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INDONESIAN ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR

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Message from the Director

Indonesia is the largest country in Southeast Asia and it has been one of the foci of studies at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS). Three of our Indonesianists, Dr Leo Suryadinata, Dr Aris Ananta and Dr Evi Nurvidya Arifin, have been engaged in a major ongoing project which utilizes statistical analyses to understand the cultural, socio-economic and political state of affairs in Indonesia.

In April 2003, ISEAS launched the first book in the series: *Indonesia's Population: Ethnicity and Religion in a Changing Political Landscape*. The book was launched at ISEAS and also at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta. To reach a wider audience, the book has been translated into Bahasa Indonesia.

Indonesian Electoral Behaviour: A Statistical Perspective, is the second in ISEAS Indonesia's Population Series, which is mainly based on the 2000 population census of Indonesia and the 1999 election data. The timely publication of this book just before the Indonesian parliamentary and presidential elections in early April and early July 2004 respectively should prove useful for both researchers and practitioners as it provides rich information and insightful analysis.

I commend the three scholars for their dedication to research in an area of contemporary importance, and wish them further success in their endeavours to enhance the understanding of Indonesia.

K. Kesavapany

Director

Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

Singapore

Preface

Our first book in this series, *Indonesia's Population: Ethnicity and Religion in a Changing Political Landscape*, presents general Indonesian population profiles with special reference to ethnicity and religion at the provincial level. At the end of the above-mentioned book, there is a chapter which analyses both ethnic and religious factors in the Indonesian 1999 election, using a qualitative approach with simple tabulations.

This book, which also examines the 1999 general election, is a follow up to that study but it uses a quantitative or statistical approach rather than a qualitative one. Not only does it deal with the same subject matter as in the last chapter of our first book, but also adds socio-economic variables to explain Indonesian electoral behaviour. Furthermore, the analysis is not confined to the provincial level but to the district level as well. Indeed, this study focuses on the district level in greater statistical detail. We are fully aware that this book has limitations, but we feel that it will help readers not only understand the 1999 election but also the 2004 elections and beyond. This book also provides readers with information on social, economic and political conditions at the district level; such information has become increasingly important as Indonesia implements the regional autonomy programme.

Prior to publication, we held a public seminar entitled "Indonesian Elections and Political Parties: Cultural and Economic Correlates" on 4 December 2004 at ISEAS. Many Indonesianists were present and we benefited from their feedback. We would like to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to them.

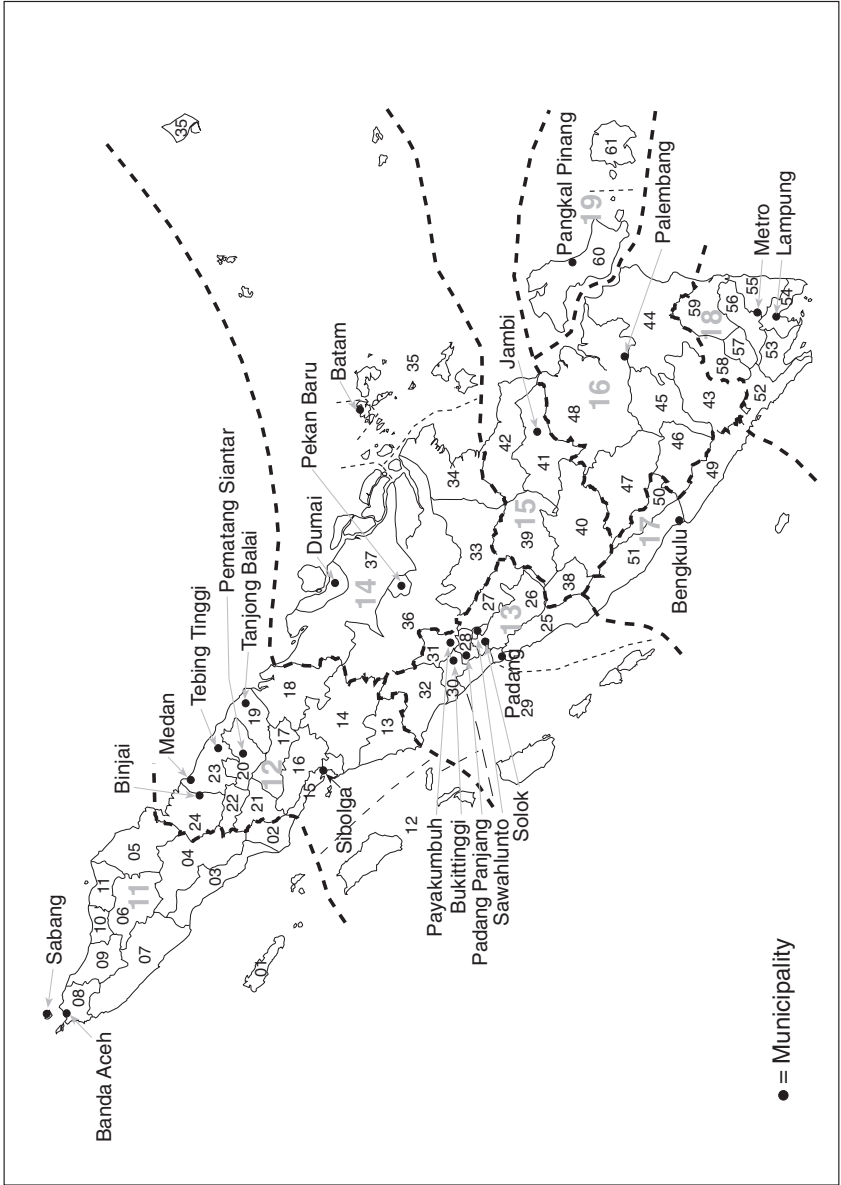
We would like to express our sincere thanks to the Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS or Indonesian Central Board of Statistics) for allowing us to work with their data, especially with the 2000 population census. A special thanks goes to our colleagues in the BPS, particularly Bahtiar

and Mohammad Taufiq, for their kind assistance in our research. We are also thankful to the Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU or the Committee on General Election) for providing us with the detailed data on the 1999 election.

We would also like to express our gratitude to the Director of ISEAS, Mr K. Kesavapany, for his constant support for this project, and the Lee Foundation for its financial support. Last but not least, our deep appreciation goes to the ISEAS Publications Unit for their professional assistance in editing and publishing this book so quickly. Nevertheless, no one is responsible for the views and facts presented in this book except for the three authors.

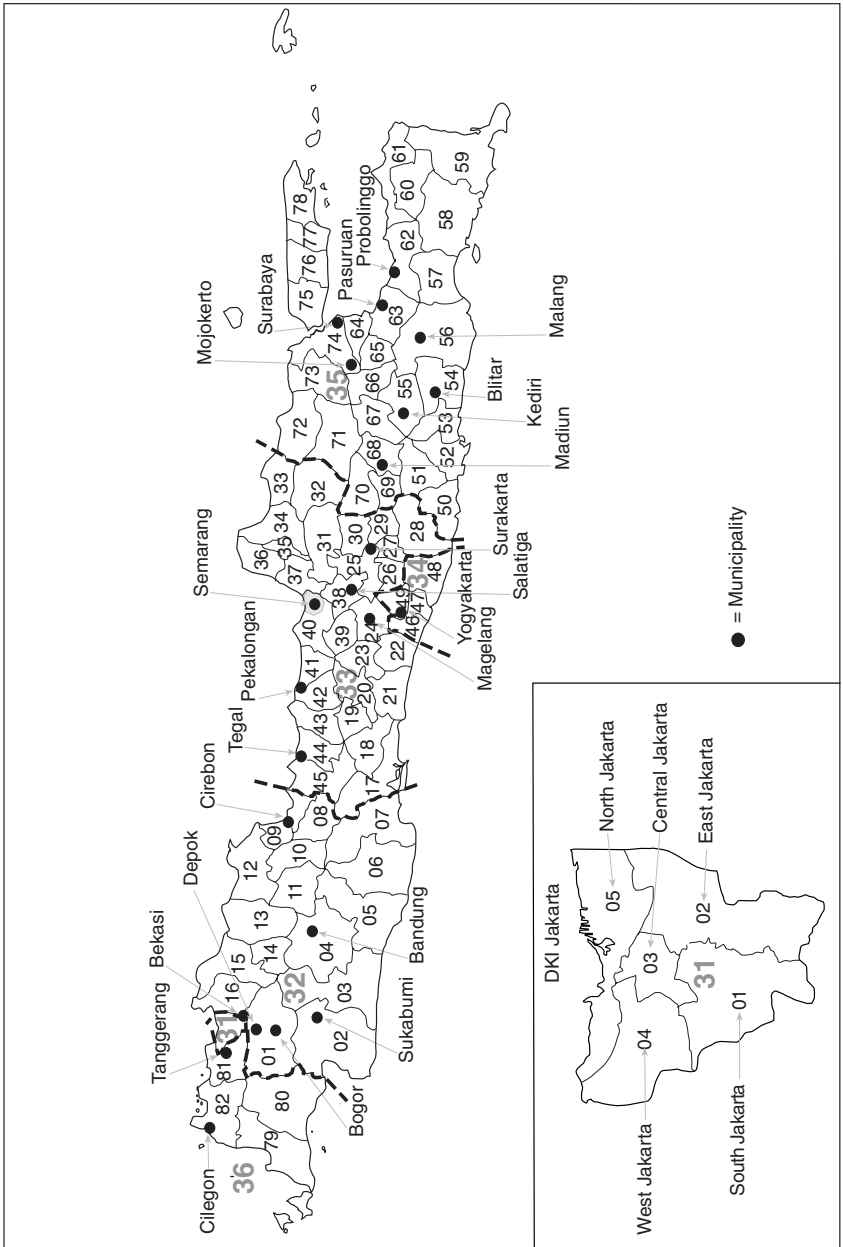
Aris Ananta
Evi Nurvidya Arifin
Leo Suryadinata

MAP 1 Sumatra: Provinces and Regencies



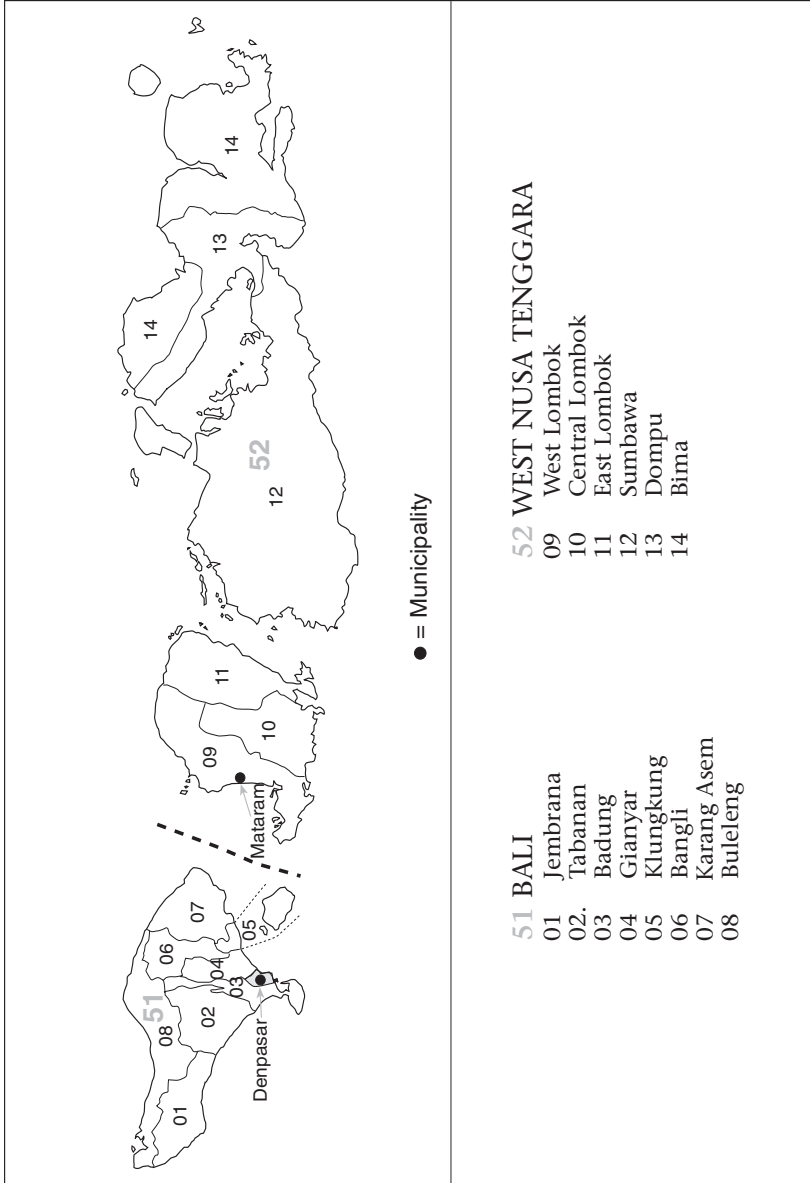
11 NANGGROE ACEH			
DARUSSALAM			
01 Simeulue			
02 Aceh Singkil			
03 South Aceh			
04 Southeast Aceh			
05 East Aceh			
06 Central Aceh			
07 West Aceh			
08 Aceh Besar			
09 Pidie			
10 Bireuen			
11 North Aceh			
	22	Karo	
	23	Deli Serdang	
	24	Langkat	
13 WEST SUMATRA			
25 South Pesisir			
26 Solok			
27 Sawahlunto/Sijunjung			
28 Tanah Datar			
29 Padang Pariaman			
30 Agam			
31 Limapuluh Kota			
32 Pasaman			
14 RIAU			
33 Indragiri Hulu			
34 Indragiri Hilir			
35 Riau Islands			
36 Kampar			
37 Bengkalis			
15 JAMBI			
38 Kerinci			
39 Bungo Tebo			
40 Sarolangun Bangko			
41 Batang Hari			
42 Tanjung Jabung			
12 NORTH SUMATRA			
12 Nias			
13 Mandailing Natal			
14 South Tapanuli			
15 Central Tapanuli			
16 Dairi			
17 North Tapanuli			
18 Toba Samosir			
19 Labuan Batu			
20 Asahan			
21 Simalungun			
16 SOUTH SUMATRA			
43 Ogan Komering Ulu			
44 Ogan Komering Ilir			
45 Muara Enim			
46 Lahat			
47 Musi Rawas			
48 Musi Banyu Asin			
17 BENGKULU			
49 South Bengkulu			
50 Rejang Lebong			
51 North Bengkulu			
18 LAMPUNG			
52 West Lampung			
53 Tanggamus			
54 South Lampung			
55 East Lampung			
56 Central Lampung			
57 North Lampung			
58 Way Kanan			
59 Tulang Bawang			
19 BANGKA-BELITUNG			
60 Bangka			
61 Belitung			

MAP 2 Java: Provinces and Regencies

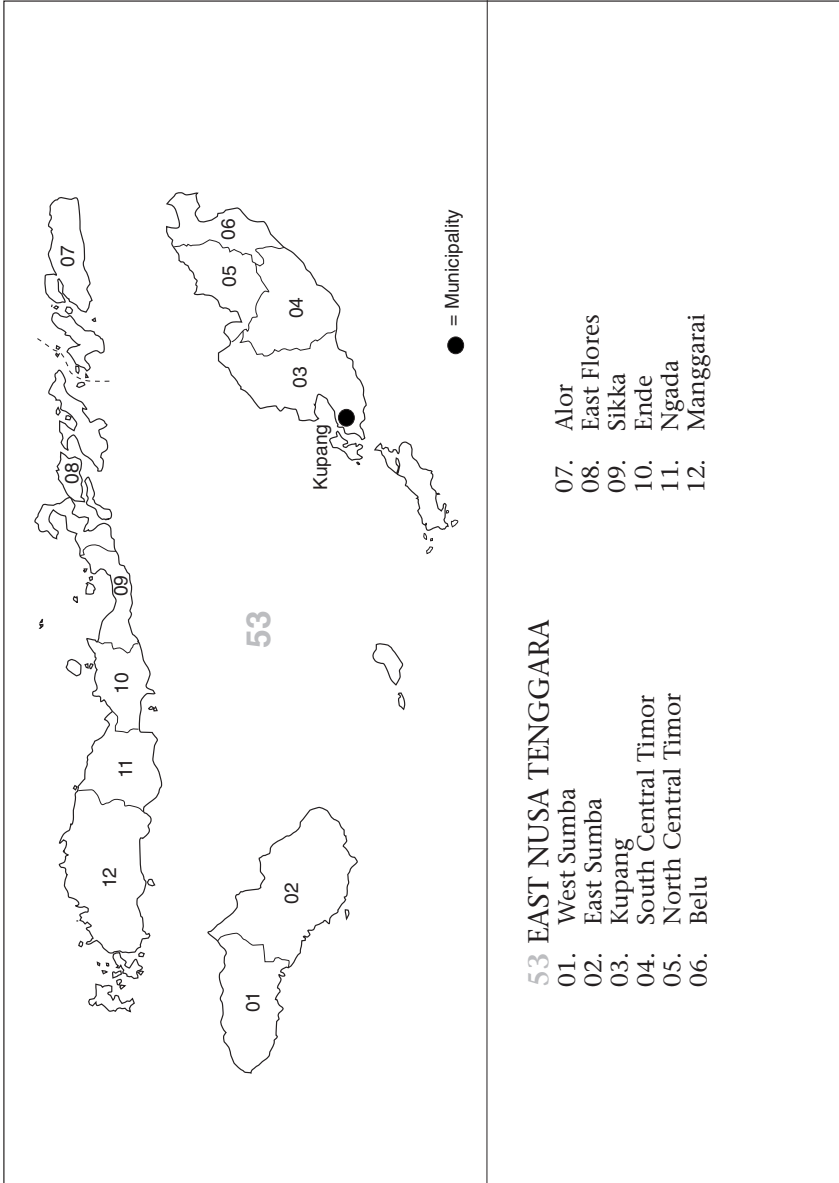


31	DKI JAKARTA	23	Wonosobo	48	Gunung Kidul	73	Lamongan
32	WEST JAVA	24	Magelang	49	Sleman	74	Gresik
01	Bogor	25	Boyolali	35	EAST JAVA	75	Bangkalan
02	Sukabumi	26	Klaten	50	Pacitan	76	Sampang
03	Cianjur	27	Sukoharjo	51	Ponorogo	77	Pamekasan
04	Bandung	28	Wonogiri	52	Trenggalek	78	Sumenep
05	Garut	29	Karanganyar	53	Tulungagung		
06	Tasikmalaya	30	Sragen	54	Blitar	36	BANTEN
07	Ciamas	31	Grobogan	55	Kediri	79	Pandeglang
08	Kuningan	32	Bloora	56	Malang	80	Lebak
09	Cirebon	33	Rembang	57	Lumajang	81	Tangerang
10	Majalengka	34	Pati	58	Jember	82	Serang
11	Sumedang	35	Kudus	59	Banyuwangi		
12	Indramayu	36	Jepara	60	Bondowoso		
13	Subang	37	Demak	61	Situbondo		
14	Purwakarta	38	Semarang	62	Probolinggo		
15	Karawang	39	Temanggung	63	Pasuruan		
16	Bekasi	40	Kendal	64	Sidoarjo		
33	CENTRAL JAVA	41	Batang	65	Mojokerto		
17	Cilacap	42	Pekalongan	66	Jombang		
18	Banyumas	43	Pemalang	67	Nganjuk		
19	Purbalingga	44	Tegal	68	Madiun		
20	Banjarnegara	45	Brebes	69	Magetan		
21	Kebumen	34	YOGYAKARTA	70	Ngawi		
22	Purworejo	46	Kulon Progo	71	Bojonegoro		
		47	Bantul	72	Tuban		

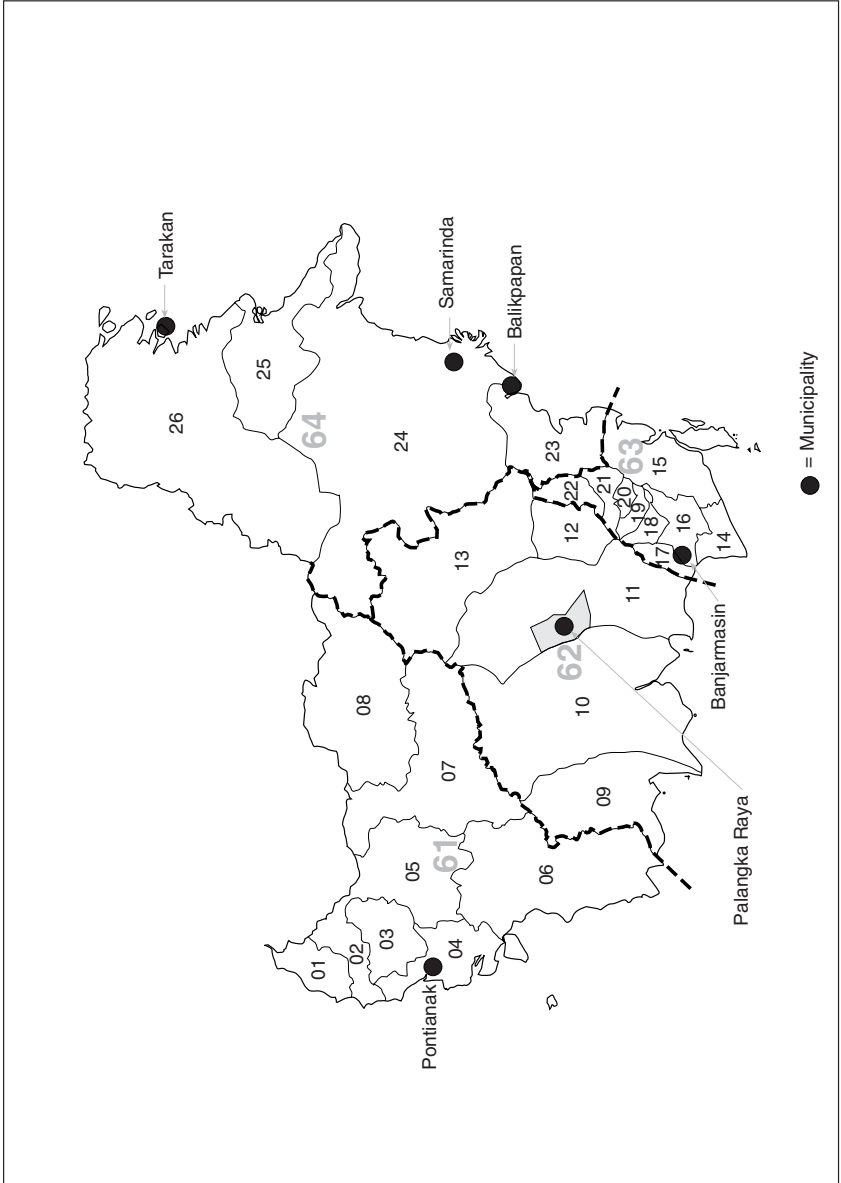
MAP 3 Bali and West Nusa Tenggara: Regencies



MAP 4 East Nusa Tenggara: Regencies



MAP 5 Kalimantan: Provinces and Regencies



61 WEST KALIMANTAN

- 01 Sambas
- 02 Bengkayang
- 03 Landak
- 04 Pontianak
- 05 Sanggau
- 06 Ketapang
- 07 Sintang
- 08 Kapuas Hulu

63 SOUTH KALIMANTAN

- 14 Tanah Laut
- 15 Kota Baru
- 16 Banjar
- 17 Barito Kuala
- 18 Tapin
- 19 South Hulu Sungai
- 20 Central Hulu Sungai
- 21 North Hulu Sungai
- 22 Tabalong

**62 CENTRAL
KALIMANTAN**

- 09 West Kotawaringin
- 10 East Kotawaringin
- 11 Kapuas
- 12 South Barito
- 13 North Barito

64 EAST KALIMANTAN

- 23 Pasir
- 24 Kutai
- 25 Berau
- 26 Bulungan

MAP 6 Sulawesi: Provinces and Regencies



71 NORTH SULAWESI

- 01 Bolaang Mongondow
- 02 Minahasa
- 03 Sangihe Talaud

72 CENTRAL SULAWESI

- 04 Banggai
- 05 Poso
- 06 Donggala
- 07 Buol Toli-toli

73 SOUTH SULAWESI

- 08 Selayar
- 09 Bulukumba
- 10 Bantaeng
- 11 Jenepono
- 12 Takalar
- 13 Gowa
- 14 Sinjai
- 15 Maros
- 16 Pangkajene Islands
- 17 Barru
- 18 Bone
- 19 Soppeng

- 20 Wajo

- 21 Sidenreng Rappang
- 22 Pinrang
- 23 Enrekang
- 24 Luwu
- 25 Tana Toraja
- 26 Polewali Mamasa
- 27 Majene
- 28 Mamuju
- 29 North Luwu

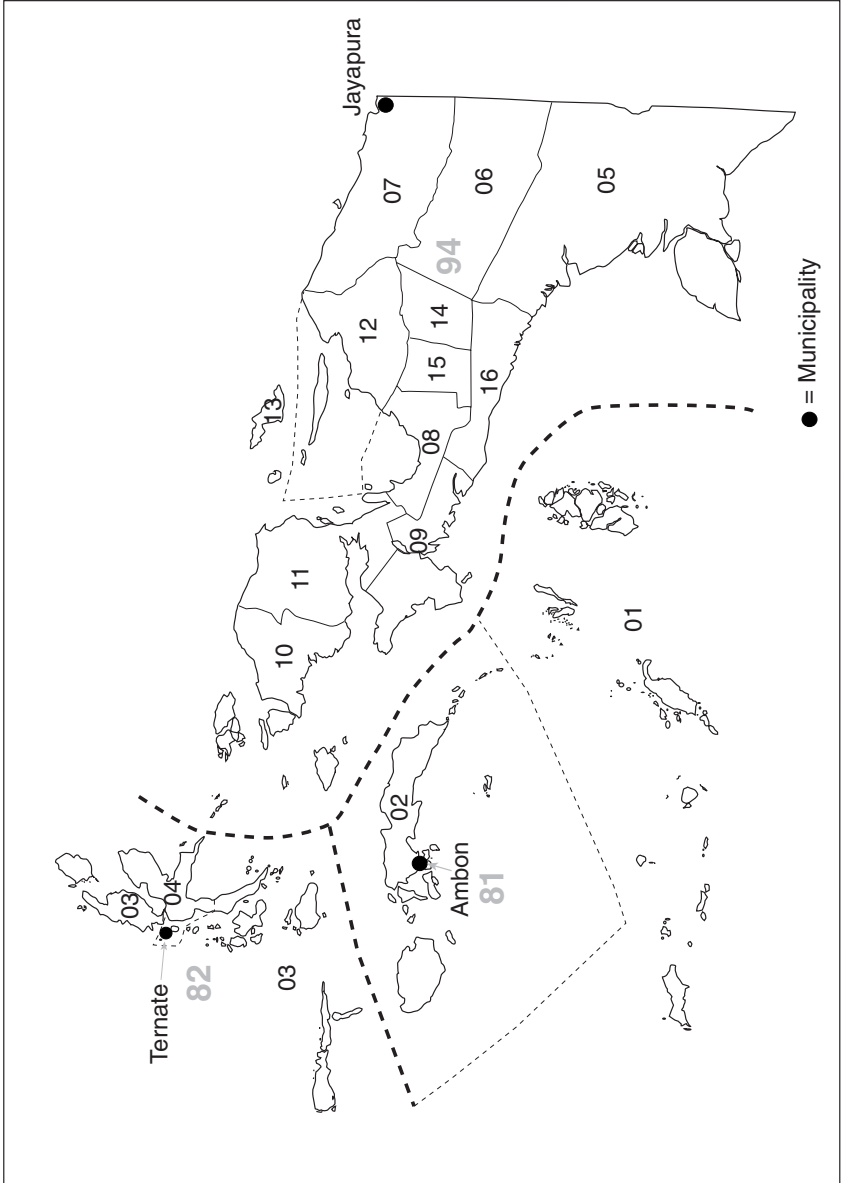
**74 SOUTHEAST
SULAWESI**

- 30 Buton
- 31 Muna
- 32 Kendari
- 33 Kolaka

**75 SOUTH
SULAWESI**

- 34 Boalemo
- 35 Gorontalo

MAP 7 Maluku and Papua: Provinces and Regencies



- 81 MALUKU**
01 Southeast Maluku
02 Central Maluku
- 82 NORTH MALUKU**
03 North Maluku
04 Central Halmahera

- 94 PAPUA**
05 Merauke
06 Jayawijaya
07 Jayapura
08 Nabire
09 Fakfak
10 Sorong
11 Manokwari
12 Yapen Waropen
13 Biak Numfor
14 Puncak Jaya
15 Paniai
16 Mimika

Note for Maps 1–7: The lighter numbers denote provinces and follow Badan Pusat Statistik's official enumeration. All maps have been redrawn from Badan Pusat Statistik's Village Potential Statistical Map 2000 (2001af).