Candidate Figure, Party Identification and Media Role as Determinants of Voter Choice: The Voting Behavior of Indonesia's 2019 Presidential Election in Bogor Regency

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Abstract

The Indonesia's 2019 presidential election presents two pairs of the contesting candidates, namely Joko Widodo (candidate, incumbent) - Mar'uf Amin (running mate) and Prabowo Subianto (candidate) - Sandiaga Uno (running mate). The aim of the research is to qualitatively describes the voting behavior of Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency based on candidate figure, party identification and media role as determinants of voter choice.

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The results of the research indicate two findings. Firstly, the dominant determinant of voting behavior of Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency is candidate figure, then respectively followed by party identification and media role. Secondly, if comparing among the determinants of voting behavior, the voters of Bogor Regency tend to more elect Prabowo Subianto - Sandiaga Uno because of the candidate figure and party identification than Joko Widodo - Mar'uf Amin because of the media role.

Keywords: Candidate Figure; Media Role; Party Identification; Presidential Election; Voter Choice; Voting Behavior.

1. Introduction

The presidential election is a process in which people vote to choose a pair of candidates to hold the presidential seat, namely president and vice-president. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Article 6A(1), states that the President and Vice-President shall be elected as a pair directly by the people [25]. Indonesia every five years holds the election of a new president. There are two pairs of candidates in Indonesia's 2019 presidential election, namely Joko Widodo (candidate, incumbent) - Mar'uf Amin (running mate) and Prabowo Subianto (candidate) - Sandiaga Uno (running mate). The Indonesia's 2019 presidential election is concurrently conducted to the legislative election (People's Representative Council/DPR, Regional Representative Council/DPD, and Regional People's Representative Council/DPRD) as regulated in Law No. 7/2017 concerning General Election [10]. Indonesia's presidential elections held since 2004, 2009, 2014 and 2019 (concurrently conducted to legislative election) have encouraged a new system that becomes voters to know more and to directly elect the presidential candidates. The change of socio-political environment and climate in Indonesian political system also changes the knowledge, belief and view of voters to the presidential candidates. Moreover, the change impacts on forming the new attitude and behavior of voters to the presidential candidates. In the change, figure, political party and media play significant role. Therefore, the research focuses on (1) how many do voters participate to vote? (2) which candidate do voters vote for? (3) what influences voters to vote for the candidate? It aims to describe the candidate figure, party identification and media role as determinants of voter choice in Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency.

2. Theoretical Framework

Surbakti defines voting behavior as participation of voter in election through a set of activities to decide, namely what to vote or not to vote in election. If deciding to vote, what to vote for the candidate X or the candidate Y [24, 12]. Gaffar defines voting behavior as decision of an individual to vote for a certain candidate [5]. The voter decision is operationally defined by voter choice and voter turnout [8, 9, 22, 20]. In presidential election, voter chooses a pair of candidates [14, 17, 18]. The psychological model considers that the voter's choice of candidate is based on the psychological responses, namely the personal quality of candidate, the candidate-exposed issues, and the loyalty of party [5, 21]. Campbell and his colleaguesas proponents of psychological model from Michigan school considered three concepts for voter choice. Firstly, party identification refers to the sense of personal attachment an individual feels toward a party irrespective of formal membership or direct involvement in that party's activities. Secondly, issue orientation refers to individuals' involvement in issues they perceive as

being affected by the outcome of an election. Thirdly, candidate orientation refers to individuals' interest in the personality of the candidates and to a possible preference that derives from the personal traits of the candidates [2, 21]. Both candidate orientation and issue orientation depend on the context of a particular election such as a presidential election. In contrast, party identification is thought as a stable attitude that develops early in life. In presidential election, the candidate contests to gain the votes of voters. Meanwhile, voter participates to choose a pair of candidates (voter choice, voter turnout) by perceiving the candidate, attaching the party, and evaluating the issue exposed by the candidate and the media. Therefore, the voter choice in presidential election is determined by at least three factors, namely candidate figure, party identification, and media role (Figure 1).
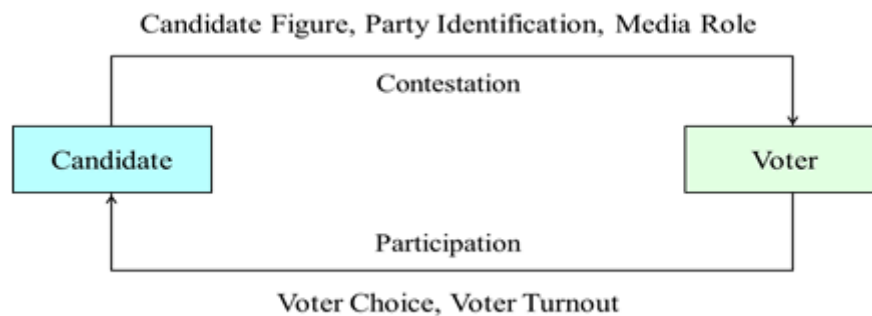

Figure 1: The Framework of Voting Behavior: Candidate Figure, Party Identification and Media Role as Determinants of Voter Choice

3. Research Method

The research concerning the 2019 presidential election is located at Bogor Regency, West Java, Indonesia. It applies the descriptive-qualitative method [23] and uses both primary and secondary data. The primary data are collected by field research that uses questionaires and in-depth interview with voters as respondents of the research. The secondary data are collected by desk research that uses literatures, documentations and regulations. Data of the research are used to qualitatively describe the voting behavior based on candidate figure, party identification and media role as determinants of voter choice.

4. Result and Discussion

The research presents the results and discusses them based on candidate figure, party identification and media role as determinants of voter choice.

4.1. Voter Choice

The voter choice is a form of voting participation and used to describe the voting behavior. There are two indicators to measure the voting participation [19, 22] and to describe the voting behavior, namely voter amount and voter choice. *Firstly, voter amount*. The amount of voters registered by the General Election Commission of Bogor Regency to participate in Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency is shown below

(Table 1).

Table 1: The Amount of Voters of Indonesia's 2019 Presidential Election in Bogor Regency

No.	District	Polling Station	Voter		Total Amount
			Male	Female	
1	Citereup	546	71,866	68,815	14,0681
2	Cariu	196	18,285	18,587	36,872
3	Cigombong	271	33,047	31,389	64,436
4	Leuwisadeng	241	27,768	25,416	53,184
5	Pamijahan	446	55,163	50,997	106,160
6	Tanjungsari	160	19,870	19,192	39,062
7	Parungpanjang	319	39,701	37,044	76,745
8	Kelapa Nunggal	294	36,202	35,282	71,484
9	Tenjolaya	211	21,992	20,375	42,367
10	Nanggung	275	34,130	31,276	65,406
11	Parung	324	39,936	38,340	78,276
12	Ciseeng	276	37,415	34,661	72,076
13	Caringin	361	43,467	40,250	83,717
14	Ciampea	483	56,507	53,583	110,090
15	Rancabungur	200	19,984	18,824	38,808
16	Tenjo	203	25,683	23,693	49,376
17	Kemang	301	34,595	34,001	68,596
18	Cijeruk	260	31,735	28,714	60,449
19	Tamansari	294	36,202	35,282	71,484
20	Sukajaya	214	24,025	21,758	45,783
21	Cigudeg	366	45,257	40,782	86,039
22	Babakan Madang	301	36,309	33,219	69,528
23	Rumpin	470	52,395	46,866	99,261
24	Jonggol	407	46,062	46,618	92,680
25	Gunungsindur	305	38,478	36,044	74,522
26	Cisarua	335	44,063	40,763	84,826
27	Ciawi	313	38,366	35,655	74,021
28	Jasinga	277	37,087	34,055	71,142
29	Tajurhalang	315	36,505	36,034	72,539
30	Megamendung	317	36,916	33,480	70,396
31	Leuwiliang	397	44,115	40,684	84,799
32	Dramaga	319	38,270	36,358	74,628
33	Cibungbulan	427	48,639	45,171	93,810
34	Sukamakmur	232	29,287	26,703	55,990
35	Bojonggede	736	86,936	85,033	171,969
36	Ciomas	418	51,866	50,491	102,357
37	Cileungsi	701	88,009	89,471	177,480
38	Sukaraja	505	61,283	60,551	121,834
39	Gunungputri	903	96,049	97,709	193,758
40	Cibinong	983	109,088	108,570	217,658
Total Amount		14,952	1,774,938	1,692,665	3,467,603
Source: The General Election Commission of Bogor Regency (2019) [3]					

In Table 1 as showed above, total amount of voters of Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency is 3,467,603, in detail 1,774,938 male voters and 1,692,665 female voters.

Secondly, voter choice. The voter choice means the voter that needs to select and decides to choose a pair of candidates [13, 15]. The voter choice is indicated in voter turnout of Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in

Bogor Regency (Table 2).

Table 2: Voter Turnout of Indonesia's 2019 Presidential Election in Bogor Regency

No.	District	Votes Gained by Pair of Presidential Candidates	
		Joko Widodo - Ma'ruf Amin	Prabowo Subianto - Sandiaga Uno
1	Citereup	27,952	86,827
2	Cariu	6,395	26,092
3	Cigombong	13,042	40,819
4	Leuwisadeng	8,887	33,162
5	Pamijahan	19,329	64,980
6	Tanjungsari	7,183	25,477
7	Parungpanjang	25,502	37,342
8	Kelapanunggal	12,476	49,661
9	Tenjolaya	11,652	24,031
10	Nanggung	14,132	38,803
11	Parung	24,643	41,993
12	Ciseeng	20,806	39,267
13	Caringin	14,857	56,014
14	Ciampea	30,764	61,842
15	Rancabungur	12,553	21,678
16	Tenjo	14,438	23,941
17	Kemang	22,305	36,111
18	Cijeruk	10,720	36,750
19	Tamansari	20,164	41,427
20	Sukajaya	19,800	17,904
21	Cigudeg	22,177	43,912
22	Babakan Madang	10,576	50,815
23	Rumpin	29,801	47,251
24	Jonggol	19,212	59,655
25	Gunungsindur	26,881	36,918
26	Cisarua	14,359	58,357
27	Ciawi	14,001	49,147
28	Jasinga	18,851	37,099
29	Tajurhalang	24,697	38,991
30	Megamendung	13,575	47,793
31	Leuwiliang	18,453	49,926
32	Dramaga	21,995	44,848
33	Cibungbulan	23,097	55,890
34	Sukamakmur	9,275	36,315
35	Bojonggede	46,810	93,445
36	Ciomas	26,027	65,575
37	Cileungsi	42,713	100,973
38	Sukaraja	28,543	76,747
39	Gunungputri	48,842	108,652
40	Cibinong	64,637	129,122
Total Amount		862,122	2,035,552
Source: The General Election Commission of Bogor Regency (2019) [3]			

Table 2 as showed above indicates three following facts concerning voter turnout of Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency.

- Firstly, Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno gain 2,035,552 valid votes and win in 39 districts from 40 districts in Bogor Regency.

- Secondly, Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin gain 862,122 valid votes and only win in one district, namely Sukajaya District, from 40 districts in Bogor Regency.
- Thirdly, Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno (gaining 2,035,552 valid votes) surpass their rivals Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin (gaining 862,122 valid votes).

Therefore, the voters of Bogor Regency tend to more elect Prabowo Subianto (candidate) and Sandiaga Uno (running mate) than Joko Widodo (candidate, incumbent) and Mar'uf Amin (running mate). Then, the question is what influences them to vote for Prabowo Subianto - Sandiaga Uno and not to vote for Joko Widodo - Ma'ruf Amin? The following describes the determinants of voter choice in Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency.

4.2. Candidate Figure

Figure is defined as a person who has credibility, charisma and capacity. In presidential election, candidate figure becomes an important determinant for voter choice [1, 20]. Voter has psychological engagement to a certain figure [6, 7, 9]. Candidate orientation refers to individuals' interest in the personality of the candidates and to a possible preference that derives from the personal traits of the candidates [2]. The candidate figure is operationally defined by credibility, capacity/quality, personality, and image/reputation of candidate [15, 16]. Liddle and Mujani state that leadership is the most important determinant of the vote for candidates in the presidential election. Leadership is strongly related to presidential choice. Voters who have a positive perception of a party figure or presidential candidate tended to vote for that party or candidate relative to other parties and candidates [11]. Candidate figure is important as a distinctive factor among candidates and a strategy for determining the nominating position. Moreover, the background and track record of candidates significantly impact on framing the perception of voters. The following is profiles of the pairs of presidential candidates in Indonesia's 2019 presidential election (Table 3).

The research concerning candidate figure in Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency describes some facts as following. Firstly, majority of respondents emphasizes the importance of candidate credibility: most important 66.1% and important 22%. Secondly, majority of respondents states the importance of candidate capacity: most important 65.4% and important 23.7%. Thirdly, majority of respondents answers the importance of candidate personality: most important 45.8% and important 42.4%. Fourthly, majority of respondents says the importance of candidate image/reputation: most important 45.8% and important 54.2%. Based on the candidate figure, the most dominant indicator is credibility of candidate. Then, it is respectively followed by the other indicators, namely capacity of candidate, personality of candidate, and finally image/reputation of candidate. If compared to the other indicators of candidate figure, the weak indicator is image/reputation of candidate. In perception of voters, the most important for a presidential candidate is credibility, then followed by capacity of candidate and finally personality of candidate. Voters mostly prefer a firm and authoritative figure and need a figure to capably solve some extraordinary problems faced by Indonesia such as justice, social welfare, and corruption. Therefore, the quality of characteristics of candidate figure becomes a significant determinant that influences voter choice in Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency.

Table 3: Profiles of the Pairs of Presidential Candidates in Indonesia's 2019 Presidential Election

No.	Candidate as President		Candidate as Vice-President	
	Name	Description	Name	Description
1	Joko Widodo	Incumbent, politician of PDIP, governor of DKI Jakarta Province, major of Solo City (two terms), furniture businessman, graduate of Forestry Faculty of Gadjah Mada University, Solo.	Ma'ruf Amin	Ulema, chairman of Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Advisory Board (*Rais Aam*) of PBNU, member of Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) of DKI Jakarta Province, member of People's Representative Council (DPR), member of People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), member of Presidential Advisory Council (*Wantimpres*) in SBY's era, member of Steering Board of Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (*BPIP*) in JOKOWI's era, graduate of Ibn Khaldun University, Tangerang.
2	Prabowo Subianto	Founder and chairman of GERINDRA Party, vice-president candidate (running mate) of Megawati Soekarnoputri in 2009 presidential election, presidential candidate in 2014 presidential election, Army Strategic Command C-in-C (*Pangkostrad*), Commander-General of the Army Special Forces Command (*Danjen Kopassus*), Bogor.	Sandiaga Uno	Businessman, politician of GERINDRA Party, graduate of Wichita State University, graduate of George Washington University, vice-governor of DKI Jakarta Province, Pekanbaru Riau.

4.3. *Party Identification*

Party identification (party ID) is defined as voter that has psychological engagement to a certain party [8, 9], or psychological attachment or feeling of loyalty to a political party [6, 7, 21]. Party ID refers to the sense of personal attachment an individual feels toward a party irrespective of formal membership or direct involvement in that party's activities [2]. Party ID determines voter choice [8, 9, 1, 20]. Voter identifying himself/herself to a certain party tends to vote for his/her candidate of party for a certain position [21]. Party ID is operationally defined by the emotional engagement/attachment to a certain party [15, 16]. Liddle and Mujani state that party ID is the most important determinant of the vote for candidates in the presidential election [11]. Voters are strongly attached to national party leaders, an attachment that appears to be a principal reason for voting for

president [8, 11]. For Prabowo Subianto as a presidential candidate coming from GERINDRA, there is a significant relationship between party ID and presidential vote. Firstly, feeling closer to GERINDRA decreases significantly probability of voting for PDIP presidential candidates, Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Secondly, feeling closer to GERINDRA increases significantly probability of voting for GERINDRA presidential candidates, Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. Preference for Prabowo Subianto relative to Joko Widodo increases significantly probability of voting for GERINDRA relative to PDIP. Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency presents two pairs of presidential candidates. Firstly, Joko Widodo (candidate) and Ma'ruf Amin (running mate) nominated by seven political parties that form a big electoral alliance as the Working Indonesia Coalition (Indonesia: *Koalisi Indonesia Kerja*). Secondly, Prabowo Subianto (candidate) and Sandiaga Uno (running mate) nominated by four political parties that announce their electoral alliance as the Just and Prosperous Indonesia Coalition (Indonesia: *Koalisi Indonesia Adil dan Makmur*), as shown below (Table 4).

Table 4: The Pairs of Presidential Candidates Nominated by Coalition of Political Parties in Indonesia's 2019 Presidential Election

No.	Pair of Presidential Candidates	Coalition of Political Parties
1	Joko Widodo & Ma'ruf Amin	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), United Development Party (PPP), Party of Functional Groups (GOLKAR), National Democratic Party (NASDEM), People's Conscience Party (HANURA), Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI), National Awakening Party (PKB)
2	Prabowo Subianto & Sandiaga Salahudin	Great Indonesia Movement Party (GERINDRA), National Mandate Party (PAN), Democratic Party (DEMOKRAT), Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)

Source: The General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia (2019) [4]

The research concerning party ID in Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency describes some facts as following. Firstly, majority of respondents votes the pairs of presidential candidates: not based on political party 66.1% and based on political party 33.9%. Secondly, 55.1% respondents vote the political parties that do not have role as a part of the basis of presidential vote process and 44.9% respondents vote the political parties that have role as a part of the basis of presidential vote process. In fact, votes gained by Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin and nominated by seven political parties are less than votes gained by Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno and only nominated by four political parties. Firstly, the coalition parties of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin face the partisan dealignment. Secondly, the coalition parties of Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno, more specially GERINDRA, PKS and DEMOKRAT (because of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono/SBY's factor, former president and chairman of Democratic Party staying at Bogor Regency), strengthen the partisan alignment. In the case, there probably appears the shift of voters from the coalition parties of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin to Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. Contrarily, for Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno, there is a significant electoral dynamics from party ID to presidential votes.

4.4. Media Role

Media plays a significant role to orient issues exposed by the pairs of presidential candidates [9, 20]. In the context, issue orientation refers to individuals' involvement in issues they perceive as being affected by the outcome of an election [2]. The role of media is operationally defined by kind and choice of media, and intensity of media usage [16]. Issue position can affect vote choice; voters vote on issues (issue-based votes) [2]. Voter has adequate information to determine his/her choice [9]. Liddle and Mujani says that parties and leaders have played significant roles in shaping the popular vote in democratic elections in Indonesia. Voter attention to leaders is almost certainly driven by the rapid spread and great popularity in recent years of television and of the current atmosphere of media freedom and pluralism. Television exposure has sharply increased both voter knowledge of individual political leaders and perceived ability to evaluate those leaders [11]. The research concerning media role in Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency describes some facts as following. Firstly, based on kind and choice of social media often used, majority of respondents uses whatsapp 62,7% and instagram 25,4%. Every respondent has whatsapp application as media to share information with others. Secondly, based on intensity of media usage, majority of respondents is active users of social media 81,4% and more active users of social media 8,5%. The active users of social media mostly develop in accordance with the development of information technology. The voters actively look for the informations of presidential candidates in social media to enrich their knowledges when they vote for. Thirdly, based on social media user, majority of respondents states the impact of social media on presidential election 52,5 % and uses social media for campaigning the pairs of presidential candidates in order to effectively change the voter perspective 62,7%. Media, more specially social media, has important role in implementing the presidential election because of distributing election information to voters. The media role to affect the voters can frame the view of voters and can change voting behavior in presidential election [6, 7]. Therefore, media, more specially social media, playes significant roles in shaping the voter choice in presidential election.

5. Conclusion

Based on the results of the discussion, the research concludes two findings. Firstly, the dominant determinant of voting behavior of Indonesia's 2019 presidential election in Bogor Regency is candidate figure, then respectively followed by party identification and media role. Secondly, if comparing among the determinants of voting behavior, the voters of Bogor Regency tend to more elect Prabowo Subianto (candidate) - Sandiaga Uno (running mate) because of the candidate figure and party identification than Joko Widodo (candidate, incumbent) - Mar'uf Amin (running mate) because of the media role.

6. Recommendation

Based on the conclusion, the findings of the research recommend two following points. Firstly, the finding of the research is practically useful for the pairs of presidential candidates, political elites, and political parties to design the platform and strategy to affect the voting behavior in order to win the election. Secondly, the next research at the theoretical and empirical levels is necessarily conducted to statistically test the relationship and significance of candidate figure, party identification and media role to the voter choice. Moreover, it will

broaden the case and location of research to get more determinants and data for validating the finding of research.

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