Dynamics of Voter Participation in the 2020 Makassar Mayor Election

Endang Sari[1]

[1] Doctoral Program of Political Sciences, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University, Indonesia
endangssari515@gmail.com

Abstract. One of the parameters of success in implementing democratic celebration lies in the public's participation. The significant number of public participation indicates that the result of the celebration of democracy is an actual realization of legitimacy from the wider community to the emerging of a new leader. The 2020 Makassar Mayoral election still leaves several problems concerning voter participation behind. The voter turnout rate in the 2020 Makassar Mayoral election has indeed increased from the previous Regional Leaders Election (Pilkada) but is only at 59.96%. Voters' participation in Makassar has never reached 60% since the 2013 Regional election, which only reached 59.94% and 58.98% in the 2018 Regional election. This research tries to reveal the dynamics of voter participation, what factors influence the increase of voter participation, and how the COVID-19 pandemic affects voter participation. The method used in this research is descriptive quantitative research using the survey method. The results of this research show that the increase in voter participation in the 2020 Makassar City Election is influenced by high awareness of voters related to their rights as citizens and the candidates' vision and mission. The majority of voters did not cast a ballot since they did not receive a voter summons, and most of the voters were out of town at the time of the 2020 Makassar City Election.

Keywords: Participation, Voters, Election, Mayor, Makassar.

1   Introduction

Pilkada, or the direct regional leader's election, is implemented to ensure the democratic election of leaders in the regions, including Governors, Regents, or Mayors. It is a tangible manifestation of the establishment of democratization in the areas [1]. The direct election of regional leaders also means restoring the people's basic rights in the regions by giving them full authority in the context of democratic recruitment of local politics. Thus, people's sovereignty can be realized in the election process to determine who should run the government of a region. The state provides opportunities for local people to decide on their leaders and determine all policies related to the dignity of the local people.

The implementation of regional elections in Indonesia has several main problems. The elections still have some significant issues since 2005, including unclear data on voters, lack of infrastructure and monitoring, psychological problems and unpreparedness of supporters, ineffective socialization, and limited experience of the organizers (Wisdom 2014).

Various efforts have been made to improve the quality of regional leader elections in Indonesia, including implementing simultaneous local elections. Act No.10 Year 2016 on the Second Amendment of Act No. 1 Year 2015 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulations in Law of Act No. 1 Year 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors have regulated the implementation of simultaneous regional elections. The regulation contains the simultaneous voting of the Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent, and the Mayor and Deputy Mayor of the 2015 election results to be held in 2020.

Several studies on the implementation of simultaneous regional elections have also been conducted to evaluate the election process. Chaniago [2], in his research, revealed that the simultaneous regional elections held in 2015 had several notes related to the aspects of electoral management, including the inefficient simultaneous regional elections, the inability to increase political participation, and the inability to end the practice of money politics.

The research from Harahap [3] shows that the most complex and crucial factor in the simultaneous local elections is updating voter data, which directly affects the other stages of the elections. In addition, it is necessary to improve the principle of simultaneous local elections based on the spirit of efficiency and effectiveness [3].

In 2020, 270 regional elections were held simultaneously in 9 provinces, 37 cities, and 224 regencies. One of the cities that carried out simultaneous regional elections in 2020 is Makassar City, South Sulawesi, which is considered to have the highest number of voters in South Sulawesi Province. The number of Makassar residents registered as permanent voters in the 2020 Makassar City regional head election is 901,087. The Regional General Election Commission (KPUD) of Makassar has successfully implemented the 2020 Makassar Mayor and Deputy Mayor Elections. However, it cannot be denied that there are still some problems, including declining community participation.

The study of elections produces several types of voter behavior. Citizen participation in general elections is a series of activities to decide whether to vote or not. If people vote, do they choose a political party or candidate X or Y?

According to Afan Gaffar, there are two approaches to analyzing voting behavior and explaining the considerations voters use in making their choices: the Columbia model, which uses a sociological approach,h and the Michigan model, as the psychological approach [4].

This sociological approach was pioneered and developed by a number of social and political scientists from Columbia's University Bureau of Applied Social Science, known as the Columbia model (the Columbia School of Electoral Behavior). The next theory is psychological voter behavior. This approach, known as the Michigan model, was pioneered and developed by a number of scientists from the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center.

The sociological approach originated in Western Europe, which political scientists and sociologists developed. They see society as hierarchical, mainly based on status, because society is a group of people with a strong status consciousness. They believe that society is structured in such a way according to its background and social characteristics. Therefore, understanding these social characteristics is important in understanding individual political behavior [4].

According to Adman Nursal, several factors influence voter behavior in Indonesia, including voter orientation, explained as follows:

Religious orientation. Religion is considered one of the most essential factors in shaping voter behavior in Indonesia. A number of studies have shown that religion has a significant correlation with voter behavior. Support for Islamic parties is closely related to the behavior of voters' obedience in carrying out worship. This is in line with Afan Gaffar's research on voter behavior in rural Java and Suwondo's research on voting behavior in urban society in Bandar Lampung.

This correlation can be seen through the strong tendency of santri support for Islamic parties, which can lead to the conclusion that socio-religious orientation has a real correlation to voter behavior, especially voters of the United Development Party (PPP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) in 1992. Although the correlation between socio-religious and political choice has improved after the New Order, the research of Liddle and Saiful concluded that the religious differences among voters had a significant correlation, but not in differences of party election.

Social Class and Other Social Groups. The social class can be considered as an important factor by political parties. This can be seen in the supporters of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) where they associate PDI as a *wong cilik* party (literally, party for poor people), in line with the results of Afan Gaffar's research, which also states that 13% of respondents stated that PDI is a party that represents the interests of the poor. Other social factors that also become important concerns regarding political choices are age and gender.

Factors of Leadership and Character. Leaders can be divided into formal (official) leaders and informal leaders, who are commonly called community leaders, traditional leaders, and religious leaders.

Leadership is one of the crucial factors that can determine a person's choice in direct elections. Formal and informal leaders have great power to move people to achieve certain goals, including influencing voter behaviors.

Adman Nursal stated that the role of the village headmen and other village leaders is estimated to significantly influence villagers' behaviour. It can be seen clearly in rural villages far from urban areas. In line with the research, Ramlan Surbakti also stated that traditional leadership is considered pivotal in observing voter behaviors in several developing countries.

Identification Factor. The aspect of party identification has a strong influence on the choice of political parties. This is indicated by the similarity of the respondents' views with their family members. Moreover, the similarity between the chosen party and the admired party in the reform era is also important; where the choice in the general election is based on the candidate, not on the party, identification is an important factor in understanding voter behavior.

Issue Orientation. Elections during the reform era, issues and program factors significantly influenced voter behavior, especially calculative voters. Besides the public's attention to the problems faced by the nation, the strategic issue factor is also caused by the freedom of each political party or candidate to package issues and create programs. In general, the strengthening of the influence of this issue factor is caused by the high educational background or the critical power of the community.

Candidate Orientation. In direct elections, the candidates from the relevant electoral area unit are certainly better known by the public voters, and the candidate factor will have a major influence on voter behavior. It is also explained in several approaches that a candidate's imagery becomes a strong consideration by voters, especially in rural areas. For village head candidates, candidate personality is also an important component as the main reference for voters.

Connection with Events. Another factor that also plays a critical role is the relationship of issues and candidates with events that still affect voters' minds. Events related to voter behavior are not only at the national level. Certain local events greatly affect voter behavior at the local level. It is often only understood by the local community and is different from national events, especially in the election of village headmen. Some basic things regarding village integrity and events related to the basic interests of a village will be considered for the community to make choices.

1.1   Voter Participation

Political participation is one of the pivotal aspects of democracy. It is considered a hallmark of political modernization. The existence of political decisions that are decided and implemented by the government concerns and affects the lives of citizens, so citizens have the right to participate in determining the contents of political decisions. Therefore, in accordance with Hutington and Nelson quoted by Cholisin [5], political participation is defined as the activity of citizens as individuals intended to influence the government's decision-making.

In addition, Ramlan Surbakti as quoted by Cholisin [5], provides a brief definition of political participation as a form of participation of ordinary citizens in determining all decisions that concern or affect their lives.

According to Miriam Budiarjo [5], political participation, in general, can be identified as the activity of a person or group of people to actively participate in political life, including electing state leaders and directly or indirectly influencing public policy (public policy). These activities include voting in general elections, attending general meetings, becoming a member of a party or interest group, having contacts with government officials or members of parliament, etc.

Therefore, democratic countries generally assume that the more people participate, the better. In its implementation, the high level of participation shows that the citizens follow and understand political issues and want to be involved in this activity. On the other hand, a low participation level is generally considered a poor sign because it can be interpreted that many citizens ignore the state's problems [6].

2   Research Methods

This research is descriptive quantitative research using the survey method. It is used to describe, explain, or summarize various conditions, situations, phenomena, or research variables based on facts that can be obtained, interviewed, observed, and collected through documentary materials. This research was conducted in Makassar City, South Sulawesi Province. This activity covers several stages, including research preparation, data collection and research report preparation conducted in February- March 2021.

The research population is the entire population of Makassar City registered on the Permanent Voters List (DPT) for the 2020 Mayor and Deputy Mayor election. The population of Makassar City registered on the 2020 Mayor and Deputy Mayor election DPT is 901,087 people. The number of research samples was determined based on Slovin's formula with a predetermined margin of error of $\pm$ 4.8%. Based on this, the number of samples collected in the field was 428 respondents.

The data collection method used in this study is a structured questionnaire method with face-to-face interviews. The sampling technique used is multistage random sampling. Multistage random sampling is a sampling method that divides the population into several groups. During this sampling method, the selected group is divided into several sub-groups at various stages to facilitate data collection. The first stage was sampling the population of Makassar City based on the population in each sub-district so that a proportional number of samples were obtained. The second stage was determining the urban village or *Kelurahan* as the primary sampling unit (PSU). The proportion of gender and the representation of the residence area, including the neighbourhood level or *Rukun Tetangga* (RT).

Univariate and bivariate analyses were carried out data analysis. The univariate analysis was carried out to describe the collected variable data without intending to conclude. The results of this analysis describe the survey's findings in the form of statistical data such as distribution frequency, data tabulation and percentages that are manifested in graphs or pictures, and descriptive calculations of each surveyed element.

Bivariate analysis was conducted to explain the complex relationship between one element and another. The purpose of this analysis is to see the relationship of a component to another as a basis for defining a problem.

3   Results and Discussion

3.1   Characteristics of Respondents

The number of samples taken in this research is adjusted to the distribution of the number of voters based on the sub-district area. This was done so that the sample could be proportionally representative based on the number of voters in each sub-district. Overall, the number of samples is 428 respondents spread over 15 sub-districts in Makassar City. The most significant sample was in Biringkanaya District with 60 respondents (14.02%), Tamalate with 51 respondents (11.92%) and Rappocini with 47 respondents (10.98%).

Table 1. Distribution of research samples per sub-district

Sub-district	Total of Sample	Percentage (%)
Biringkanaya	60	14,02
Bontoala	18	4,21
Kep. Sangkarrang	5	1,17
Makassar	24	5,61
Mamajang	16	3,74
Manggala	44	10,28
Mariso	19	4,44
Panakkukang	40	9,35
Rappocini	47	10,98
Tallo	42	9,81
Tamalanrea	32	7,48
Tamalate	51	11,92
Ujung Pandang	8	1,87
Ujung Tanah	12	2,80
Wajo	10	2,34
Total	428	100,00

Respondent Age. In terms of age, the majority of respondents were in the 41–51 years category, with a percentage of 25.93%, while the age of respondents in the 21–30 years category was 24.07%. The age of respondents in the category of more than 50 years was 21.96%. The age category of 31–40 years was 17.06%. Meanwhile, the age category of less than 20 years or the category of beginner voters was 10.98%. The distribution of respondents' age categories obtained from the existing sample distribution has represented each category based on the respondent's age cluster (more than 10%). Hence, it can be used as a reference in analyzing the behavior of Makassar City voters based on age class segmentation.
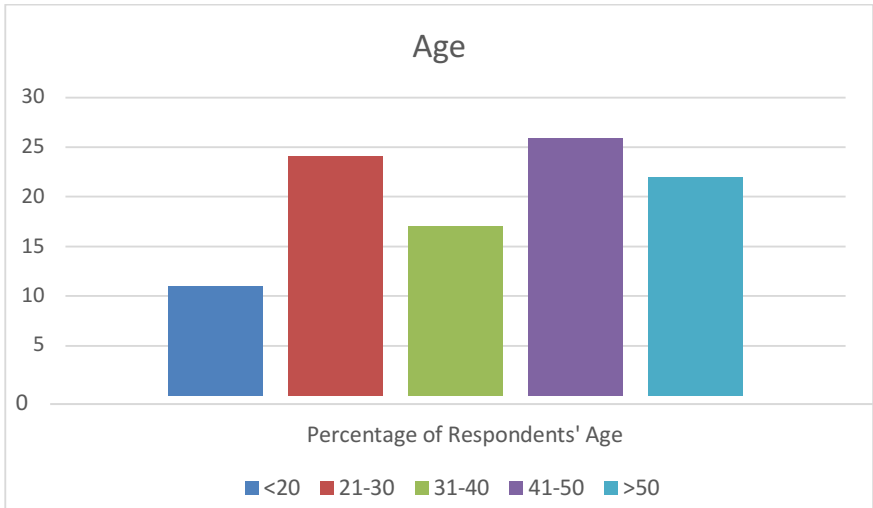
Fig. 1. Age of respondents

Respondent's Gender. In terms of gender, the majority of respondents interviewed were generally female, with a percentage of 57.48%, while male respondents were 42.52%. Compared with Makassar City voters based on gender, which is almost balanced between male and female voters, there seems to be a little over-representation of female voters even though the number on the Makassar City voters list has a more significant percentage of female voters. However, because there is a tendency for women, especially those who are married, to follow their husbands' choices, as well as the choice of daughters to tend to follow their father's political choices, the over-representative value of around 14.96% above does not seem to have much effect on the prediction results.
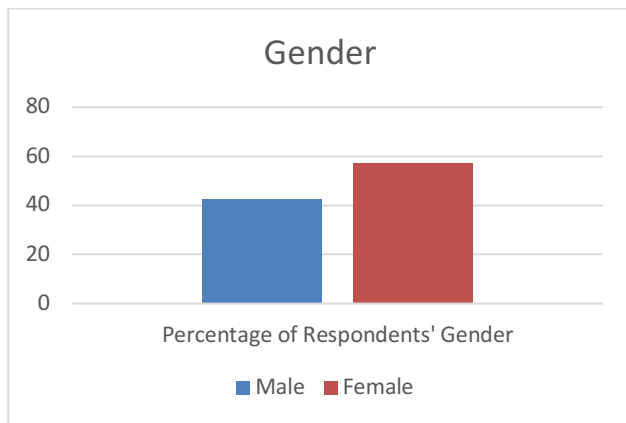
Fig. 2. Gender of respondents

Respondent Education. The majority of respondents have a high school education, with a percentage of 51.40%. The respondents with bachelor's education were 24.77%, while respondents with junior high school education were 14.02%. Respondents with elementary education were 7.94%. Based on the respondent's education data, if it is accumulated between respondents with high school education or the equivalent, bachelor's and master's degrees, it can be concluded that the majority of Makassar City voters are in the educated category.
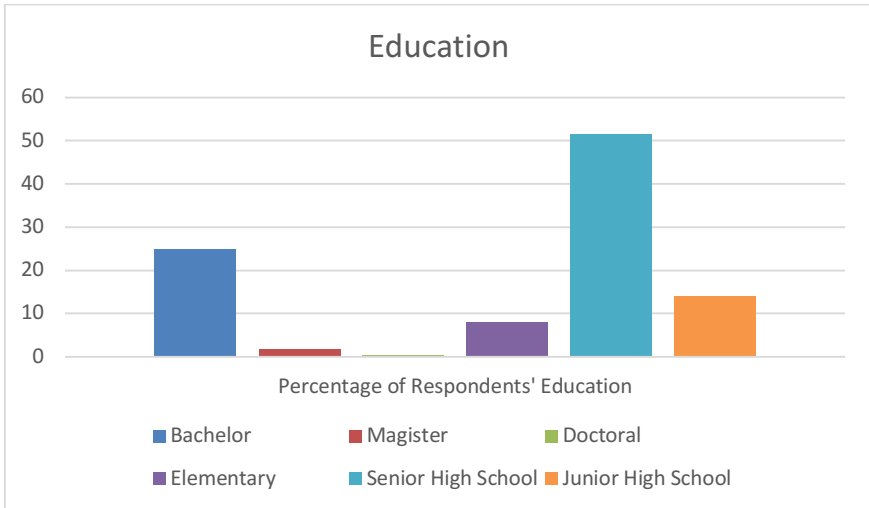
Fig. 3. Education of respondents

Respondent's Job. In terms of work, most of the respondents are homemakers, i.e., women who are married and have no job other than homemakers, with a percentage of 28.50%. The respondents who are varsity students or school students are 13.79%. Respondents who said they were private employees were 10.28%. Meanwhile, the category of small traders is 12.62%. In this case, small traders sell in retail stores both in the market and in front of their houses.

Respondent's Religion. In terms of religion, most of the respondents are Muslims, with a percentage of 95.56%. When compared with the percentage of the population of Makassar City based on religion, the respondents who are Muslims are slightly overestimated. Based on BPS data, the Muslim population of Makassar City is only around 82.36%. Meanwhile, respondents who are Protestants are 2.57% or smaller than the BPS data, which is 15.19%. However, the results of this study will not affect the analysis. This is due to the characteristics of Makassar City residents who never use religious identity narratives in the political process.

Respondent's Tribe. The majority of respondents who were successfully interviewed were from Makassar tribes, with a percentage of 53.97. The second largest ethnic category is Bugis, with a percentage of 33.41. Although Makassar City is one of the cities with a multi-ethnic population, the most dominant population in Makassar City

is generally the Makassar and Bugis ethnic groups. Thus, the proportion based on ethnic categories in this study follows the proportionate distribution of ethnic groups by not ruling out other categories such as Toraja, Mandar, Javanese, Maluku, Chinese and others.

Respondent's Electoral Experience. Electoral experience is about how often respondents are involved in giving their right to vote in elections held in Makassar City, both general elections and regional government heads elections (Pilkada). The majority of respondents said that they had used their rights to vote more than once, with a percentage of 90%. Meanwhile, respondents who said it was the first time they had used their right to vote were 10%.

3.2 Voters Participation of Makassar City in the 2020 Makassar Regional Election

The voter participation rate in the 2020 Makassar mayoral election has increased from the previous regional government head election (pilkada). This can be seen from implementing the Makassar City Election three times. In the 2013 Makassar mayoral election, which was attended by ten pairs of candidates, the voter turnout rate was 59.94%. In the 2018 regional election with a single candidate pair (empty boxes), the participation rate decreased by a percentage of 58.98%. The voter participation rate in the 2020 regional election, followed by 4 pairs of candidates, increased by 59.66%.

The explanation above shows that voters' participation level in the Makassar City Election is closely related to the composition of candidate pairs. The low can see it of voter participation in the regional election was influenced by the composition of pairs of candidates against an empty box.
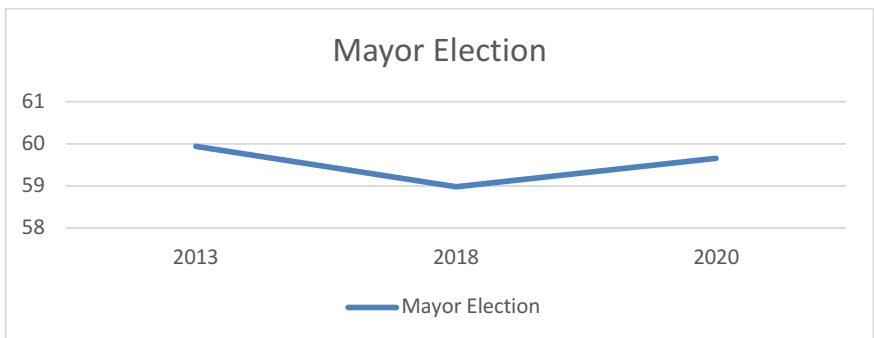

Fig. 4. Voters Participation in Mayor Election

The highest voter participation in the 2020 Makassar City election was in the Sangkarrang Islands sub-district, with a participation rate of 71%. Based on the interviews, the Makassar voters used their right to vote because voting is considered a right of citizens, with a percentage of 85.57%, while those who chose to vote because of the

vision and mission of the candidate pair were 6.47%. The reason for preference for candidate pairs reached 5.72%, while others are below 2%.

3.3   Factors affecting people not to participate in the 2020 Makassar City Election

Based on the interviews with Makassar City voters, the reason for people being unable to vote because they did not receive a summons reached 43.48%, while the reason for being at work was 17.39%. In addition, the voters did not cast a ballot due to COVID-19, and travelling/outside the area reached 8.70%. The other reasons were sick and lazy to vote at 4.35%.

3.4   The impact of COVID-19 on voters' arrival to polling station

Based on the survey, the majority of respondents said that COVID-19 has an impact on the decision to vote on the percentage of 35.28%, while those who answered that it had a significant impact were 6.78%. Less significant at 17.99% and not significant were 39.95%. The public's perception of the impact of COVID-19 on their arrival at the polling station is quite different from the respondents' profile.

4   Conclusion

This study concludes that the increase in voter participation in the 2020 Makassar City Election was caused by voter's awareness of their rights as citizens and their preference for the vision and mission of the candidates. The majority of voters who are not able to cast their ballots said that they did not receive the voter summons and they were not in Makassar at the time of the 2020 Makassar City Election. So, for better improvement in the future, it is hoped that the Makassar City General Election Commission (KPU) will pay more attention to the process of voting, counting and recapitulation of votes, especially in submitting the Model C form. Notification-KWK to registered voters in the Final Voter List (DPT) is no later than 3 (three) days before the day of the voting to increase the role of the voters in providing the correct information in order to check the names on the voter list.

In addition, the Makassar City KPU should allow all DPT voters to use their rights and sovereignty to elect political parties and candidates for regional leadership. The KPU is also expected to improve strategies and methods of socialization to increase voter awareness of their rights as citizens, especially for people who do not receive voter summons and voters who were not in place at the time of the Makassar mayoral election.

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