



## Digital Receipt

This receipt acknowledges that **Turnitin** received your paper. Below you will find the receipt information regarding your submission.

The first page of your submissions is displayed below.

Submission author: Agus Trihartono  
Assignment title: Agustri  
Submission title: The 2014 Indonesian general electi...  
File name: 699\_2\_--The\_2014\_Indonesia\_Elec...  
File size: 172.83K  
Page count: 19  
Word count: 10,791  
Character count: 58,665  
Submission date: 17-Feb-2020 11:32AM (UTC+0700)  
Submission ID: 1258673723

Research article

### The 2014 Indonesian general election and beyond: Melting "frozen" cleavages

Asian Journal of Comparative Politics  
2016, Vol. 1(1) 25–43  
© The Author(s) 2015  
Reprints and permissions:  
sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav  
DOI: 10.1177/2057891115262699  
ajp.sagepub.com  
SAGE

**Agus Trihartono**  
Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan

**Himawan Bayu Patriadi**  
University of Jember, Jember, Indonesia

#### Abstract

This study investigates Lipset-Rokkan's "freezing hypothesis" based on the contemporary Indonesia cleavages by analyzing the 2014 election together with the previous elections. This study found the endured cleavages are ethnic and *aliran* (literally, "stream"), which consist of the competing *abangan* (nominal Muslim) and *santri* (devout Muslim) cleavages. Both had been "frozen," or existed latently, during the New Order, but they revived afterwards. However, the ethnic cleavage arguably has been "melted" faster than the *aliran* one as the former seems to be more vulnerable to other political appeals. The *aliran*, in contrast, is somewhat callous due to its complex basis. This paper also suggests that, because the strength of any individual cleavage may vary from one region to another, capturing the empirically existing cleavages better may require going to regional or district levels instead of being solely reliant on a national-level study. This study underscores that the cleavages in the form of ethnicity and *aliran* cannot simply be abandoned in the elections in Indonesia. It is even suggested that the *aliran* may be one of the dimensions of the endogeneity of voters' religio-political identity.

#### Keywords

Cleavages, general election, Indonesia, voter alignment

#### Introduction

The year 2014 was certainly another essential year for Indonesia's political development. As the world's most populous Muslim country and the largest economy in Southeast Asia, Indonesia went

**Corresponding author:**  
Agus Trihartono, Ritsumeikan University, 56-1 Taji-in Kitamachi, Kita-ku, Kyoto, 6038577, Japan.  
Email: atrihartono@gmail.com