

# Democratization and Decentralization

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# The Context

## FIRST STAGE

1999: Competitive Legislative Elections

2001: Regional Autonomy

Neither was novel in **procedure**, only in **implementation**

# The Context

## SECOND STAGE

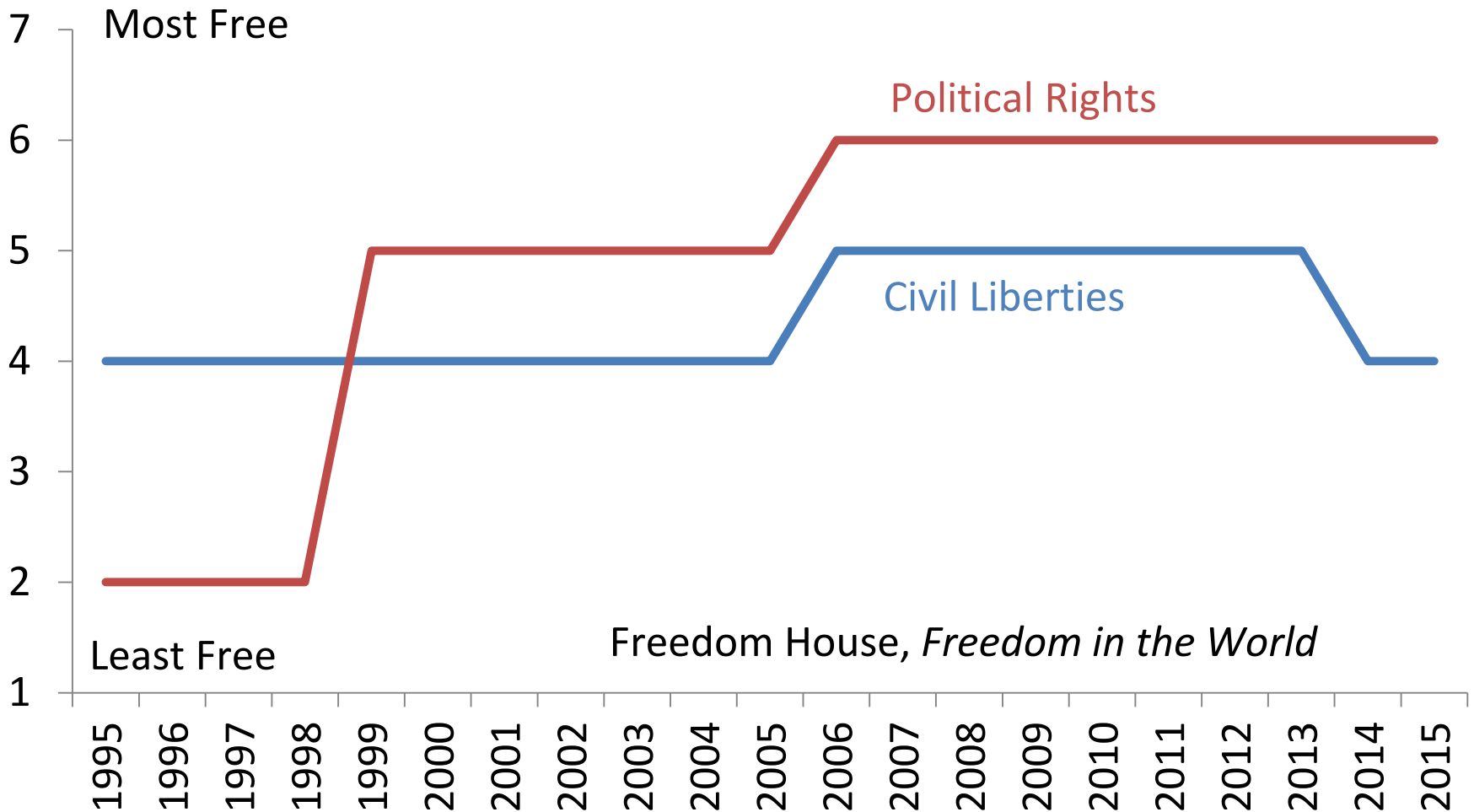
2004: Direct presidential elections

2004: Clarification of decentralization rules

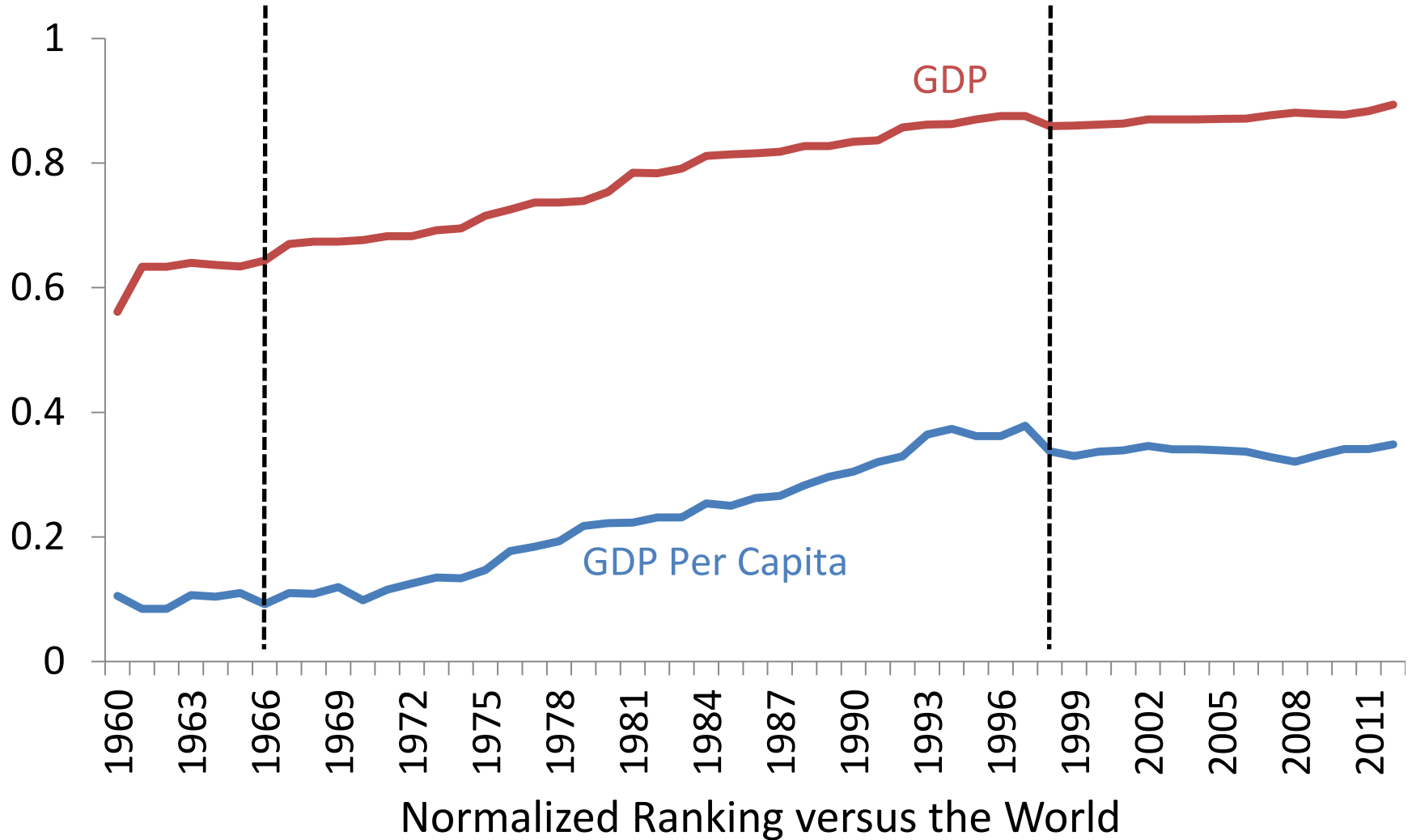
2005: Direct district head elections

Novel in **procedures**

# Trends Local and National



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1. Erosion of programmatic brands (trend dates to Sukarno)
2. Disruption of “cross-level” vertical accountability
3. Personalization of politics

*c.f. Mainwaring 1993 on immobilism, coalition maintenance in multiparty presidential democracies*

# Implications for National Politics

1. Impetus for grand coalitions (just look this week)
2. Difficulty in costly reforms and complex tasks
3. Structure **constrains**, agency **explains**

# Implications for Local Politics

1. “Great” variation
2. Experimentation, innovation, ... and recalcitrance, and stagnation
3. The emergence of outsiders



# What to Watch

## WHAT'S NEW?

1. Multilevel administration w.o. multilevel partisanship
2. The market for clientelism
3. Regional divergence
4. Policy diffusion

# What To Watch

## NEW OLD FORCES

1. Prickly nationalism (c.f. Aspinall 2015)
2. Militarism
3. Moralism as political culture (“revolusi mental,” “politik beradab”)
4. *Golongan*-ization of difference

# Three Words I Haven't Said

1. Islam
2. Civil War
3. Terrorism

Our fears were misplaced in 1999. What am I missing today?

# Conclusions