

development and change of these modernists' struggles and identities. In addition, the book provides detailed empirical data and puts them in different themes chronologically, which enable the readers to judge and review the history of Malaya, especially during the transition between Federated Malaya into Federated Malaya minus Singapore. To non-historians, this book also gives them a perspective on the construction of historiography, not only by the historians but those who are in the history. This reminds me of the "Fajar Generation" book launch held in Penang in on 9 January 2010, when Dr. Poh Soo Kai was responding to Lee Kuan Yew: "We are not re-writing history, we write history." Finally, this book perhaps can be a historical reference for the readers to comprehend the complex dynamics and the politics of the Occupy movements and the Arab Spring movements: Who exactly are making history, the winners or the losers?

SOON CHUAN YEAN
Universiti Sains Malaysia
<chuanyears@gmail.com>

SAIFUL MUJANI, WILLIAM R LIDDLE, AND KUSKRIDHO AMBARDI

Kuasa Rakyat

Analisis Tentang Perilaku Memilih dalam
Pemilihan Legislatif dan Presiden Indonesia
Pasca Orde Baru

People Power

Analysis of Voting Behavior in Legislative and
Presidential Elections in Post-New Order Indonesia

Jakarta: Mizan, 2012. 555 pp.

Voting behavior is a subject given considerable attention by many political scientists in the present situation of democratization in the post-New Order Indonesia. Although some excellent studies have analyzed voting behavior in Indonesia and explained how voters choose political parties and presidential candidates, they mostly rely on both sociological and psychological models. The sociological model relies on an understanding that religious affinities, region, ethnicity, and social classes are important components of voting behavior. Meanwhile, the psychological model emphasizes the appeal of the leadership of the candidate

and the self-identification with a political party (known as “Party ID”), and considers these to be the utmost factors that shape individual partisanship in the ballot.

Are those sociological and psychological models the only answer to understand contemporary voting behavior in Indonesia? The authors of the *Kuasa Rakyat* (People Power) examine Indonesian voting behavior in a different way. Unlike previous studies, this book underlines a combination of rational choice (the political-economic model) and the psychological model as the central elements that form the characters of voting behavior in the post-New Order context. Its findings contradict the sociological model in reading contemporary voting behavior in Indonesia.

This book compiles a series of studies from three national public opinion surveys conducted by a leading pollster in Indonesia, Lembaga Survey Indonesia (Indonesian Survey Institute or LSI), in 1999 (2,488 respondents), 2004 (1,200 respondents), and 2009 (1,200 respondents). It represents the claim of a nationwide survey and includes voters’ opinion from across the country using a multi-stage random sampling. In the context of the survey methodology and the reliability of the data, this book systematically demonstrates the foundation of voting behavior, especially the relationship between a so-called “voter turnout” and “reasons to vote” in the election. Through this book, the authors identify new patterns of voting behavior in the post-New Order context. To anyone familiar with voting behavior in Indonesia, this new general knowledge is an important contribution to what is already known.

The book consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 (“Introduction”) provides a theoretical framework and the models of voting behavior in Indonesia. Chapter 2 (“Emerging Critical Citizens: Support for Democracy and Criticism of Its Performances”) underlines how the post-New Order elections obtain democratic legitimacy. This chapter measures, in particular, the increase strength of democracy in the view of public opinions. Chapter 3 (“Participation and Political Choice”) elaborates voting behavior in the entire of Indonesian political history, mainly in the level of participation and the main reasons behind the choice in the elections. Chapter 4 (“Religion, Ethnicity, and Social Class”) examines the sociological model that mainly focuses on religious, ethnic and regional, and social classes. This chapter underlines the limitations of the sociological model in explaining voting behavior in a highly dynamic political context. Chapter 5

("Rationality of Voter's Behavior") analyzes how rational choice or politiceconomic factors are useful to identify the political change in the post-New Order context and, thus, are important to explain the results of the 1999, 2004, and 2009 elections. Chapter 6 ("Party Identity and Political Leaders") evaluates how the psychological factor influences the rationality of the voters in the elections. This chapter identifies the works of political advertising ("Party ID") and personal qualities of the party leaders and presidential candidates in the elections. Finally, chapter 7 ("Conclusion") concludes how rational choice, or the political-economic model, and the psychological model have a more convincing explanation of voting behavior, than that of the sociological model.

Regardless of its strong argument, this book should be seen as a showcase based on the national aggregate. Its main argument, in a particular setting, could lead to a different conclusion on voting behavior. That said, we are yet to see if its argument does hold water in understanding, for instance, the voting behavior in post-conflict areas. In post-conflict areas, such as Ambon and Poso, religious and ethnic identities have a special meaning for voters. The religious identity is vital in the ballot as most political candidates come in pairs, comprising of Christian and Muslim. Likewise, ethnic identity is also significantly vital, by and large, in Aceh and Papua.

In addition, it seems that the finding does not satisfy to explain some cases in the national elections. For example, how does this book describe the landslide victory of Jusuf Kalla (64%; see "JK-Wiranto 64 % di Sulsel," *Tribun Makassar*, July 20, 2009), the candidate of 2004 presidential election, in South Sulawesi province? The success of Kalla in South Sulawesi comprises ethnic and regional elements. Furthermore, the book's argument seems ineffective to answer why some Islamic-based political parties (i.e., National Awakening Party [PKB], United Development Party [PPP], and National Mandate Party [PAN]) did gain an increasing number of votes in the current 2014 election (see KPU, "Persentase Hasil Suara Partai" [The Percentage of Party Result], 2014, <http://www.kpu.go.id/index.php/persentasepartai>).

On balance, the greatest contribution of the book is its pioneering and comprehensive study on voting behavior, which is based on empirical research and which covers three elections after Indonesia re-embraced democracy in the post-New Order context. The overall discussions in every chapter provide complete data that would easily convince any reader to conclude that this work is the most inclusive

study ever made. The structure and the content are also both informative and clear. Most importantly, the book offers a new perspective on understanding the new trend of voting behavior at the national level. Altogether, this book is essential reading on voting behavior on a national scale, based on the voice of a people who have been previously neglected.

AGUS TRIHARTONO
RGIRO, Ritsumeikan University
<atrihartono@gmail.com>

KAFIL YAMIN

Hidup Sehari Penuh Menjalani Hubungan Etis dengan Alam | **Living a Full Day** | Engaging Ethical Relationships With Nature

Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Press, 2013. 248 pp.

Until very recently, the popular perceptions in Indonesia have conveniently considered environmental degradation as one of the unavoidable expenses of economic growth and development. Many policy makers, as well as members of the business community, share this perspective and have created ambiguous structural measures to tackle environmental problems. These piecemeal and unsatisfactory solutions have raised concerns among a number of scholars and NGO activists; they have called for more effort to explore the richness of Indonesian “local wisdom” on environmental protection, which can serve as a secondary approach to settle environmental problems. Strong pressure for development, however, has often compromised such wisdom. Given this situation, there is thus a growing need to offer new perspectives on how to holistically approach the environmental problems in Indonesia.

Given his background as a senior journalist with years of involvement in environmental issues, Yamin situates *Hidup Sehari Penuh* in the context of the global environmental problem. He discusses common environmental issues within the context of international concern for global activism and education. Nonetheless, the uniqueness of his book is beyond the common vocabularies of protection and conservation. Yamin believes that environmental issues,