**Appendix A. Additional Estimate of Party Support for PKS Relative to Other Parties**

**Table 1. Party Support for PKS in 2010**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **PKS Versus** |
|  | **PDI-P** | **Golkar** | **PD** | **Gerindra** | **PKB** | **PAN** | **PPP** |
| **PKS original base** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Islamist*  | 0.047 | -0.287 | -0.305 | -0.061 | -0.033 | 0.365 | -0.051 |
| *Education* | -0.015 | 0.082 | 0.250 | 0.750 | 0.006 | 0.486 | 0.211 |
| **Controls** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Income* | -0.313 | -0.255 | -0.212 | -0.077 | -0.253 | -0.019 | -0.504\*\* |
| *Evaluation* | 0.128 | -0.295 | -0.372\* | -0.508 | -0.429 | -0.195 | 0.032 |
| *Unemployed* | 0.087 | 0.661 | 0.133 | 0.002 | 0.171 | 0.391 | 0.065 |
| *Age* | -0.186 | 0.212 | 0.112 | -0.223 | 0.173 | -0.038 | 0.095 |
|  *Gender* | -0.976\*\* | -0.503 | -0.686\* | -1.327\* | -0.520 | -0.193 | -0.857\* |
|  *Region\_Java* | 0.520 | -0.421 | 0.004 | 0.518 | 1.234\* | 0.164 | -0.428 |
| Constant | 1.922 | 2.158\* | 2.570\*\* | -2.538 | 0.578 | -1.761 | 1.071 |
| -2 log-likelihood | 3064.40262.86 [90](0.000)0.061827 |
| $χ^{2}$ [df] (Prob > $χ^{2}$) |
| Pseudo $R^{2}$ |
| N |

Note: $p^{\*}< .10, p^{\*\*}< .05, p^{\*\*\*}< .01$

**Table 2. Party Support for PKS in 2011**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **PKS Versus** |
|  | **PDI-P** | **Golkar** | **PD** | **Gerindra** | **PKB** | **PAN** | **PPP** |
| **PKS original base** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Islamist*  | -0.151 | 0.487\*\* | -0.183 | 0.218 | 0.011 | -0.162 | 0.924\*\*\* |
| *Education* | -0.510\*\*\* | -0.273 | -0.541\*\*\* | -0.139 | -0.015 | -0.347 | 2.041\*\*\* |
| **Controls** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Income* | -0.169 | -0.371\*\* | -0.072 | -0.310 | -0.222 | -0.258 | -0.063 |
| *Evaluation* | -0.089 | -0.343 | -0.347 | 0.471 | -0.194 | -0.151 | -0.734 |
| *Unemployed* | 0.605 | -2.007 | -0.881 | 0.518 | -0.114 | -18.53\*\*\* | 5.752\*\*\* |
| *Age* | 0.083 | 0.187 | 0.078 | 0.380 | -0.120 | 0.541\*\*\* | 1.207\*\*\* |
|  *Gender* | -0.210 | 0.424 | 0.024 | -0.748 | -0.089 | 0.793 | -0.800 |
|  *Region\_Java* | -0.368 | 1.354\*\* | -0.414 | -1.250\*\* | -0.273 | 0.626 | -0.936 |
| Constant | 3.822\*\*\* | 0.620 | 4.184\*\*\* | -1.510 | 0.697 | -1.042 | -12.58\*\*\* |
| -2 log-likelihood | 2833.985098.06 [90](0.000)0.075821 |
| $χ^{2}$ [df] (Prob > $χ^{2}$) |
| Pseudo $R^{2}$ |
| N |

Note: $p^{\*}< .10, p^{\*\*}< .05, p^{\*\*\*}< .01$

**Table 3. Party Support for PKS in 2013**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **PKS Versus** |
|  | **PDI-P** | **Golkar** | **PD** | **Gerindra** | **PKB** | **PAN** | **PPP** |
| **PKS original base** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Islamist*  | -0.381\* | 0.136 | -0.090 | -0.561\*\* | -0.457\* | 0.014 | 0.073 |
| *Education* | -0.454\*\* | -0.295 | -0.030 | -0.072 | -0.705\*\*\* | 0.189 | -0.240 |
| **Controls** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Income* | -0.076 | -0.184 | 0.010 | 0.207 | 0.216 | -0.121 | 0.021 |
| *Evaluation* | -0.015 | -0.475\* | 0.347 | 0.221 | 0.249 | 0.426 | 0.197 |
| *Unemployed* | 0.047 | -0.023 | -1.407\* | -0.140 | -14.26\*\*\* | -0.018 | 0.263 |
| *Age* | 0.096 | 0.265\* | 0.175 | 0.025 | 0.161 | 0.104 | 0.423\* |
|  *Gender* | -0.957\*\* | -0.625 | -0.200 | -1.127\*\* | -0.070 | -0.127 | 0.401 |
|  *Region\_Java* | -0.269 | -1.776\*\*\* | -0.456 | -0.690 | 1.218\*\* | -1.069\*\* | -1.518\*\* |
| Constant | 2.324\* | 4.246\*\*\* | -0.418 | -0.735 | -0.730 | -1.857 | -1.713 |
| -2 log-likelihood | 3484.074720.33 [99](0.000)0.099862 |
| $χ^{2}$ [df] (Prob > $χ^{2}$) |
| Pseudo $R^{2}$ |
| N |

Note: $p^{\*}< .10, p^{\*\*}< .05, p^{\*\*\*}< .01$

**Table 4. Party Support for PKS in 2015**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **PKS Versus** |
|  | **PDI-P** | **Golkar** | **PD** | **Gerindra** | **PKB** | **PAN** | **PPP** |
| **PKS original base** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Islamist*  | -0.356 | -0.481\* | -0.135 | -0.512\* | -0.094 | -0.721\* | -0.637\* |
| *Education* | -0.427\* | -0.594\*\* | 0.138 | -0.193 | -0.408 | -0.314 | -0.774\*\* |
| **Controls** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Income* | -0.161 | -0.100 | -0.107 | -0.065 | -0.127 | -0.147 | 0.232 |
| *Evaluation* | 0.113 | 0.267 | 0.707\*\* | 0.240 | -0.071 | 0.193 | 0.766\*\* |
| *Unemployed* | 0.714 | 0.907 | -0.102 | 1.545\* | 0.874 | -0.363 | 1.597\* |
| *Age* | -0.096 | -0.001 | -0.128 | 0.031 | -0.064 | 0.239 | 0.108 |
|  *Gender* | -0.520 | -0.289 | -0.111 | -0.833\* | -0.143 | -0.446 | -0.229 |
|  *Region\_Java* | 1.047\*\* | 0.072 | -0.702 | -0.396 | 2.100\*\* | -1.181\*\* | -0.376 |
| Constant | 3.714\*\* | 2.946 | -0.573 | 1.707 | 1.214 | 1.165 | -0.435 |
| -2 log-likelihood | 3224.17267.87 [88](0.000)0.065820 |
| $χ^{2}$ [df] (Prob > $χ^{2}$) |
| Pseudo $R^{2}$ |
| N |

Note: $p^{\*}< .10, p^{\*\*}< .05, p^{\*\*\*}< .01$

**Table 5. Party Support for PKS in 2017**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **PKS Versus** |
|  | **PDI-P** | **Golkar** | **PD** | **Gerindra** | **PKB** | **PAN** | **PPP** |
| **PKS original base** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Islamist*  | -0.236 | -0.321 | -0.399\* | -0.512\*\* | -0.738\*\*\* | 0.158 | 0.105 |
| *Education* | -0.119 | -0.013 | 0.246 | 0.293 | 0.204 | -0.213 | 0.451 |
| **Controls** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Income* | 0.137 | -0.088 | 0.041 | 0.152 | -0.211 | -0.007 | -0.065 |
| *Evaluation* | 0.075 | -0.382 | 0.309 | 0.259 | -0.264 | -0.524 | -0.869\* |
| *Urbanity* | -1.327\*\* | -1.036 | -0.969 | -1.050 | -1.117 | 0.286 | -1.875\*\* |
| *Age* | 0.515\*\* | 0.728\*\*\* | 0.507\*\* | 0.609\*\* | 0.974\*\*\* | 0.422 | 0.855\*\*\* |
|  *Gender* | -1.037\* | -0.925 | -0.821 | -1.300\*\* | -0.556 | -1.151 | -0.926 |
|  *Region\_Java* | 0.696 | 0.587 | 0.773 | 0.585 | 4.236\*\*\* | -0.729 | 0.761 |
| Constant | 1.400 | 1.603 | -0.282 | -1.825 | -5.428\*\* | 1.795 | -0.693 |
| -2 log-likelihood | 3431.82405.37 [99](0.000)0.090935 |
| $χ^{2}$ [df] (Prob > $χ^{2}$) |
| Pseudo $R^{2}$ |
| N |

Note: $p^{\*}< .10, p^{\*\*}< .05, p^{\*\*\*}< .01$

**Appendix B. Results of Post-Suharto Legislative Elections**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **1999** | **2004** | **2009** | **2014** | **2019** |
| **V** | **S** | **V** | **S** | **V** | **S** | **V** | **S** | **V** | **S** |
| PKS | 1.34 | 7 | 7.34 | 45 | 7.88 | 57 | 6.79 | 40 | 8.21 | 50 |
| PDI-P | 33.74 | 153 | 18.53 | 109 | 14.03 | 95 | 18.95 | 109 | 19.33 | 128 |
| Golkar | 22.44 | 120 | 21.58 | 128 | 14.45 | 107 | 14.75 | 91 | 12.31 | 85 |
| PD | — | — | 7.45 | 55 | 20.85 | 150 | 10.19 | 61 | 7.77 | 54 |
| Gerindra | — | — | — | — | 4.46 | 26 | 11.81 | 73 | 12.57 | 78 |
| PKB | 12.61 | 51 | 10.57 | 52 | 4.94 | 27 | 9.04 | 47 | 9.69 | 58 |
| PAN | 7.12 | 34 | 6.44 | 53 | 6.01 | 43 | 7.59 | 49 | 6.84 | 44 |
| PPP | 10.71 | 58 | 8.15 | 58 | 5.32 | 37 | 6.53 | 39 | 4.52 | 19 |
| Others  | 12.04 | 39 | 19.94 | 50 | 22.06 | 18 | 14.35 | 51 | 18.76 | 44 |

Note: V (Vote share), S (Seats)