Voting Behavior and Voters Social Class in The 2020 Local Leaders Election in Manado City

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Abstract:
The implementation of the local leaders election in Indonesia in recent years has always been colored by issues of primordialism. This is supported by data on the trend of political intolerance in Indonesia which is increasing every year. However, this fact is inversely proportional to the phenomenon of the election of Andrei Angouw, who is Confucian and ethnically Chinese in the 2020 local leader election in Manado City, the majority of whom are Christians. Andrei Angouw's victory cannot be separated from the voting behavior of the community in determining voting decisions. This type of quantitative research using the survey method aims to find out how the voting behavior of the people in the 2020 local leader election in Manado City. The results of this study indicate that 1) in determining the decision to choose a major aslocal leader, people tend to consider aspects of the party, aspects of the program, aspects of the candidate's personality, and social image; 2) aspects that determine Andrei Angouw's victory in the 2020 local leader election in Manado City are issues and policy orientation aspects, candidate personality aspects, and social image aspects; 3) voters mostly are in the middle social class.
Keywords: *Manado Mayor Election, Voting Behavior, Social Class*

I.   Introduction

The implementation of direct elections as a media for voting local leaders at least has 2 (two) urgency. The first one as a manifestation of democracy as well as a form of strengthening democratic values at the local level. All people are allowed to nominate themselves as local leaders while also being allowed to vote candidates for local leaders according to their choices and conscience. The first two as a consequence of the enactment of Law 32/2004 (has been replaced by Law23/2014) mandates that local leaders election be carried out based on direct, general, free, confidential, honest, and fair. Seeing these two things, the local leaders election must be carried out ideally in order to realize these two things.

However, in the political contestation in Indonesia (general election, presidential election, and local leaders election) there is an unresolved issue that always arises in every implementation of political contestation, namely primordial sentiment. In fact, most political scholars argue that this issue has existed since the first general election was held in Indonesia in 1955 and has been strengthened after the 2014 general election through the politicization of identity (Herdiansah, 2017; Ramadlan, 2018). This opinion is reinforced by the LSI national survey on political intolerance in Indonesia in recent years. LSI national survey 2016-2019 with moslem respondents indicated that the trend of political intolerance in Indonesia was increasing. When Muslim respondents were asked whether or not they objected to non-moslem becoming local leaders (governor and regent/mayor), respondents with an objectionable answer showed an increasing trend. Likewise with the survey conducted by LSI in 2018-2019 with a non-moslem respondent, when asked whether or not they objected to moslems being the local leaders, respondents with an objectionable answer showed an increasing trend every year. In the case of one religion to another (including among non-moslems), the same applies. LSI survey in the 2006 local leaders election in Manado City, 45.5% of respondents answered that it was very important that the Mayor of Manado was a Protestant Christian and only 4.1% of respondents answered that it was not important. The 2017 CSIS survey also shows the same thing. 58.4% of respondents could not accept a leader of a different religion and 39.1% could accept it. These data can be concluded in Muhtadi's opinion (2019) that in situations where moslems and non-moslems are the majority group in their area, both moslems and non-moslems tend to be more intolerant than they are as a minority.

2020 is the 16th direct election in Indonesia. The 2020 local leaders election was attended by 270 regions including the Manado City. Interestingly, the 2020 local leaders election was won by Andrei Angouw and Richard Sualang in all districts, in which Andrei Angouw was confucian and ethnically chinese. In fact, if

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you look at the population structure of Manado City based on 2019 statistics data, the population who embraces the Kong Hu Chu religion has the smallest percentage, which is only 0.04%. The majority of the population embraced Protestant Christianity (55.57%), followed by Islam (38.47%), Catholicism (4.94%), Hinduism (0.22%), and Buddhism (0.12%).

The phenomenon of Andrei Angouw's victory is interesting to study related to people's voting behavior. Theoretically, voting behavior is a study that focuses on electoral activities where studying habits and tendencies of society to make his choice, including the voting (votes) (Plano, 1985; Huntington and Nelson, 1990). In analyzing voting behavior, there are several approaches that have been developed by experts, including sociological approach, social psychology approach, rational choice approach, and cognitive domain approach. The sociological approach is the approach used by voters in voting by considering social characteristics and social groupings between themselves and the person they will vote. Social psychology approach is an approach that links individual voting behavior with the social context in which the individual is located or takes shelter and places himself as the center of attention. The rational choice approach is the approach used by voters who will only follow their personal interests or if they don't, voters with this approach will prioritize their personal interests over the interests of others. Finally, the cognitive domain approach is an approach that is based on the cognitive understanding of voters in voting a party or candidate. Each of these voting behavior approaches has aspects that are interrelated and complement one another.

II. Material And Methods

This research is a type of quantitative research with survey methods conducted in 2 (two) villages, WinangunDua Village as a representation of christian voters and Ternate Tanjung Village as a representation of moslem voters. Aspects of voting behavior in this study, namely party identificationaspects, issue-oriented and policy aspects, current assessmentaspects, candidate personality aspects, and the social image aspect, which were analyzed using the categorization score of voters' answers. The categorization refers to SutrisnoHadi's (1991) categorization, in which the higher the answer score.Hadi's categorization is classified into 4 (four) categories, namely very high, high, low, and very low using the formula:

Very high   =Mi + 1.5 Sdi< X Mi + 3 Sdi
High   =Mi < X Mi + 1.5 SD
Low   =Mi − 1.5 Sdi< X Mi
Very low   =Mi − 3 Sdi X Mi − 1.5 Sdi
where:
Mi   =Ideal Mean
Sdi   =Ideal Standard Deviation

III. Voting Behavior

### *Voting Behavior in WinangunDua Village*

Party identification aspects on voters in WinangunDua Village can be seen in Figure 1. From the results of the calculation are known that category of the very low score is ≤ 16, the category of low-score is ≤ 22, the category of high-score is ≤ 29, and the category of very high-score is ≤ 36.

Figure 1

15.59%   40.86%   21.51%   22.04%

■ Very High ■ High ■ Low ■ Very Low
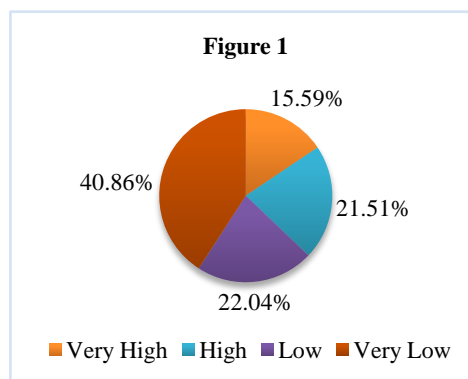
From the picture above, it can be seen that the percentage of very low category and low category is bigger than high category and very high category. The very low category is 40.86% and the low category is 22.04%, while the high category is 21.51% and the very high category is 15.59%. This indicates the low tendency of the party identification aspect to be considered by voters to vote the elected mayoral candidate in WinangunDua Village.

Because most voters in this village are not party administrators or members of the party that carries the elected mayoral candidate, and do not understand or know the ideology of the party that carries the elected mayoral candidate, the low aspect of party identification becomes a consideration for voters in this village. The percentage figures in the high and very high categories result from a large number of voters responding that they chose the elected mayoral candidate because they believed the party carrying the elected mayoral candidate was superior in legislative elections at the provincial and national levels, as well as the victory of the supporting party in the election for the Governor of North Sulawesi and the presidential election.

Issue and policy orientation aspects to voters in WinangunDua Village can be seen in Figure 2 . From the results of the calculation are known category of very low score is ≤ 23, the low category score is ≤ 32, the high category score is ≤ 42 and very high category score is ≤ 52.

Figure 2

2.69%
11.29%
43.55%
42.47%

■ Very High ■ High ■ Low ■ Very Low
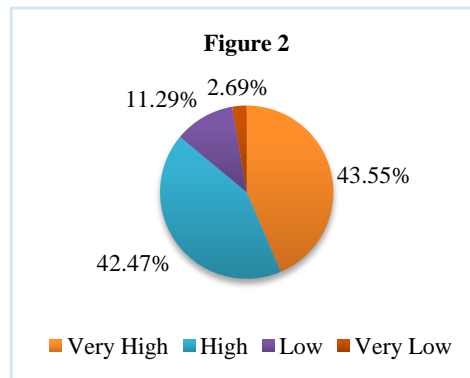
The picture above provides information that issue and policy orientationaspects tend to be considered by voters to vote the elected mayoral candidate. This is demonstrated by the significant percentage difference between the high and low categories. The very high category has a percentage of 43.55%, while the high category has a percentage of 42.47% which is significantly higher than the low and very low categories, which have percentages of 11.29% and 2.69%, respectively.

Policies in environmental with programs for constructing a wonderful and comfortable environment, effective and professional waste management, constructing parks and facilities, and shaping and managing public hunting grounds are programs that voters consider when voting candidates, according to the frequency of their responses. Moreover, the majority of voters, vote the elected mayoral candidate based on social welfare policies. Three of the four programs offered are the most popular among voters, namely the job creation program, the social assistance program for the elderly and low-income families, and the improvement programs and health services, which are the voters preferred choice in this policy. Finally, the MSME(Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises) management program and similar programs in economic policy are also considered to elect the elected mayoral candidate.

The current assessment aspects can be seen in Figure 3. From the results of the calculation are known category of very low score is ≤ 5, the low category score is ≤ 7, the high category score is ≤ 10 and very high category score is ≤ 12.

Figure 3

9.14%
15.59%
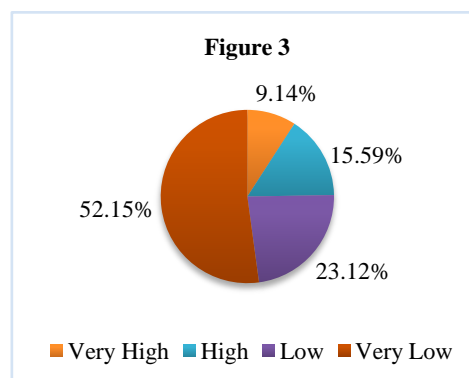52.15%
23.12%

■ Very High ■ High ■ Low ■ Very Low

Figure 3 shows that the very low category has a higher percentage (52.15%) than the other categories, which are followed by the low category (23.12%). The percentage for the high category is 15.59%, and the percentage for the very high category is 9.14%. According to the data presented above, the current assessment aspects is too low for voters to consider when selecting the elected mayoral candidate.

The low the current assessment aspectsis a consideration in voting the elected mayoral candidate because most of the voters answered that the elected mayoral candidate did not provide development assistance in the voters neighborhood or provide assistance in the form of basic necessities or goods. The emergence of the high category is because a small number of voters answered that they were given money in return for voting the elected mayoral candidate.

Candidate personality aspects to voters in WinangunDua Village can be seen in Figure 4 . From the results of the calculation are known category of very low score is ≤ 9, the low category score is ≤ 12 high category score is ≤ 16 and very high category score is ≤ 20.

Figure 4

8.60%   2.69%
49.46%
39.25%

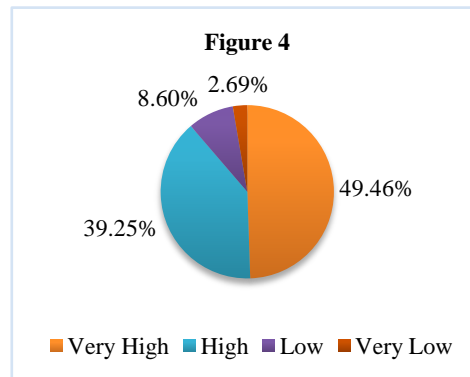■ Very High ■ High ■ Low ■ Very Low

Figure 4 shows that the attractiveness of the elected mayoral candidate is high enough for voters to consider when voting the elected mayoral candidate. This can be seen from the very large difference in percentage between the high category and the low category. The high and very high categories had 39.25% and 49.46% respectively, while the low and very low categories were 8.60% and 2.69%, respectively. Most of the voters in this village strongly believe that the elected mayoral candidate has good leadership skills, trustworthy, honest, intelligent, and has broad insight.

Social image aspects can be seen in Figure 5. From the results of the calculation are known category of very low score is ≤ 5, the low category score is ≤ 7, the high category score is ≤ 10 and very high category score is ≤ 12.

Figure 5

6.45%
24.19%
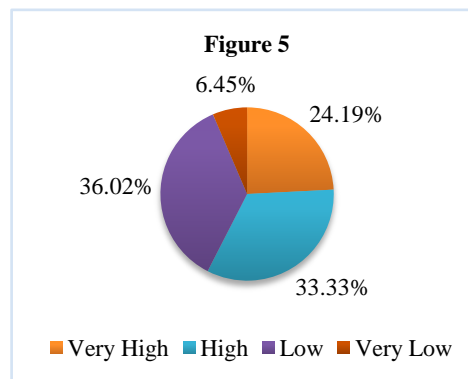36.02%
33.33%

■ Very High ■ High ■ Low ■ Very Low

Figure 5 shows unique data in which the low category has the highest percentage (36.02%) but is not significantly different from the high category (33.33%). Despite the fact that the low category has a high percentage, the data above show that the high category continues to dominate because it is supported by the very high category, which has a percentage of 24.19%. In other words, voters are likely to consider the aspect of social image when deciding a mayoral candidate. Many voters pay attention to the political actions of the elected mayoral candidate as well as the business background of the elected mayoral candidate.

Voting Behavior in Ternate Tanjung Village

Party identification on voters in Ternate Tanjung Village can be seen in Figure 6. From the results of the calculation are known category of very low score is ≤ 16, the category of low-score is ≤ 22, the category of high-score is ≤ 29, and the category of very high-score is ≤ 36.
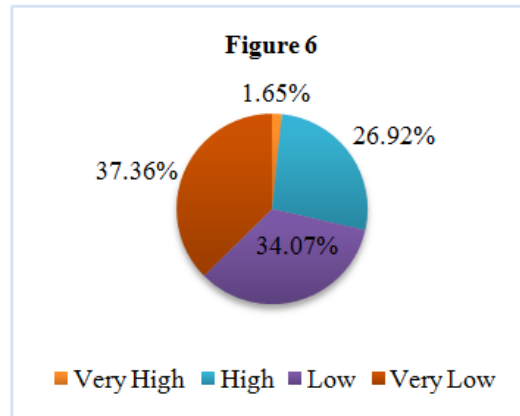
Figure 6

Figure 6 shows that the percentage of very low and low categories is greater than the percentage of high and very high categories. The very low category has 37.36%, the low category has 34.07%, the high category has 26.92%, and the very high category has 1.65%. This indicates that voters in Ternate Tanjung Village do not place a high value on party identification when deciding on a mayoral candidate.

Party identification aspects tend to be low in Ternate Tanjung Village to be considered by voters when voting the elected mayoral candidate because most voters are not administrators or party members who carry the elected mayoral candidate and do not know the ideology of the party that carries the mayoral candidate. Meanwhile, the percentage of high and very high categories appeared in this aspect because voters responded that the victory of the supporting party in legislative elections at the city, province, and national levels, as well as the party's victory in the governor election and presidential election, were taken into account in voting the elected mayoral candidate.

Issue and policy orientation aspects for voters in Ternate Tanjung Village are shown in Figure 7. From the results of the calculation are known category of the very low score is ≤ 23, the low category score is ≤ 32, the high category score is ≤ 42, and the very high category score is ≤ 52.
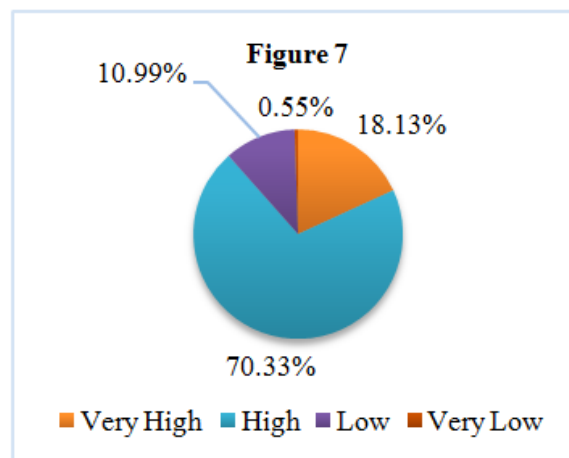

Figure 7

Figure 7 shows that the high category has a significant percentage difference from the other categories. The high category has a percentage of 70.33%, while the very high category has a percentage of 18.13%. The low and very low percentages are 10.99 and 0.55 percent, respectively. The percentages in the graph above indicate that aspects of issue orientation and policy are highly likely to be considered by voters when deciding on a mayoral candidate.

The frequency of voter responses on the issue orientation and policy aspect reveals that the programs that receive the most attention from Ternate Tanjung Village voters are incentive programs for clergy, MSME (Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises) management programs , job creation programs, and programs to improve health facilities and services.

The current assessment aspects can be seen in Figure 8. From the results of the calculation are known category of the very low is score ≤ 5, the low category score is ≤ 7, the high category score is ≤ 10, and the very high category score ≤ 12.
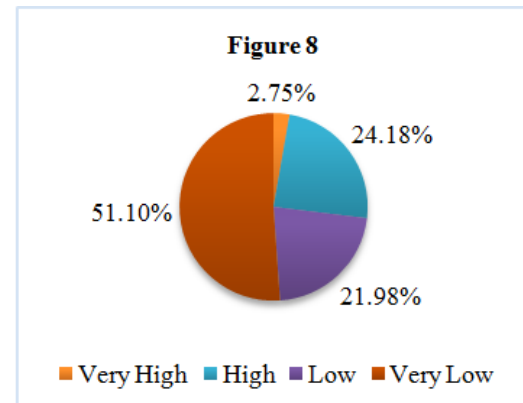
Figure 8 shows that the percentage in the very low category is significantly higher than the percentages in the other categories. The very low category has a percentage of 51.10%, the low category has a percentage of 21.98%, the high category has a percentage of 24.18%, and the very high category has a percentage of 2.75%. Based on the data presented above, it is possible to conclude that the current assessment aspect is too low for voters to consider when selecting the elected mayoral candidate.

The current assessment aspect tends to be low for voters to consider when voting the elected mayoral candidate because most of the voters answered that the elected mayoral candidate did not provide development assistance in the voters neighborhood or provide assistance in the form of basic necessities or goods. The high category emerged as a result of a small number of voters responding that they were given money in exchange for voting for the elected mayoral candidate.

Candidate personality aspects to voters in Ternate Tanjung Village can be seen in Figure 9 . The calculation results show that the very low category score is ≤ 9, the low category score is ≤ 12, the high category score is ≤ 16, and the very high category score is ≤ 20.
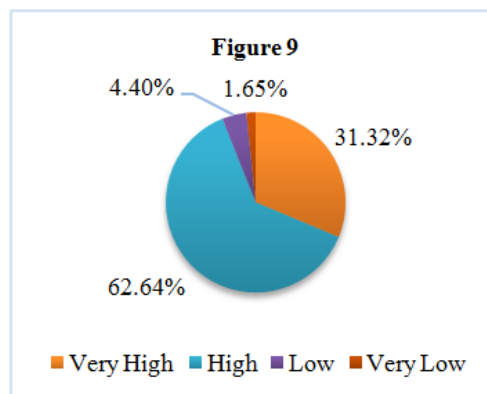

Figure 9 shows that the attractiveness of the elected mayoral candidate is high enough for voters to consider when deciding the elected mayoral candidate. The very large difference in percentages between the high and low categories proves this. The high and very high categories each have 62.64% and 31.32%, respectively, while the low and very low categories both have 4.40% and 1.65%. Voters are very confident that the elected mayoral candidate has good leadership skills, trustworthy, honest, intelligent, and has broad insight, based on the frequency of their responses on this issue.

Social image can be seen in Figure 10. The calculation results show that the very low category score is ≤ 5, the low category score is ≤ 7, the high category score is ≤ 10, and the very high category score is ≤ 12.
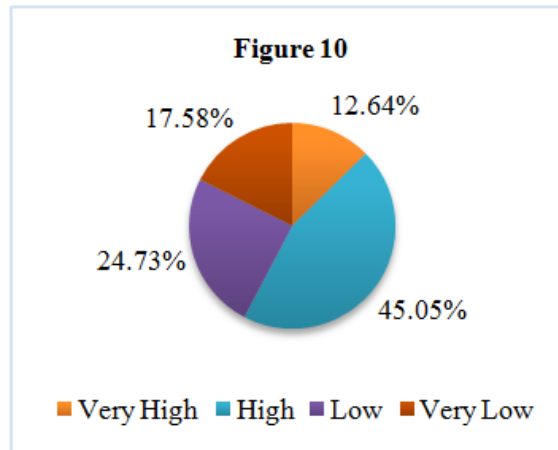
Figure 10 shows that the high category has the highest percentage (45.05%), followed by the low percentage (24.73%), very low percentage (17.58%), and very high percentage (12.64%). According to the data presented above, the aspect of social image is one that voters take into account when deciding on a mayoral candidate. Voters are interested in the political actions of the elected mayoral candidate, the entrepreneur background of the elected mayoral candidate, and the wealthy background of the elected mayoral candidate.

IV. Middle Social Class and Andrei Angouw's Victory

Refers to the opinion of M.Arifin Noor (2007) who divides social class into 3 (three) levels, namely upper class, middle class, and lower class. From this level, it is known that the majority of voters in the two villages are in the middle social class. The middle social class is identified with professionals and owners of smaller shops or businesses, well-educated, ample income. The professionals in this study are voters who work as civil servants/public company employees and shop owners or smaller businesses, namely voters who work as entrepreneurs. In WinangunDua Village, 44% of voters are self-employed and 30% of voters are civil servants/public company employees and in Ternate Tanjung Village, 47% of voters are entrepreneurs and 20% of voters are private employees. Judging from the level of education met, the minimum level of education required in Indonesia is 12 years (equivalent to senior high school). Data from both villages shows that the education level of voters is almost the minimum education level in Indonesia. Judging from the income, the income of the majority of voters is in the range of regional minimum wage of Manado City.

An interesting fact about the middle class in Indonesia, the middle class is the dominant group of social media users and is a contributor to the increase in the number of smartphone users for social media (Intrans in WasistoRaharjoJati, 2016). Currently, the existence of social media is important in delivering information along with television and mass media, but social media has an advantage because social media provides space to negotiate and discuss information, including political information. Andrew Chadwick (2006) argues that the use of the internet (social media) can affect the political sphere. This opinion can be agreed by the researcher because if drawn in this study, the researcher found that social media had the highest percentage in introducing the figure of Andrei Angouw, namely 37% in WinangunDua Village and 43% in Ternate Tanjung Village. In socializing the programs offered by Andrei Angouw, social media also has a big role where 45% of voters in WinangunDua Village and 42% of voters in Ternate Tanjung Village know about the programs offered by Andrei Angouw through this media. The findings of the use of social media in this study also strengthen the important goals of the relationship between cyberspace and democracy, namely activism (the formation of political movements in cyber space) and preservation (cyberspace as a democratic space).

Middle class voters are rational, critical, and skeptical (Jojo, 2019). This group is considered rational because it prioritizes voting considerations by looking at the track records of candidates and promised programs during the campaign as well as analyzing the possibility of these programs being relevant (logically) to be carried out or not. The middleclass group is called critical because in considering voting decisions, rational voters not only look at the policies offered by the candidate but also see the ideology of the party that carries the candidate in political contestation. Middle class voters are considered skeptical because middle class voters are not tied to any party ideology and tend to assume the promised policies (both from the party and personally) will bring about insignificant changes. Regarding the opinion that middle class voters are rational voters, this study shows the same thing. The class of society in this study is classified based on the level of education, income, and occupation (Noor, 2007). From the results of the chi-square test between issues and policy orientation aspects (program aspects) with education level, income level and voter occupation, it is known that there is a

relationship between issues and policy orientation aspects with these characteristics in WinangunDua Village and Ternate Tanjung Village.

V. Conclusion

In the 2020 local leaders election in Manado City, which Andrei Angouw won, the issue and policy orientation aspects, candidate personality aspects, and social image aspects were highly valued by voters in the WinangunDua and Ternate Tanjung villages. Programs that are close to the actual conditions of the community, such as effective and professional waste management, have the potential to attract more voters' attention. This is because Andrei Angouw's programs can be well socialized on all media, particularly social media, and the waste management program is a real program that is needed by the community in the midst of Manado City's poor waste management, as evidenced by facts over the last two years (2018 and 2019) in which according to the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, Manado is one of the dirtiest cities in the big city category. Andrei Angouw's experience in politics, as well as his background as an entrepreneur, helped him won the election for Mayor of Manado City.

The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia presents a challenge for prospective local leaders in conventionally introducing themselves and socializing their programs. In the midst of the covid pandemic and widespread use of social media, Andrei Angouw's strategy of introducing oneself and disseminating the program via social media may be an option for candidates. Another strategy that candidates should consider is selecting several programs that are actually close to the community, are ordinary programs but can attract more public attention, such as Andrei Angouw's waste management program. Candidates for local leaders with a social background, such as Andrei Angouw, are expected to consider aspects of people's voting behavior that determine Andrei Angouw's victory.

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