

Michael Buehler & Ronnie Nataatmadja (2020) Authoritarian diasporas in Indonesia and the Philippines: comparative perspectives on elite survival and defection, Democratization, DOI: [10.1080/13510347.2020.1832084](https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2020.1832084)

Supplemental material

This document explains how we classified diasporans in Indonesia and the Philippines, and explains data collection pertaining to membership of the final national parliaments under authoritarian rule.

In Indonesia, we identified the names of the 1,000 members of the 1997-1999 MPR through a list published by the Indonesian Department of Information (*Departemen Penerangan*).¹ We then traced the post-transition trajectory of all 864 members of the New Order authoritarian cohort by comparing it with the names of 34,061 candidates who participated in national legislative elections after 1998. We also compared the names of the authoritarian cohort with all 3,769 names of candidates who ran for a seat in the Regional Representative Council (DPD – *Dewan Perwakilan Daerah*) after this body replaced the appointed UD and UG seats in the MPR in 2004. Finally, we compared the names of the 864 members of the authoritarian cohort with the names of governors, vice-governors, district heads, deputy-district heads, mayors and deputy-mayors elected in Indonesia after 2005.²

For the Philippines, we compared the names of the 112 KBL members with the 2,395 names of members sitting in the 8th to 18th Congresses of the Republic of the Philippines as well as the 156 members sitting in the Senate from 1987 to 2019. We also compared the

¹ The Ministry has since been renamed Ministry of Communication and Information Technology.

² We were able to compile the data for such posts only for the 2005-2019 period. Before direct elections for subnational executive heads were introduced in 2005, local parliaments elected candidates to these posts between 1999 and 2005. Unfortunately, the names of local executive heads are not readily available for that period. Hence, we compared the names of the authoritarian cohort with the names of all 1999-2005 subnational executive heads which were available to us.

authoritarian cohort with the names of all governors, deputy governors, mayors and deputy mayors in 89 local jurisdictions in the Philippines after 1986.³

For the names of candidates running in post-transition national legislative elections and the names of members of Parliament (MPs), ABRI, UD and UG reserved seats (1999-2004) as well as members of the DPD after 2004, we relied on data obtained from the National Election Commission (KPU – *Komisi Pemilihan Umum*) in Jakarta. In the Philippines, we obtained the data directly from the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) office in Manila as well as the COMELEC website.

In matching the names, we considered misspellings and variations of how the names are commonly spelled. Since many Indonesians do not have family names, we also utilized the parliamentary handbooks published by *Kompas*, an Indonesian newspaper, and data from the office of the secretary general of the national parliament (DPR – *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*) to verify the identity of candidates. In the Philippines, as with the Indonesian case, we considered a variety of spellings especially when names contained diacritics. Lastly, we perused books on elections in the Philippines, news articles and the Congressional website to verify the identities of candidates.

In the first post-New Order elections in 1999, Indonesians could vote only for a party, not for individual candidates. However, lists of candidates were published prior to election day and posted at polling stations.⁴ We tried to obtain these lists from the national election commission, the national archive as well as party headquarters in Jakarta for several years but were unsuccessful.

³ There were 119 provinces and major cities in the Philippines at the time of writing but we were unable to find data on local government heads for 30 of them.

⁴ The election law regulating the first post-New Order elections in 1999 did not detail the seat allocation criteria. This lack of clear rules on how to allocate seats left party leaders and KPU with considerable discretion and provided opportunities for abuse (King 2000).

We were therefore unable to identify the members of the authoritarian cohort who *competed* in the 1999 elections. However, we could identify members of the authoritarian cohort who *won or were assigned* a seat in the 1999-2004 national parliament, since the official list of MPs was published after 1999. For all subsequent elections, we were able to calculate both the percentage of the authoritarian cohort that dropped out *before* elections as well as the percentage who ran for a seat and then won or lost on election day (since parties had to publish candidate lists *prior* to elections). In the Philippines, we could not obtain the names of all the candidates who *ran* in legislative elections after 1986. Hence, we were able to determine only whether members of the Regular Batasang Pambansa were *reelected* in any national elections after 1987.

Appendix 1: Number of authoritarian cohortians surviving and defecting in Indonesia, per election year and party

Different party: Elected for another party than in 1997

Local government head: Elected as governor, district head or mayor

Same party: Ran for the same party as in 1997

Did not run: Dropped out prior to the elections

Different party or DPD: Ran for a different party than in 1997 or ran for the Regional Representatives Council (DPD)

Seat distribution in terminal national legislature in 1997		1999			Did not run	2004			Local government head	Same party		
		Different party	Local government head	Same party		Different party or DPD				Elected	Not elected	Total
						Elected	Not Elected	Total				
Golkar	488		2	32	365	7	20	27	2	50	44	94
PDI	17	1			14		3	3				
PPP	136			14	94	1	7	8		18	16	34
ABRI	113			23	108	3	2	5				
UD	149	3			137	5	7	12				
UG	97				79	10	8	18				
Total	1000	4	2	69	797	26	47	73	2	68	60	128

	2009								2014							
	Did not run	Different party or DPD			Local government head	Same party			Did not run	Different party or DPD			Local government head	Same party		
		Elected	Not elected	Total		Elected	Not elected	Total		Elected	Not elected	Total		Elected	Not elected	Total
Golkar	403	4	19	23	2	25	35	60	431	2	17	19	4	14	20	34
PDI	17								16		1	1				
PPP	111	1	7	8		4	13	17	123	4	2	6		4	3	7
ABRI	106	3	4	7					110	1	2	3				
UD	137	2	10	12					143	3	3	6				
UG	89	2	6	8					86	1	10	11				
Total	863	12	46	58	2	29	48	77	909	11	35	46	4	18	23	41

	2019							
	Did not run	Different party or DPD			Local government head	Same party		
		Elected	Not elected	Total		Elected	Not elected	Total
Golkar	460	4	6	10	1	6	11	17
PDI	17							
PPP	127	1	2	3			6	6
ABRI	110	2	1	3				
UD	148		1	1				
UG	95	1	1	2				
Total	957	8	11	19	1	6	17	23

Appendix 2: Number of authoritarian cohortians surviving and defecting in the Philippines, per election year and party

Different party or Senate: Elected for another party or the Senate than in 1984

Same party: Ran for the same party as in 1984

Local government head: Elected as governor, district head or mayor

Seat distribution in terminal national legislature in 1984		1987				1992				1995					
		Elected			Not elected	Elected			Not elected	Elected			Not elected		
		Different party or Senate	Same party	Local government head		Different party or Senate	Same party	Local government head		Different party or Senate	Same party	Local government head			
KBL	112	7	14		91	19		2		91	18		2		92
Appointed	10				10					10					10
Independent	8	1			7					8					8
Unclear	3				3					1					1
Mindanao Alliance	1				1					3					4
NP	4	1			3	1				4					4
PDP-Laban	4	2			2					3					3
UNIDO	54	19			35	10				44	10				44
Total	196	30	14		152	30		2		164	28		2		166

		1998				2001				2004						
		Elected			Not elected	Elected			Not elected	Elected			Not elected			
		Different party or Senate	Same party	Local government head		Different party or Senate	Same party	Local government head		Different party or Senate	Same party	Local government head				
KBL		12	1	3		96	9	1	2		100	9		2		101
Appointed						10					10					10
Independent						8	1				7	1				7
Unclear						1					1					1
Mindanao Alliance						3	2				2					4
NP		1				2	2				2					2
PDP-Laban		2				3					3	2				3
UNIDO		2				52	2				52	4				50
Total		17	1	3		175	16	1	2		177	16		2		178

Appendix 2 (cont.)

	2007				2010				2013			
	Elected			Not elected	Elected			Not elected	Elected			Not elected
	Different party or Senate	Same party	Local government head		Different party or Senate	Same party	Local government head		Different party or Senate	Same party	Local government head	
KBL	10		1	101	4		2	106	3		2	107
Appointed				10				10				10
Independent	1			7				8				8
Unclear				1				1				1
Mindanao Alliance				3				4				4
NP	1			3				4				4
PDP-Laban	1			3				3				3
UNIDO	3			51	1			53	1			53
Total	16		1	179	5		2	189	4		2	190

	2016				2019			
	Elected			Not elected	Elected			Not elected
	Different party or Senate	Same party	Local government head		Different party or Senate	Same party	Local government head	
KBL	2		2	108	1		2	109
Appointed				10				10
Independent				8				8
Unclear				1				1
Mindanao Alliance				4				4
NP				4				4
PDP-Laban				3				3
UNIDO	1			53	1			53
Total	3		2	191	2		2	192

Appendix 3: Number of authoritarian cohortians defecting to Golkar, per election year and party

Seat distribution in terminal national legislature in 1997		1999	2004		2009		2014		2019	
		Elected	Elected	Lost Election	Elected	Lost Election	Elected	Lost Election	Elected	Lost Election
PDI	17									
ABRI	113		2							
UD	149	2	3	1	1	2	1			
UG	97		5	2	1	4		3		1
Total	376	2	10	3	2	6	1	3		1

Source: Authors' own calculations based on KPU and COMELEC data