

# Double Minority Candidates and Muslim Voting Behavior: Evidence from Indonesia

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# Specific Motivating Question



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- Christian
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**Specific Motivating Question:** Which of Ahok's characteristics (ethnicity or religion) hurt him more electorally?

# Broader Motivating Question

**Broader Question:** How do Muslim voters in a Muslim-majority society respond to a double minority candidate?

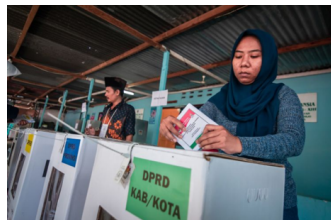
- Many studies on minimal religious influence on Muslim voting behavior (Cammatt & Luong, 2014; Kurzman & Naqvi, 2010; Pepinsky, Liddle, & Mujani, 2012), but only few on the topic.
- Opportunity to understand the limits and extents of religious influence in the context of minority politics in Muslim countries.



# Broader Motivating Question

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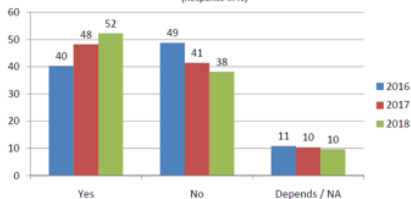
- Would the opposition be driven more by religious sentiments?
- How do we know that religious voting is indeed religious voting?



# Religious and Ethnic Sentiments in the 2017 Election

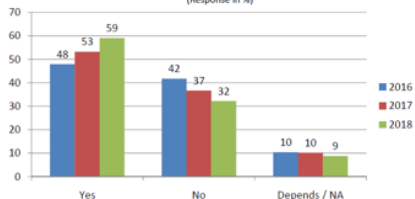
# Religious Sentiments

Do you object to non-Muslims becoming governor?  
(Response in %)



**LSI** Lembaga Survei Indonesia  
AKURAT, TERPERCAYA, BERPENGARUH

Do you object to non-Muslims becoming president?  
(Response in %)



**LSI** Lembaga Survei Indonesia  
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# Religious Sentiments



Haram to vote for non-Muslim leaders.



Haram to vote for non-Muslim leaders.



Jakarta is Muslim-majority. Must not be led by a non-Muslim.



Haram for Muslims to be led by a non-Muslim.

# Religious Sentiments

- The Guardian (Kate Lamb, 11-Dec-2016):

Ahok, a Christian of Chinese descent, angered religious conservatives after he referenced a verse from the Islamic holy book, Al-Maidah 51 of the Qur'an, on the campaign trail in September. Ahok rather boldly told voters they should not be duped by religious leaders using the verse to justify the claim that Muslims should not be led by non-Muslims.

An edited version of that speech was later posted online with several words omitted, making it seem as though Ahok was suggesting the Qur'anic verse itself was misleading, not the Islamic leaders citing it.

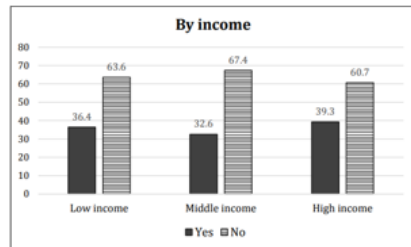
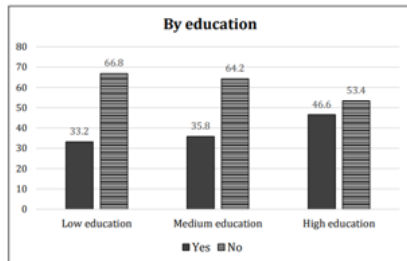


# Ethnic Sentiments

But focusing on religion belies Jakarta's anti-Chinese history ....

# Ethnic Sentiments

Are you comfortable with a Chinese Indonesian in a position of political leadership? (Setijadi 2017)



# Ethnic Sentiments: Country Background

- The 1998 riots.



Belong to non-Chinese.

# Ethnic Sentiments: In the Election



Crush the Chinese. Send Ahok to jail.



Ahok is the source of problems. Crush the Chinese.

## Significant Events

- Sep-27, 2016: Ahok made the Al-Maidah remark in a speech
- Nov-4 2016: First major anti-Ahok demonstration
- Dec-2 2016: Second major anti-Ahok demonstration
- Feb-14, 2017: Ahok won the first round of the election with 42.99% of the votes
- Apr-19, 2017: Ahok lost the second round to Anies Baswedan, securing only 42% of the votes
- May 9, 2017: Ahok sentenced to two years in prison for the blasphemy charge
- January 24, 2019: Ahok released from prison, asked to be called BTP

# Data and Analysis



# Questions and Data



- **Voter side:** How do voters' feelings toward Christians and ethnic Chinese shape their support for BTP?
- **Candidate side:** How do BTP's religious and ethnic backgrounds shape voters' support for him?
- Original survey of 1,047 Jakartan Muslims

## Voter Side: Effects of Felings toward Christians and Ethnic Chinese

- Dependent variable: Dichotomized vote choice (whether would vote for BTP)

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- Dependent variable: Dichotomized vote choice (whether would vote for BTP)
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  - Feeling thermometers toward Christians and ethnic Chinese
    - Do you like or dislike Christians? (5-point scale from strongly dislike to strongly like)
    - Do you like or dislike ethnic Chinese? (5-point scale from strongly dislike to strongly like)
    - Ethnic and religious sentiments are correlated at ( $r=.74$ ,  $p < .01$ )

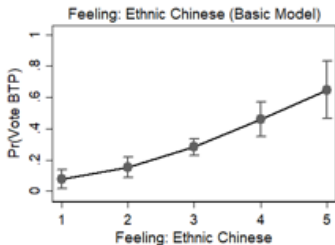
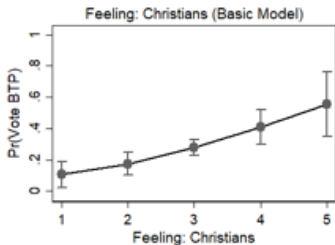
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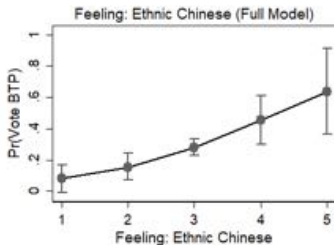
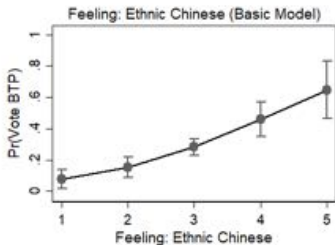
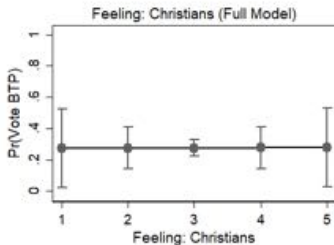
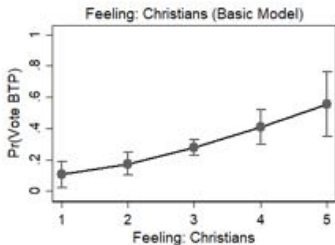
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- Logistic regression models

# Voter Side: Effects of Feelings toward Christians and Ethnic Chinese



- Basic model includes control variables and either feeling thermometer
- Full model includes control variables and both feeling thermometers

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## Candidate Side: Effects of BTP's Religion and Ethnicity

- Experimental approach
- Divided respondents into groups
  - Control group
  - Ethnicity group
  - Religion group
  - Ethnicity-Religion group
  - Religion-Ulema group



## Candidate Side: Effects of BTP's Religion and Ethnicity

### **Control Group** (Original: 205, Effective: 128)

Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) is one of the candidates running in the Jakarta gubernatorial election in February. Will you vote for Ahok as governor of Jakarta?

### **Ethnicity Group** (Original: 213, Effective: 139)

Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) is one of the candidates running in the Jakarta gubernatorial election in February. **As we know, Ahok is of Chinese descent.** Will you vote for Ahok as governor of Jakarta?

### **Religion Group** (Original: 216, Effective: 141)

Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) is one of the candidates running in the Jakarta gubernatorial election in February. **As we know, Ahok is a Christian.** Will you vote for Ahok as governor of Jakarta?

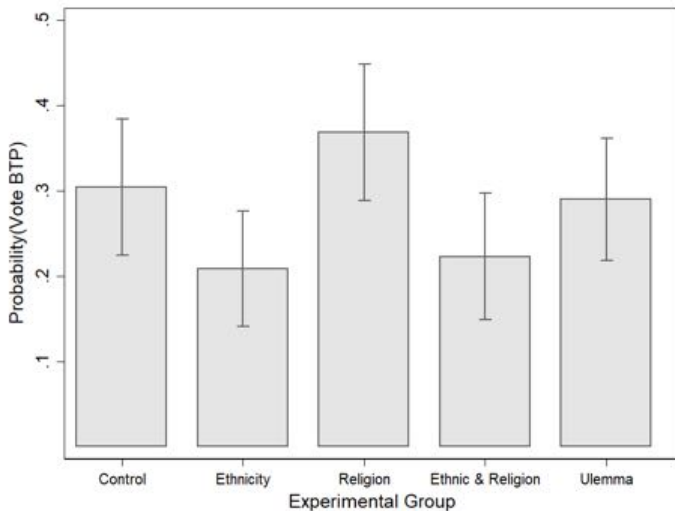
### **Ethnicity-Religion Group** (Original: 196, Effective: 121)

Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) is one of the candidates running in the Jakarta gubernatorial election in February. **As we know, Ahok is of Chinese descent and Christian.** Will you vote for Ahok as governor of Jakarta?

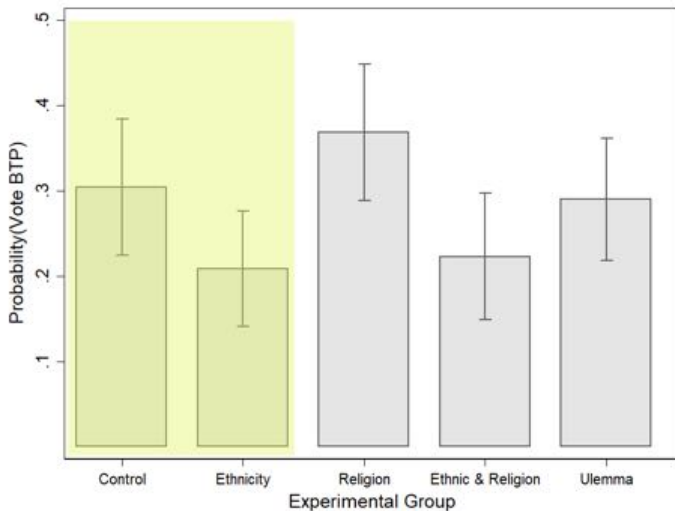
### **Ulema Group** (Original: 217, Effective: 155)

Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) is one of the candidates running in the Jakarta gubernatorial election in February. **As we know, Ahok is Christian and several ulema prohibit voting for non-Muslim leaders.** Will you vote for Ahok as governor of Jakarta?

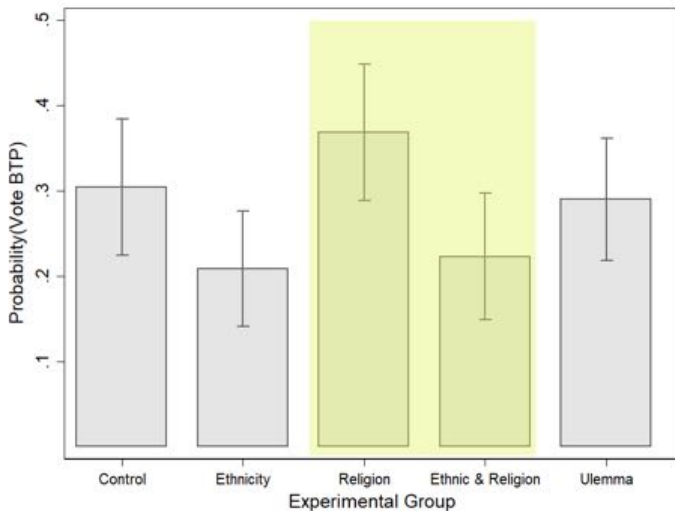
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## Candidate Side: Effects of BTP's Religion and Ethnicity



# Conclusion

- Ethnic considerations drive voters' choices more than religious ones
  - **Voter side:** Voters' feeling toward ethnic Chinese matters more than their feeling toward Christians
  - **Candidate side:** Reminding voters of BTP's ethnicity reduced their support for him. No effect of BTP's religion.
- Why the minimal effects of religious influence?
- Theoretical implications

# Why Minimal Effects of Religion?

- Why the minimal effects of religious influence in the 2017 Jakarta election?
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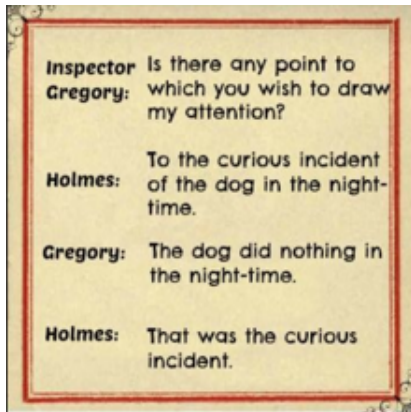
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  - Many counter-narratives for "don't vote for non-Muslim", virtually none for "don't vote for ethnic Chinese"
  - Expectancy violation theory: An ethnic Chinese public official doing well violates voters' expectation, thus leaving more positive impression



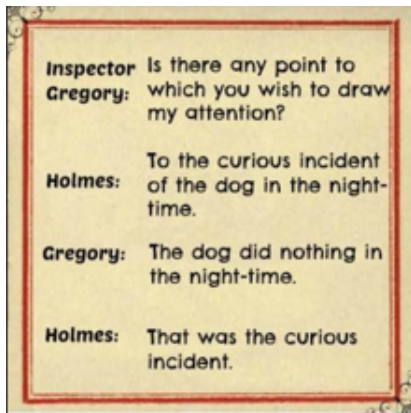
# Why Minimal Effects of Religion?

- Why the minimal effects of religious influence in the 2017 Jakarta election?
  - Religion merely as cover: Covering racism with religion
  - Many counter-narratives for "don't vote for non-Muslim", virtually none for "don't vote for ethnic Chinese"
  - Expectancy violation theory: An ethnic Chinese public official doing well violates voters' expectation, thus leaving more positive impression
  - Indonesian politics is saturated with religion

# Theoretical Implications



# Theoretical Implications



- Need to distinguish between elite behavior and mass behavior
  - Elite: Lowest mobilization cost with highest potential reward
  - The masses: Salience, emotional arousal, apparent unanimity

# Thank You

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# Supplementary Information

- Candidates
- Sample Characteristics
- Covariate Balance
- Voter-side Interactions
- Candidate-Side Interactions
- Income Interaction
- Knowledge Interaction
- Effective Sample
- Marginal Effects Effective Sample
- Mediation Analysis
- DV: Satisfaction
- Histograms
- Histogram (Elected)
- Correlation Coefficients

## Covariate Balance

ANOVA of Covariates (Original Sample)

Variable	F-Statistic	P-Value
Female	$F_{4,1042} = .54$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Age	$F_{4,1035} = .71$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Education	$F_{4,1041} = 1.35$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Income	$F_{4,1033} = .93$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Political Knowledge	$F_{4,1042} = .98$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Satisfaction	$F_{4,989} = 2.15$	p<.10
Feeling toward Christians	$F_{4,1033} = .67$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Feeling toward Ethnic Chinese	$F_{4,1026} = 1.75$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Frequency of <u>Shalat</u>	$F_{4,1037} = .40$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Religious Tolerance	$F_{4,975} = 1.16$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Support for Sharia	$F_{4,973} = .87$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)

ANOVA of Covariates (Effective Sample)

Variable	F-Statistic	P-Value
Female	$F_{4,679} = .51$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Age	$F_{4,677} = 1.28$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Education	$F_{4,678} = .71$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Income	$F_{4,677} = .42$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Political Knowledge	$F_{4,679} = .13$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Satisfaction	$F_{4,668} = 1.33$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Feeling toward Christians	$F_{4,675} = .64$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Feeling toward Ethnic Chinese	$F_{4,675} = 1.68$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Frequency of <u>Shalat</u>	$F_{4,678} = .69$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Religious Tolerance	$F_{4,647} = .92$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)
Support for Sharia	$F_{4,657} = 1.78$	<u>n.s.</u> (p>.10)

# 2017 Jakarta Election: Candidates



## Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono

- Former Army officer
- Son of former president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono



## Anies Baswedan

- Arab descent
- Muslim intellectual and public figure
- Supported by Islamic organizations

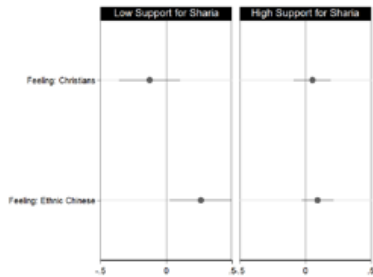
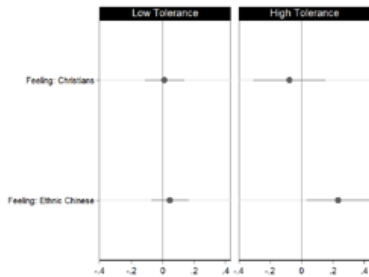
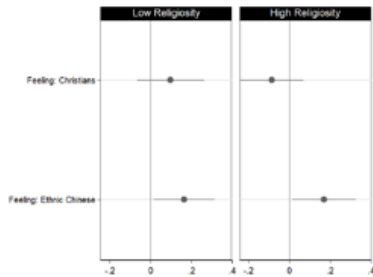
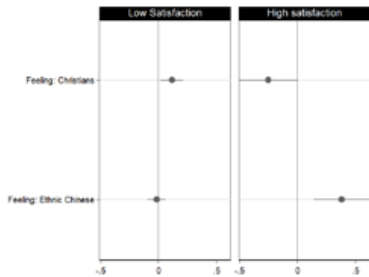
# Sample Characteristics

**Table A1. Sample and Population Characteristics**

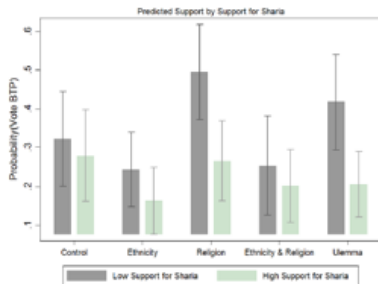
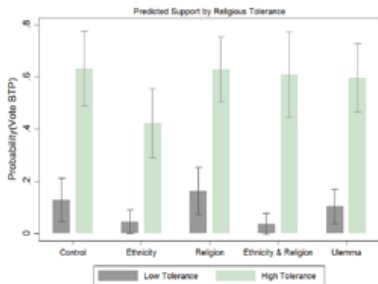
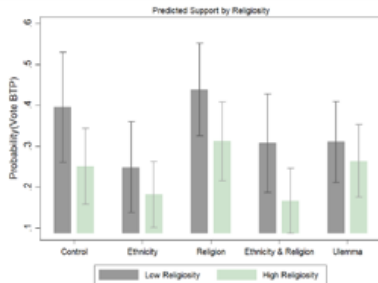
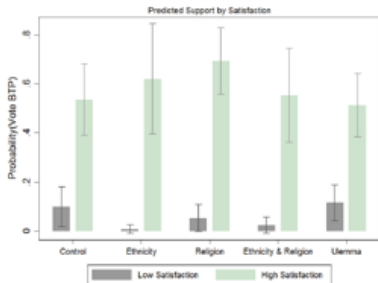
Indicator	Sample	Population
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	50.46%	50.25%
Female	49.54%	49.75%
<b>Religion</b>		
Islam	87.62%	85.36%
Protestant	5.77%	7.54%
Catholic	4.35%	3.16%
Buddha	1.92%	3.3%
Hindu	0.25%	0.21%
<b>Age Categories</b>		
15-19	6.65%	9.23%
20-29	20.37%	25.26%
30-39	24.75%	25.75%
40-49	25.17%	18.80%
50-59	15.07%	12.34%
> 60	8.00%	8.62%
<b>Education</b>		
No schooling	0.59%	1.28%
Not completing Elementary School	2.76%	5.22%
Completing Elementary School	10.04%	11.77%
Completing Middle School	21.61%	19.70%
Completing High School	48.58%	42.49%
Diploma	5.53%	5.20%
College or above	10.88%	14.33%



# Voter Side: Interaction Models



# Candidate Side: Interaction Models



# Mediation Analysis

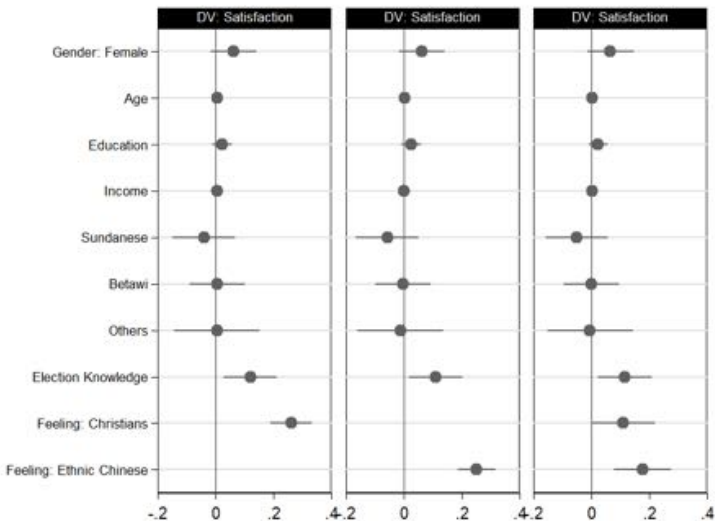
<b>Direct Effect</b> Feeling toward Christians → Voting Likelihood	.035 (.07)
<b>Indirect Effect</b> Feeling toward Christians → Satisfaction → Voting Likelihood	.056* (.03)
<b>Total Effect</b>	.091 (.08)

\*\*\* p<.01 \*\* p<.05 \* p<.10

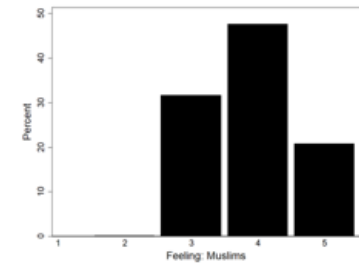
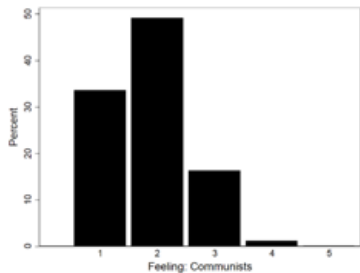
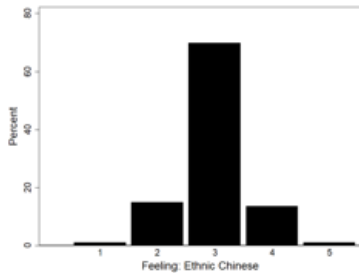
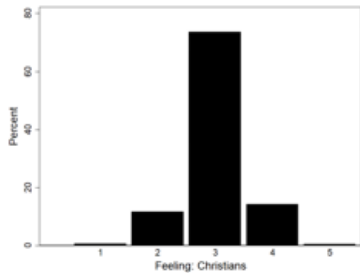
<b>Direct Effect</b> Feeling toward Ethnic Chinese → Voting Likelihood	.144** (.07)
<b>Indirect Effect</b> Feeling toward Ethnic Chinese → Satisfaction → Voting Likelihood	.127*** (.03)
<b>Total Effect</b>	.270*** (.08)

\*\*\* p<.01 \*\* p<.05 \* p<.10

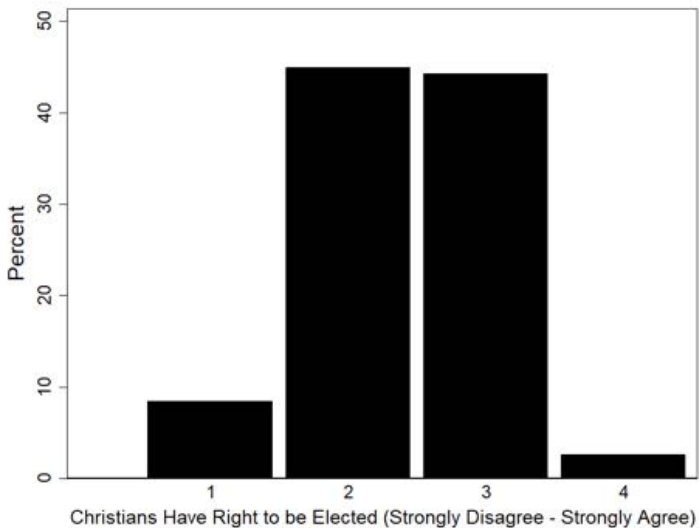
# Regression of Satisfaction



# Histograms



# Histograms



# Correlations

## Descriptive Statistics of Feeling Thermometers

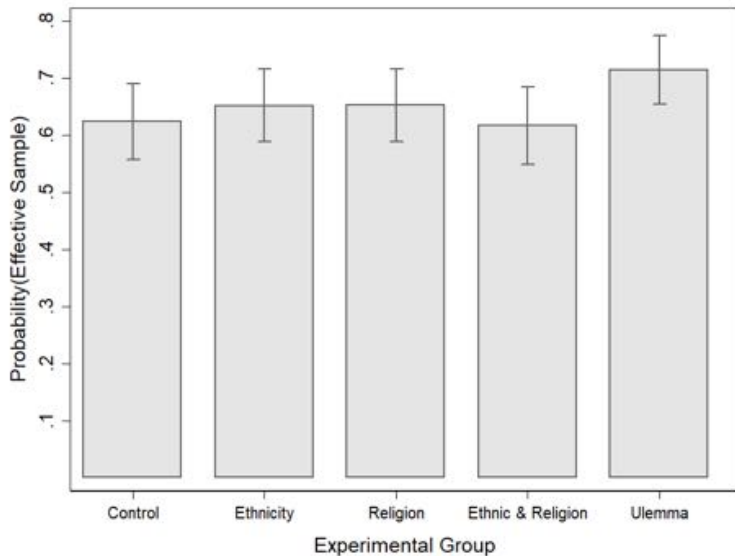
	N	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Christians	1,038	3.02	.54	1	5
Ethnic Chinese	1,031	2.99	.60	1	5
Communists	1,025	1.85	.73	1	5
Muslims	1,042	3.89	.72	2	5

## Correlation Coefficients

	Christians	Ethnic Chinese	Communists	Muslims
Christians	1			
Ethnic Chinese	.741***	1		
Communists	.156***	.161***	1	
Muslims	.037	.017	-.285***	1

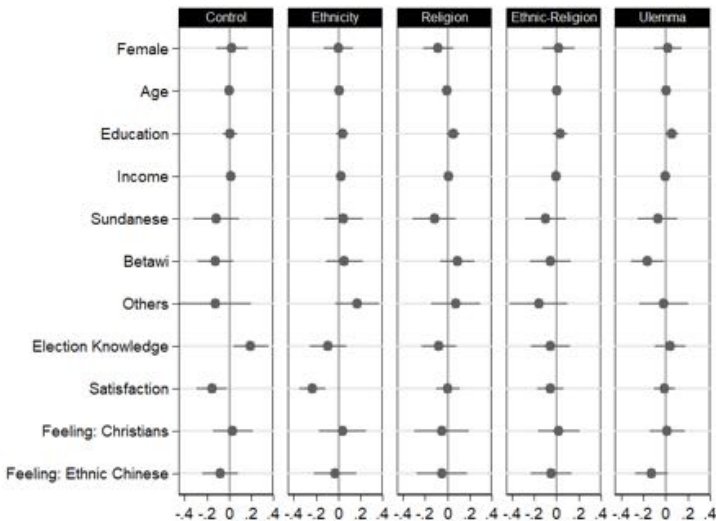
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# Probability of Inclusion in Effective Sample

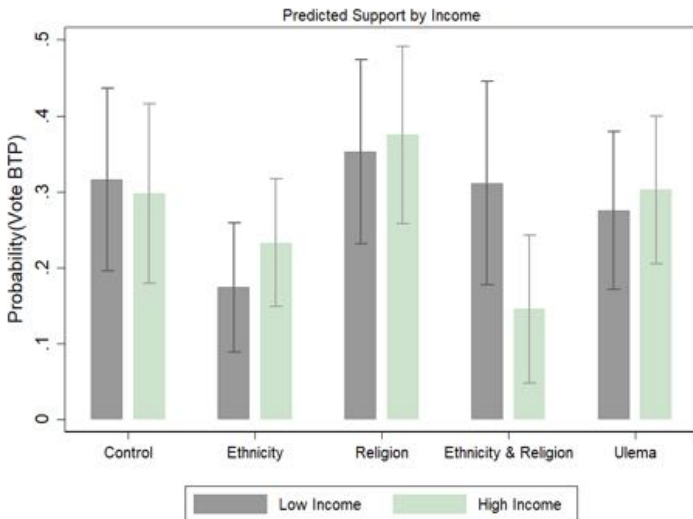




# Marginal Effects on Inclusion in Effective Sample

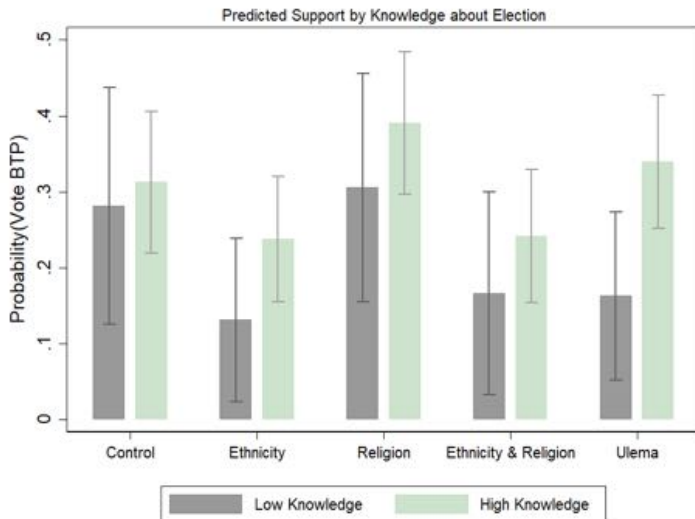


# Interaction between Treatments and Income



- Interaction effects are not statistically significant.

# Interaction between Treatments and Knowledge



- Interaction effects are not statistically significant.