

THE INFLUENCE OF CANDIDATE QUALITY AND CAMPAIGN ISSUES ON VOTING BEHAVIOR AT THE GOVERNOR ELECTION OF WEST SUMATRA INDONESIA

M. Fachri Adnan

Prodi Ilmu Administrasi Negara, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial, Universitas Negeri Padang
fachriadnan@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to find out whether the candidate quality, campaign issues, respondent contact to the mass media, and regional bond are influence to voting behavior at the governor election of West Sumatra in 2005 in Padang City. Sample is determined by multistage random sampling. Data were collected by questionnaire and analyzed by multinomial logistic regression technique. The result of this research shows that the candidates quality and campaign issues is significantly influence to voting behavior at Governor of West Sumatra election 2005 in Padang. But the respondent contacts with mass media, and regional bond apparently did not affect on voting behavior at the election. It is imply that the candidate quality and the campaign issues is important to understand voting behavior at the West Sumatera Governor election.

Keywords : *voting behavior, candidate quality, campaign issues, regional bond*

ABSTRAK

Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui apakah kualitas calon, isu kampanye, kontak responden ke media massa, dan ikatan kedaerahan mempengaruhi perilaku memilih pada pemilihan gubernur Sumatera Barat pada tahun 2005 di Kota Padang. Sampel penelitian ini ditentukan dengan multistage random sampling. Data dikumpulkan dengan kuesioner dan dianalisis dengan teknik regresi logistik multinomial. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa kualitas calon dan isu-isu kampanye secara signifikan berpengaruh terhadap perilaku pemilih pada Gubernur Sumatera Barat pada pemilu 2005 di Padang. Namun kontak responden dengan media massa, dan ikatan kedaerahan tampaknya tidak mempengaruhi perilaku memilih pada pemilu tersebut. Hal ini menyiratkan bahwa kualitas calon dan isu-isu kampanye adalah penting untuk memahami perilaku memilih pada pemilihan Gubernur Sumatera Barat

Kata Kunci : *voting behavior, candidate quality, campaign issues, regional bond*

A. Introduction

The important changes that occurred in Indonesia's political system in recent years was conducted to determine the system of direct election of regional heads government at provincial and regency and city

levels. System of direct election is an attempt to realize a democratic local elections. According to Article 18 paragraph (4) Indonesian Constitution of 1945, the regional head of governors, regents, and mayors are

elected democratically. Constitution of 1945 actually did not assert that the local elections held directly, but one of the democratic way of determining the regional head of government is when people participate in electing and determining their regional heads of government. Therefore, the direct election of regional heads of government is one attempt to apply democracy in local government administration.

The system of direct election of the regional heads of government approved in 2004 when President of Indonesia Megawati Sukarnoputri signed The Regional Government Law No. 32 in December 2004. In Article 56 paragraph (1) of the Law stated that regional head government and deputy head of government are selected in one pair of candidates conducted in a democratic, direct, general, free, secret, honest, and justice election. The explanation of this law states that regional heads government and his deputy are elected directly by the people with the requirements set out in legislation and regulations.

With the established system of direct local elections, the local head of government is no longer determined by political elites in the regional and national level but determined by the people in their respective regions. Therefore, studies of political behavior, particularly voting behavior in a local election is very important. This is because the decisions and actions of citizens in determining the choice of candidates will determine the regional leader who will manage the administration for five years to go.

Voting behavior in West Sumatra gubernatorial election in 2005 is interesting to be observed, because the pattern of voting behavior in Western Sumatera gubernatorial election in 2005 is very different than the pattern of voting behavior in the election of members of the legislative in 2004. Candidates who supported by the winning party at the legislative elections in 2004 did not receive significant support by the electors in the election of the Governor of West Sumatera 2005. Conversely candidates who supported by smaller parties received strong support from voters. In other words the amount of public support for the political parties in legislative elections has not guaranteed the supporting voters for candidates who support the party in local elections. Data of the election at the Governor of West Sumatra province in 2005 showed that the pairs candidates a Gamawan Fauzi and Marlis Rahman, who supported by smaller parties namely the Party Bulan Bintang (PBB) and the Struggle Party of Indonesian Democracy (PDIP) was successfully obtained the greatest support with 41.50% of the vote counted, while couples of Rusdi Lubis Leonardy Harmaini which supported by Golkar party as the winner of a majority of votes in legislative elections in 2004 only occupies the 4th position with 10.28% of votes.

Candidate governor Gamawan Fauzi and candidate vice governor Marlis Rahman had the spectacular votes in the 2005 election of Governor of West Sumatra at the city of Padang. As shown in table 1 of this pair successfully reach almost 51%

or 50.94%. Instead the couple of Leonardy Harmaini and Rusdi Lubis only obtained 04.21%. While the vote and pair Irwan Prayitno and Ikasuma

Hamid left Leonardy Harmani and Rusdi Lubis too far and got as much as 30.60% of the people votes.

Table 1. Paired Vote on Election Candidate Governor / Vice Governor of West Sumatra in Padang 2005

| No. | Names of Governor and Vice Governor Candidate | Party's Support | Amount of votes | (%) |
|------------|---|--------------------------|-----------------|-------|
| 1 | Leonardy Harmaini and Rusdi Lubis | Golkar Party | 11.978 | 04,21 |
| 2 | M. Kapitra Ampera, and Dalimi Abdullah | PPP and Democratic Party | 6.633 | 02,33 |
| 3 | Gamawan Fauzi, and Marlis Rahman | PBB+PDIP | 144.931 | 50,94 |
| 4 | Irwan Prayitno and Ikasuma Hamid, | PKS+PBR | 87.066 | 30,60 |
| 5 | Jeffrie Geovanie and Dasman Lanin | Sakato Coalision | 33.893 | 11,91 |
| Total vote | | | 284.501 | 100 |

Source : Indonesia Election Committee of West Sumatra.

That condition raises an interesting question to be studied, namely: "What factors that influence voting behavior in the election of Governor of West Sumatra 2005 in Padang?". To answer these questions I used four variables as independent variables, such as the quality of candidates, campaign issues, contact the respondent with the mass media, and regional bond. In relation to this research problem is formulated as follows:

1. Does the quality of candidates influence the voting behavior at the West Sumatra governor election in 2005?
2. Does the issues that arise in campaigns affect on voting behavior at the West Sumatra governor election in 2005?

3. Does contact the respondent with the mass media influence on voting behavior at the West Sumatra governor election in 2005?
4. Does the regional bond influence on voting behavior at the West Sumatra Governor election in 2005?

B. Literature Review

Models of Voting Behavior

Basically, voting behavior is a moment of action taken by voters to select a particular party or candidate in an general election. But voting behavior has attracted the attention of scientists and studying it from various aspects of social, political, economic, or psychological. Therefore, to understand the voting behavior there

are several models or approaches is often used by experts. According to Wattenberg in DiClerico¹ there are three models or approaches that are often used in understanding voting behavior, namely: a sociological model, socio-psychological model, and economic or rational models.

The First, the sociological model is also called the Sociological School or School of Columbia, as developed by the researchers of the Columbia University. Adherents of this model argue that society consists of the unity of the hierarchy storied status. They argue that society structured by the basic norms of based on social groupings such as religion, class, occupation, and others. Therefore investigation of the status of individuals and social groups in society is very important to understand voting behavior in elections, because these social groupings affect voting behavior. *The second*, a psychological model that uses the concept of psychology, especially the concept of socialization to explain the attitudes and voting behavior. This model was developed by the researchers from The Survey Research Centre, The University of Michigan. Therefore, this model also identified with the "Michigan School". Proponents of this model argue that the decision to choose is influenced by the strength of a person psychology. The decision to choose a particular candidate or party in an election believed to be the product of attitudes and conditions psychologist

¹ Diclerico, Robert E. 2000. *Political Parties, Campaigns, and Elections*. New Jersey, Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, Inc

voters. Therefore, proponents of this approach believe that "voting is in the end an act of individuals, and motives for this act must be sought in psychological forces of individual human beings"². Proponents of this model argue that in determining the options of a general election voters influenced the power of psychology that developed in them as a product rather than a process of socialization.

In this psychological model of the concept of party identification is very important that a person feels close to a particular party, but it does not mean that the norm of political parties in the election will affect votes. Perception and political choices of a person will also be influenced by perceptions about the issues that developed in the society, both short-term issues and long-term issues. Political issues that could develop regarding political issues or issues relating to political life.

The third model is called the rational model (the rational voter theory). This rational model pioneered by Anthony Down which was originally run private fostered theoretical rather than based on empirical study. According to Wattenberg³, the foundation assumption of Down's theory is that

² Imawan, Riswanda. 1993. *Analisis Hasil Pemilihan Umum 1992 di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada.

³ Wattenberg, Martin P. 2004. "Election: Reliability Trumps Competence Attributes in The 2004 Presidential Election". *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 No. 4 (December), Centre for Study of the Presidency.

citizens act rationally in politics. Related with voting behavior, this assumption implies that every citizen elect a particular political party or candidate that he believes can offer benefits compared to choose the other party or candidate. The key to making process is the result of voter perceptions about the benefits that are expected after the election.

Conceptual Framework

Base on the phenomenon that occurred in West Sumatra governor election in 2005 is estimated that there are several variables that affect voting behavior in elections. *First*, the governor election of 2005 is so different from the result of the legislative elections. In the 2004 legislative elections voters choose one party electoral participants, while the direct gubernatorial elections in 2005 voters chose candidates who competed in local elections. Therefore, factors expected to influence the behavior of candidates to choose. The results of study to some experts on voting behavior, such as studies Campbell and colleagues; Jackson and Crotty; Herald Schoen and Schumann; Niemi and Weisberg; Wattenberg⁴. They concluded that the

⁴ Campbell et, al. 1960. *The American Voters*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, From Wiki Summary, the Free Social Science Summary Database; Jackson III, John S & William Crotty. 2001. *The Politics of Presidential Election*, Second Edition. New York: Addison – Wesley Educational Publishers Inc.; Schoen, Herald & S. Schumann. 2007. “Personality Traits, Partisan Attitude, and Voting Behavior. Evidence from Germany”. *Political Psychology*, Vol.28 No.4, 2007; Niemi, Richard G & Herbert F. Weisberg.

prospective significantly influence voting behavior. But whether the theory can explain phenomena that prevail in Indonesia especially in West Sumatra gubernatorial election in 2005? For it needs to be studied in depth about this issue.

The Second, the issues raised during the campaign may also influence the voting behavior in the West Sumatra gubernatorial election in 2005. There are various issues put forward candidates in the election campaign period, such as combating corruption, alleviating or eradicating poverty, and the issue of quality of education. On various occasions the election campaign or the candidates campaign team offers mission and programs to address the problem of corruption, poverty, and education in West Sumatra. According to previous studies in developed and developing countries the influence of campaign issues for the study of voting behavior such as Beck and Hersey; Hazama; Tim Fackler and Tse-min Lin; and Tse-min Lin and Brian Roberts⁵. To

Controversies in Voting Behavior. Second Edition. USA, Washington: Congressional Quarterly Inc.; Wattenberg, Martin P. 2004. *Op cit*.

⁵ Beck, Paul Allen & Hershey, Marjorie Randon. 2001. *Party Politics in America*. USA: Addison – Wesley Educational Publisher Inc.; Hazama, Yasushi. 2006. *Retrospective Voting in Turkey: Macro and Micro Perspectives*. Jetro: Institute of Developing Economies; Fackler, Tim & Lin, Tse-min. 1995. “Political Corruption and Presidential Elections, 1929-1992”. *The Journal of Politics*, Vol 57 No. 4 November 1995, University of Texas Press; Lin, Tse-min and Brian Roberts. 2001. “Markets and Politics: The 2000 Taiwanese Presidential Election”. Prepared for presentation at 2001

determine whether campaign issues affect voting behavior in the West Sumatra gubernatorial election in 2005 must be examined in-depth.

Third, since the political changes in Indonesia that began in the reform movement of press freedom is upheld. Communities can obtain various information than newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. Publishing of newspapers, magazines, radio and television broadcasts are also provided with access. Because it is not surprising that the number of published newspapers and magazines, broadcasting and television is much increased in number compared to the New Order era. During the local elections all the more so during the campaign of mass media such as newspapers, magazines, radio, and television have an important role as a means of political communication. The mass media is very important to convey political messages to the public. According to various studies of mass media is the major factor that affect the public opinion and political behavior. In general attitudes and activities of citizens in the countries of the mass media, especially newspapers, radio and television.

But in previous studies there is difference opinions of expert about the influence of mass media on behavior and vote in the election. Angus Campbell and his colleagues as quoted by Jackson and Crotty⁶ concluded that mass media was less influence on voting behavior.

Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Association, April 19th, 2000, Chicago.

⁶ Jackson III, John S & William Crotty. 2001. *Op cit.*

Kristiadi⁷ also showed no influence of mass media on voting behavior. But recent studies that conducted by Stefano Della Vigna and Ethan Kaplan⁸ who concluded that mass media influence on voting behavior. The results study conducted by Suryanef and Al Rafni⁹ also found no influence of mass media on voting behavior in legislative elections in 1997. But whether the respondent contact with the mass media also influence the voting behavior of West Sumatra gubernatorial election in 2005 still require further study.

Fourth, the results West Sumatra governor election in 2005 showed a tendency candidates from certain regions receive strong support from voters homelands. According to data from West Sumatra governor election in 2005 can be argued that prospective couples Gamawan Fauzi-Marlis Rahman received strong support from Solok district of as much as 81.23% and 74.68% of Solok. This possibility has to do with factors of regional bond because Gamawan Fauzi came from the area and had been the Solok regent head of government for the two periods. Irwan Prayitno Ika Suma and Ika Suma Hamid also received significant support from his native region of

⁷ Kristiadi, J. 1996. "Pemilihan Umum dan Perilaku Pemilih di Indonesia". *Prisma* 3, Maret 1996.

⁸ Vigna, Stefano Della and Ethan Kaplan. 2006. "The Fox News Effect: Media Bias and Voting", unpublished paper;

⁹ Suryanef & Al Rafni. 2001. "Faktor-faktor yang Menentukan Perilaku Pemilih Generasi Muda Dalam Pemilu 1997 (Kasus di Kotamadya Padang)". *Laporan Penelitian*. Padang: Fakultas Ilmu-ilmu Sosial Universitas Negeri Padang.

Tanah Datar District as much as 50.29% of the vote, while from Padang have the support of 30.60% of the vote. Thus the question arises whether regional bond influences voting behavior at the West Sumatra Governor election in 2005?

So far is indeed no direct studies have found an association of origin with the behavior and vote in the election. But the results of past studies showing no relationship between demographic factors with voting behavior. Demographic one of factors that influence voting behavior is a factor of residential places. American political reality shows that the majority of his Republican supporters from urban areas, while the Democratic party supporters were mostly from outside the urban areas. According to Brian Disaro, Julian

Barber, and Tom W. Rice has no relationship of the original regional selecting candidates with voting behavior. In general, successful candidates in their home area got supporting with such a large margin. To understand whether regional bond is influenced on voting behavior at the Governor election of West Sumatra in 2005 needed to be study of this issue.

Based on the description above, this research will be focused to examine the influence of the candidates quality, campaign issues, contact the respondent with the mass media, and regional bond on voting behavior at the West Sumatra governor election in 2005. For more details, the model study of voting behavior described in the following figure.

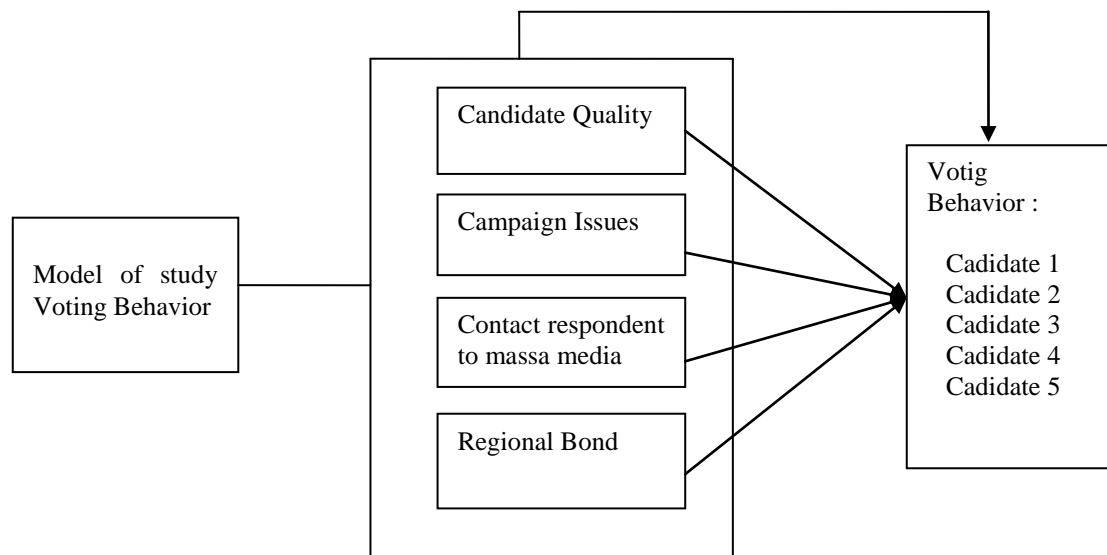


Figure : Model of Voting Behavior at West Sumatra Governor Election 2005 in Padang

C. Methods

This study used a quantitative approach because of individual unit of analysis. Primary data was collected

by distributing questionnaires to the respondents in Padang city, which consists of 216 voters. The data obtained from the questionnaire of the

study are; a. Whom candidate were selected by voters at the the Governor of West Sumatra election in 2005; b. Voters evaluation about the quality of candidates who had been elected at the Governor election of West Sumatra in 2005; c. Voters evaluation on issues that proposed by candidates or their campaign team during the campaign period; d. The intensity respondents to contacts with the mass media. e. The regional bond voters with the certain candidates.

The population of this study is the voters who have the right to vote at the election of the Governor of West Sumatra at Padang city in 2005 which amounted to 307.834 people. The amount of samples are 216 respondent and selected by *multi stage random sampling*. Data were analyzed with multi multinomial logistic regression techniques. Reasons for using this technique is that the data of dependent variable is nominal, while the data of independent variables are interval. Multi multinomial logistic regression techniques is suitable to analyze this type of data.

D. Findings and Discussions

Data was analyzed in two ways, an assessment test model and test the affect of each independent variable on the dependent variable. Model assessment test results can be obtained based on output of SPSS Model Fitting Information (Table 3). From the output of SPSS, can be explained that the value - 2 Log Likelihood intercept only is 441.356, then after the predictor variables included all the value reduce to 338.067. Based on the analysis results obtained by the chi-square value of 103.290 with a p-value for 0000. It can be conclude that the model with was only intercept significantly different with models that included all predictor variables. Because p-value <0.05. It means that the null hypothesis is rejected. It can be concluded that at least there is one independent variable (X1, X2, X3, or X4) which significantly affect on voting behavior of in the election of the Governor of West Sumatra in 2005. Thus, this model can explain the voting behavior in the election of the Governor of West Sumatra in 2005.

Table 3. Model Fitting Information

| Model | Model Fitting Criteria | Likelihood Ratio Tests | | |
|----------------|------------------------|------------------------|----|------|
| | -2 Log Likelihood | Chi-Square | df | Sig. |
| Intercept Only | 441.356 | | | |
| Final | 338.067 | 103.290 | 16 | .000 |

The next description explain the influence of each independent variable (X) on the dependent variable (Y). Based on the results of Likelihood Ratio Tests SPSS output showed chi-square statistic value for the variable X1 with p-value 30 299 0000. From the statistical test can be drawn decision that there are significantly influence of candidates quality on voting behavior in the governor election West Sumatra 2005. Furthermore, chi-square statistic value of the variable campaign issues (X2) is 16 883 with p-value 0. 002. Thus the conclusion is there any effect of the campaign issues on voting behavior at the West Sumatra Governor Election in 2005 because the p-value <0.05. Then, chi-square value of variable contact respondent with mass media (X3) is 6.203 with a p-value 0184. So the result conclude that the contact respondent with mass media was no influence on voting behavior at the

West Sumatra gubernatorial election in 2005 because the p-value > 0.05. Finally, the value of chi-square statistic for the variable regional bond (X4) is 8.916 with a p-value 0063. Based these analyzed can be conclude that regional bond do not influence on voting behavior the West Sumatra gubernatorial election in 2005 because the p-value is > 0.05.

From these analysis can be explained that the quality of candidates (X1), and campaign issues (X2) influence on voting behavior at the West Sumatra governor election 2005 in Padang. As shown by the analysis data (table 3) the candidate quality variables X1 chi square value is greater than the value of chi square, X2 variables is more influence on voting behavior at that election from campaign issues. While the intensity of contact respondents with the mass media (X3) and regional bond (X4) has no effect on voting behavior at that election.

Tabel 4. Likelihood Ratio Tests

| Effect | Model Fitting Criteria | | Likelihood Ratio Tests | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|------------|------------------------|------|--|
| | -2 Log Likelihood of Reduced Model | Chi-Square | df | Sig. | |
| Intercept | 379.658 | 41.591 | 4 | .000 | |
| x1 | 368.365 | 30.299 | 4 | .000 | |
| x2 | 354.950 | 16.883 | 4 | .002 | |
| x3 | 344.270 | 6.203 | 4 | .184 | |
| x4 | 346.982 | 8.916 | 4 | .063 | |

The chi-square statistic is the difference in -2 log-likelihoods between the final model and a reduced model. The reduced model is formed by omitting an effect from the final model. The null hypothesis is that all parameters of that effect are 0.

Conclusion

Based on the results of multinomial logistic regression analysis can be concluded that the variable quality of candidates (X1), and campaign issues (X2) are significantly influence voting behavior the Governor election of West Sumatra in 2005 in Padang, while the intensity of contacts respondent with mass media (X3) and regional bond (X4) apparently did not affect on voting behavior at the election.

From the first finding imply that quality candidate is very important in

governor election of West Sumatra. This research also support the past research that candidate gives an affect on voting behavior. Because of that quality candidate is very important in political recruitment. Then, campaign issues also influence voting behavior in the election of the Governor of West Sumatra in 2005. Because of that political party need to choose a candidate for regional head right issues and concerns the interests of the people who set as a campaign topic.

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