241,
246–47, 274
electoral stronghold, 11
Partai Demokrat (PD), 23, 173, 175
Partai Demokrat Tionghoa Indonesia
(PDTI), 167
Partai Emak-Emak Pendukung
Prabowo–Sandi (“Party” of
Mothers Supporting Prabowo–
Sandi, PEPES), 149–50
social media presence, 150
Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan
Indonesia (Indonesian Justice
and Unity Party, PKPI), 23, 131
Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous
Justice Party, PKS), 23, 57, 62, 71,
74, 131, 151, 205, 238, 246
Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National
Awakening Party, PKB), 173, 221,
274
Partai Komunis Indonesia
(Indonesian Communist Party,
PKI), 47, 49, 145, 166, 168
Partai Patriot, 124n2
Partai Persatuan Pembangunan
(United Development Party,
PPP), 23–24, 114, 131, 202
Partai Reformasi Tionghoa Indonesia
(PARTI), 169
Partai Solidaritas Indonesia
(Indonesian Solidarity Party,
PSI), 23, 49, 176
Party of Functional Groups (Partai
Golongan Karya, Golkar), 3–4,
13n1, 23–24, 168–69, 172–73, 175,
202, 273–74
patron-client politics, 231–32
Pemuda Hijrah, 155, 161n13
Pemuda Pancasila (PP), 9, 109–10,
112, 114, 116–17, 119–20, 122,
124n2
Perhimpunan Indonesia-Tionghoa
(INTI), 181, 184
Perindo, 23
Permadi Satria Wiwoho, 95
Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia
(PITI), 189–90
Persatuan Tionghoa (PT), 167
Pimpinan Unit Kerja (PUK), 133
Pitaloka, Rieke Dyah, 131
polarization, 2, 110–11, 116–21, 240.
See also binary electoral politics
affective, 240
FBR’s strategy, 117–22
FPI’s strategy, 116–23
Islamization of Pancasila, 116–21
opportunity and benefits, 121
social and identity-based, 111, 121
political arrests and imprisonment,
52–53, 60
political campaigns, 29, 31–32
political contestation, 22
political education, 36–37
political micro-targeting, 79, 84. *See
also* cyber campaign; election
characteristics and campaign
strategies
political participation
definition, 165
formal, 166
informal, 166
political parties,
institutionalization of, 35
simplification of, 47
politicization of identity, 30
Poo, Murdaya, 180, 183
poskos [sing. *Posko* or *Pos Komando*
(command post); pl. *poskos*], 203
post-election violence in Indonesia,
90–91, 95–97, 101
post-truth phenomenon, 68–70
power-sharing arrangements, 50–51,
54, 56, 60

- Prabowo–Sandiaga Uno team, 57, 67, 90, 191
- Prabowo Subianto, 2, 58, 113, 118, 146, 183–84, 199, 238, 276
- alignment with 212 Movement, 58
 - approach to coalition building, 57
 - approach to human rights, 63
 - coalition, 119
 - criticism against, 76, 93–94
 - electoral campaign strategy, 113
 - military pedigree and New Order strongman, 112
 - online strategy, 70
 - #PrabowoJumatanDimana, 76–77
 - 2014 presidential election, 186–88
 - 2019 presidential election, 188–91, 199–217
 - rapprochement between Jokowi and, 62
 - support for, 2014 and 2019, 4
 - Twitter activity, 71, 76–77
 - women supporters of, 148–49
- pragmatism, 33
- 2019 presidential election, 62, 67, 84
- anti-feminist female candidates, 147
 - campaign activities of candidates, 29, 34
 - casualties during polling and vote-counting, 25–26
 - conduct of, 22–26
 - cost of fighting elections, 28–29
 - dissemination of fake news, 34–35
 - Eligible Voter List (DPT) problem, 25
 - ideological contestation within civil society, 62–63
 - Jokowi–Ma’ruf Amin performance, 3, 23
 - in Lampung and South Sumatra, 271–73
 - media bias or partiality, 27–28
 - money politics, 28
 - performance in Central Java, 199–217
 - political manipulation, 34
 - Prabowo’s challenges, 23, 61, 90
 - problems, 25
 - protests and riots post result, 90–91, 95–97, 101
 - religious binarism and, 240–43
 - results, 23
 - role of civil society groups, 34, 37
 - swing of votes in Bangkalan, 231–32
 - use of identity politics, 34–35
 - use of state apparatus, 29
 - visions or programmes of candidates, 29–30
 - vote organizing committees (KPPS), 27
 - voter turnout for, 24
- Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS), 3
- Purnomo, Eko, 136
- Purwono, Nurdin, 169
- R**
- Rachmawati Sukarnoputri, 59
- Rahudman Harahap, 245
- Ratna Sarumpaet, 76
- Reformasi* (Reform) Movement, 5, 7, 10, 13, 14n2, 32, 127, 146, 201
- Regional Campaign Teams (TKDs), 275
- regional politics, 10–12
- “Rejo” (Relawan Jokowi or Jokowi’s Volunteers), 205
- relawan*, 139
- religious binarism, 11, 243–59
- ideological stances, 240
 - implications for democracy, 256–59
 - 2019 presidential election, 240–43
 - voter preferences, 241–42
- Riady, James, 185–86

- right-wing militia groups, 53
 Rizieq Shihab, Habib, 58–59, 94, 110, 115, 120–21, 123, 189, 226, 228
 Rukmana, Yanti, 205
 Rumah Bersama Pelayan Rakyat (Community House to Serve the People or RBPR), 72, 81–83
 Rusdi Kirana, 185
- S**
- Sandiaga Uno, 2, 12, 22–23, 57, 60–62, 79, 146, 149–50, 160n5, 188, 191, 203, 207, 209–10, 224, 238, 254, 266–67, 270, 272, 276, 279n9
 OKE-OCE programme, 149, 156
 Sasbuzz, 82
satgas, 112
 Scheduled Caste voting behaviour, 269
 “Semut Ireng” (Black Ants), 205
 Serikat Pekerja Metal Indonesia (SPMI), 127
 deals struck with political candidates, 129
 2017 election for *bupati* of Bekasi District, 128, 133–36
 “Go Politics” merchandise, 133
 Legislative Election, 2019, 136–39
 2014 local legislative elections, 128, 130–33
 membership, 129
 “no money politics” policy, 133
 political participation, 128–39
 problem of campaign resources, 133
 reasons for political participation, 129–30
 volunteers of Jamkeswatch, 139
 wage negotiations, 130
 Shari’a Council of Surakarta City (Dewan Syariah Kota Surakarta or DSKS), 210
- Shi’a community, 229
 Siauw Giok Tjhan, 167–68
 Silitonga, Baris, 136
 Sin Po, 166
 Sinulingga, Arya, 77
 Siradj, Said Aqil, 230
 Situngkir, Hokky, 78–79
 social media, 150
 anti-Chinese disinformation using, 95–99
 election campaign strategies using, 69–73, 76–77, 82, 85n6, 161n13
 women’s political campaigning using, 154–57
 Sofian Wanandi, 168, 186
 Somad, Ustadz Abdul, 209
 Srikandi Indonesia, 205
 stolen election, 8
 Sudirman Said, 202, 207–8
 Sudjono Humardhani, 168
 Suharto, President, 47, 49, 56–57, 145
 resignation and resulting changes, 50–51
 suppression of the Left, 49–50
 Sukarno, 173, 214
 teachings (*ajaran Sukarno*), 214
 Sukarno–Left alliance, 47
 Sulaeman, 136
 Supreme Confucian Council (Majelis Tertinggi Agama Khonghucu or Matakini), 181
 Suramadu (Surabaya–Madura) bridge, 231
 Syafei, Major General Theo, 78
 Syamsul Arifin, 245
- T**
- tabligh akbar*, 209–10
 Tan, Sofyan, 245–46
 Tanoe, Hary, 185
 Thohir, Erick, 27
tim bayangan, 77

- Tim Kampanye Nasional (National Campaign Team or TKN), 203
“Tiongkok/Tionghoa to Tjina (Cina)”, 182
- Tjan Silalahi, Harry, 168
- Tjoo Tik Tjhoen, 167
- trade unions, 51–54
- Trans Media Social, 82
- Twitter, 70–71, 73–76, 80, 82, 85n6, 97
- U**
- Undang-undang Informasi dan Transaksi Elektronik (Law on Information and Electronic Transactions or UU ITE), 53
- union nominees, 9
- union politics, 9–10
- Usman Kansong, 72
- V**
- vote-buying programme, 136
- W**
- Wahid, Abdurrahman, 51, 149, 170, 181–82, 211
- Wahid, Yenny, 149
- Wanandi, Jusuf, 168, 186
- Wardhani, Putri K., 148
- WhatsApp communications, 70, 72–73, 82, 98, 156, 161n13
- women’s groups, 10
- Women’s March movement, 157
- women’s political participation, 146–47
- affirmative action policies, 151
- online and offline campaigns, 154–57
- ultra-conservative female candidates, 151–54
- Wuryanto, Bambang, 203
- Y**
- Yap Thiam Hien, 168
- Yapto Soerjosoemarno, 116
- Yasin, Taj, 202
- Yayasan Nabil (Nation-Building Foundation), 183
- YouTube “rabbit hole” phenomenon, 96
- Yudhoyono, Agus H., 62
- Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 182
- Yusron, Ulin, 74
- Z**
- zipper system, 151, 160n8
- Zulkarnain, Tengku, 153