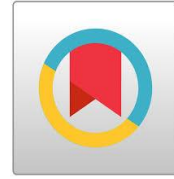


Perception and Behavior of Voting Public After the 2019 Election in Indonesia



Persepsi dan Perilaku Masyarakat Memilih Pasca Pemilu 2019 di Indonesia

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ARTICLE INFORMATION

Keywords

*Voting behavior;
 Post- election 2019;
 Dynamics;
 Perception Voter;*

ABSTRACT


Simultaneous general elections will be held in 2024 with the theme of combining national and local elections in the same year. This is done based on the Constitutional Court Decision Number 14/PUU-11/2013 on simultaneous elections, which aims to minimize state financing in the implementation of elections, minimize high-cost politics for election participants, as well as money politics involving voters, abuse of power or prevent bureaucratic politicization, and streamline government work schemes. The purpose of this research is to discuss the dynamics of changes in people's perceptions and voting behavior after the 2019 elections in Indonesia from a political perspective. In voting behavior, one of the perspectives used in mapping and describing the patterns of changes in voting behavior and determining political choices in general elections uses the voting behavior approach. Studies related to voting behavior are studies related to studies that aim to reveal several reasons or factors that cause a person to tend to choose a party or contestant. This research uses quantitative methods. Meanwhile, the sample was drawn randomly using multistage random sampling. The total sample amounted to 1,240 samples, with PSUs in the Province. The survey population is the entire population aged 17 years and over or married. The survey was conducted in 34 provinces in Indonesia. According to the results of the research, Prabowo Subianto still remains the strongest presidential candidate compared to the other candidates. Then, the tendency of Indonesian people to vote for parties, PDIP has the highest vote compared to the tendency towards other parties. Then the dynamics of changing perceptions after the 2019 election, the voting behavior of the Indonesian people tends towards the school of rational choice.

Kata Kunci

*Perilaku Memilih;
 Pasca Pemilu 2019;
 Dinamika;
 Persepsi Pemilih;*

ABSTRAK

Pemilihan umum serentak akan dilaksanakan pada tahun 2024 dengan tema penggabungan pemilu nasional dan lokal pada tahun yang sama. Hal ini dilakukan berdasarkan Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 14/PUU-11/2013 tentang Pemilu Serentak, yang bertujuan untuk meminimalkan pembiayaan negara dalam penyelenggaraan pemilu, meminimalkan politik biaya tinggi bagi peserta pemilu, serta politik uang yang melibatkan pemilih, penyalahgunaan kekuasaan atau mencegah politisasi birokrasi, dan mengefektifkan skema kerja pemerintah. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk membahas dinamika perubahan persepsi masyarakat dan perilaku memilih pasca pemilu tahun 2019 di Indonesia dalam perspektif politik. Dalam perilaku memilih, salah satu perspektif yang digunakan dalam memetakan dan mendeskripsikan pola perubahan perilaku memilih dan menentukan pilihan politik dalam pemilu adalah dengan menggunakan pendekatan perilaku memilih. Kajian terkait perilaku memilih merupakan kajian terkait kajian yang bertujuan untuk mengungkap beberapa alasan atau faktor yang menyebabkan seseorang cenderung memilih suatu partai atau kontestan. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kuantitatif. Sedangkan sampel diambil secara acak dengan menggunakan multistage random sampling. Total sampel berjumlah

	<p>1.240 sampel, dengan PSU di Provinsi. Populasi survei adalah seluruh penduduk yang berumur 17 tahun ke atas atau sudah menikah. Survei dilakukan di 34 provinsi di Indonesia. Berdasarkan hasil penelitian, Prabowo Subianto masih menjadi calon presiden terkuat dibandingkan calon lainnya. Kemudian kecenderungan masyarakat Indonesia dalam memilih partai, PDIP mempunyai perolehan suara tertinggi dibandingkan kecenderungan terhadap partai lain. Kemudian dinamika perubahan persepsi pasca pemilu 2019, perilaku memilih masyarakat Indonesia cenderung ke arah aliran pilihan rasional.</p>
<p>Article History Send 3th August 2023 Review 5th October 2023 Accepted 22th December 2023</p>	<p>Copyright ©2024 Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora) This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya.</p> 

Introduction

Elections are an important prerequisite in a democracy. In the study of political science, an electoral system is defined as a collection of methods or an approach with procedural mechanisms for citizens to exercise their right to vote. Regardless of the goals of a political party or individual contestant, one thing is certain, they need the votes of voters in order to take part in politics. For this, they must understand the voters. Without this understanding, they will not be accepted by the public, thus failing to deliver on their political objectives. For this reason, a number of things need to be known, especially those concerning the behavior of voters as political consumers (Jimly Asshiddiqie, 2013).

In this era of democratization, the relationship between contestants and voters is an unstable one, due to the increasingly critical nature of society and the fading of traditional and primordial ties. Then, contestants will not be able to win political competition without getting the support of voters. So it is not surprising that before the election, contestants flocked to approach voters to cast their votes. This passive relationship makes voters an object of politics. In reality, the relationship between contestants and voters is often characterized by betrayal. After winning the election, it is easy for contestants to forget the political promises and hopes they have raised before the voters. They are so busy taking care of all the details of the distribution of power to secure the position that has been obtained.

On the other hand, voters also frequently shift their support from one contestant to another. With the increasing number of *swing voters* and non-partisans, it must be realized that the ideological ties that were once very strong have now faded. Voters are increasingly becoming very critical and are always watching and evaluating what the winning contestant has done. When they see that the work programs implemented by the winning contestants are not in accordance with their promises during the election campaign, voters can "punish" the contestants by not re-electing them in the next election (Firmanzah, 2012).

The phenomenon of elections in Indonesia has always been an interesting study in every period of regime change. The case of the 2019 elections was widely heard and became a public discussion. Where, in the 2019 elections there were two *incumbent* pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates who ran for office. The pair with serial number one, namely the pair Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin, was carried by ten political parties, including the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), the Golkar Party (Golkar), the National Democratic Party (NasDem), the National Awakening Party (PKB), the United Development Party (PPP), the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), the Indonesian Unity Party (Perindo), the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI), and the Star Moon Party (PBB).

Furthermore, the candidate pair with serial number two, namely Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno, was carried by the Gerindra, PKS, PAN, Democrat and Berkarya parties. The presidential and vice presidential elections held in 2019 were won by candidate number one, Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin. The KPU declared Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin as the elected president and vice president with a total vote acquisition of 85,607,362 votes and with a winning percentage of 55.50% while the Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno pair only received 68,650,239 votes with a percentage of 44.50%.

Indonesia will hold elections in 2024, combining national and local elections in the same year. Due to the magnitude of this political agenda, the KPU has started this stage in March 2022. In the upcoming 2024 presidential election, it is interesting to see the emergence of names that are predicted to rise in the presidential candidacy, such as Anies Baswedan, Ganjar Pranowo, Puan Maharani, Airlangga Hartarto, and Prabowo Subianto. Anies Baswedan currently serves as the governor of DKI Jakarta province. Prabowo Subianto and Airlangga Hartarto are currently the Minister of Defense and Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs of the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet, respectively. Ganjar Pranowo is currently the Governor of Central Java and Puan Maharani is the Speaker of the House of Representatives. (Spektrum Politika, 2021).

An important premise that needs to be taken into account in analyzing the transition of people's perceptions and voting behavior after the 2019 elections is that the effect of the 2019 elections is still memorable in people's memories, so Prabowo Subianto's popularity and acceptability are still high. Sandiaga Uno also received the same effect. Meanwhile, Anies Baswedan received the effect of national-level news, so his popularity and acceptability will tend to increase. This is due to none other than the development of the public's political literacy towards figures who will become leaders in the future obtained from various sources of information. This will certainly be a different finding from other studies where voting behavior is determined by the social culture of local communities (Tokan 2017); (Fahmi 2019);

Related to these problems, through this paper the author will discuss the perceptions and voting behavior of the post-2019 elections community in Indonesia in a political perspective by emphasizing the issues that have developed in the community related to their perceptions of the success and unsuccessfulness of the current government administration, *rational choice of voters*, socio-economic and cultural conditions and taking into account the opportunities and challenges that will be faced in the years leading up to the 2024 elections by conducting a study of references and documentation related to these issues.

Method

More specifically, the analysis of voting behavior in this study emphasizes voter perceptions that are focused on three important things, namely voter *rational choice*, socioeconomic and cultural conditions, and evaluation of government policies as variables used in this study. To fulfill the above objectives, this study uses quantitative methods. Meanwhile, the sampling was conducted randomly using *multistage random sampling*. The advantage of using multistage random sampling compared to other sampling techniques is its ability to overcome geographical and logistical constraints in research. By dividing the population into several stages, researchers can reduce the difficulty in accessing and interviewing widely dispersed respondents. In addition, *multistage random sampling can* also be more efficient in terms of cost and time, especially when the population under study is very large and spread over a wide area. This makes this technique suitable for research with a wide geographical coverage, such as national surveys. The sampling took into account two aspects, namely; (1) the proportion between the number of samples and the number of voters in each province, and; (2) the proportion of samples by gender. The total sample amounted to 1,240 samples, by looking at PSU data in the Province. The survey population is the entire population aged 17 years and over or married. The survey was conducted in 34 provinces in Indonesia. Margin of Error with 1240 samples is + 2.9% with a confidence level of 95%. Quality control is carried out using the Phonecheck method (50%) and spotcheck randomly as much as 20% of the total sample. The survey period was July 1-10, 2021 (Spektrum Politica, 2021).

The following describes the sample withdrawal through the picture:

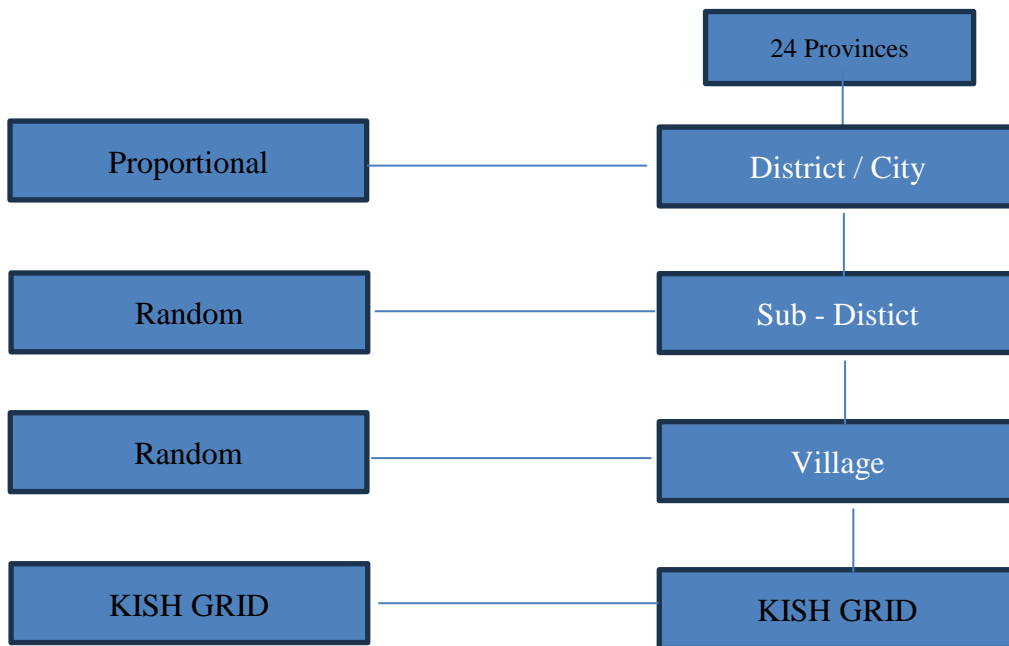


Table.1 Sampling technique use multisage Random Sampling

Province	Population	Sampling	Province	Population	Sampling
Aceh	1,9	1,6	NTB	1,9	1,61
Sumatera Utara	5,1	4,84	NTT	1,7	1,61
Sumatera Barat	2,0	1,61	Kalimantan Barat	1,9	1,61
Riau	2,0	1,61	Kalimantan Tengah	0,9	0,81
Jambi	1,3	1,61	Kalimantan Selatan	1,4	1,61
Sumatera Selatan	3,1	3,23	Kalimantan Timur	1,2	1,61
Bengkulu	0,8	0,81	Kalimantan utara	0,2	0,81
Lampung	3,2	3,23	Sulawesi Utara	1,0	0,81
Kep Bangka Belitung	0,5	0,81	Sulawesi Tengah	1,0	0,81
3,2Kep. Riau	0,6	0,81	Sulawesi Selatan	3,2	3,23
DKI Jakarta	3,9	4,01	Sulawesi Tenggara	0,9	0,81
Jawa Barat	17,6	16,9	Sulawesi Barat	0,4	0,81
Jawa Tengah	14,8	14,52	Gorontalo	0,45	0,81
DIY	1,5	1,61	Maluku	0,65	0,81
Jawa Timur	16,6	16,13	Maluku utara	0,4	0,81
Banten	4,0	4,03	Papua	0,89	0,61
Bali	1,6	1,61	Papua Barat	0,39	0,81

Fig.2 Distribution of Respondent

Provinsi	Sampel
Sumatera (Aceh, Sumut, Sumsel, Jambi, Sumbar, Riau, Kepri, Kep. Babel, Bengkulu, Lampung)	20,2
DKI Jakarta, Banten	8,1
Jawa Barat	16,9
DIY dan Jawa Tengah	16,1
Jawa Timur	16,1
Kalimantan (Kalsel, Kalteng, Kalbar, Kaltim, Kaltara)	6,5
Bali, NTT dan NTB	4,8
Sulawesi (Sulse, Sulbar, Sulteng, Sultar, Sulut, Gorontalo)	7,3
Maluku, Maluku Utara, Papua, Papua Barat	4

Fig.3 Distribution of Respondents by Region

Literature Review

There have been many studies on voting behavior in Indonesia. According to Gaffar(1992), studies of voting behavior in Indonesia have begun to be carried out since the fall of the new order regime in 1998. Several studies conducted by Muhammad Haris Fahmi (2019), Egis Maulana (2019), Agus Mahcfud Fauzi (2019), and Frans (2017) used voting behavior as the focus of their research studies. Muhammad Haris Fahmi's research (2019) entitled "The voting behavior of the Lamongan district community in the 2019 presidential election". This study aims to determine the behavior of voters in making choices and analyze the background of shifting voter behavior in the 2019 presidential election.

Furthermore, Egis Maulana's research (2019) entitled "Community political behavior in the 2019 presidential and vice presidential elections in Cimerak District, Pangandaran Regency". Judging from the results of research that has been conducted in the field, it can be classified that the majority of the people of Cimerak District belong to the type of rational voters. Then, the findings of Agus Mahcfud Fauzi (2019) and Frans (2017) show that the voting behavior of the

national community ahead of the 2019 election is still influenced by sociological and regional factors.

But unfortunately, some of their studies mostly discuss the problem of voting behavior in the year before an election is held or analyze the study of voting behavior in a certain election period. Then the difference in research offered by researchers intends to add an explanation of how the concept of dynamics of changes in perceptions and voting behavior of the post-2019 election community in Indonesia using a different and in-depth analytical knife.

This voting behavior research study uses aggregate data by utilizing data available at the political survey institute "Spektrum politica" Padang or other relevant agencies. As explained by the survey institute, this survey aims to obtain empirical data related to public perceptions related to today's political dynamics, the map of political party competition and the existence of national figures who are worthy of becoming presidential and vice presidential candidates in 2024 with *rational choice* analysis, social economy and culture; then identify issues that are developing in the community related to their perceptions. about the successes and failures of today's governance; and take into account the opportunities and challenges that will be faced in the years leading up to the 2024 elections (Spektrum Politica, 2021).

The study of other voting behavior and the basis in it there are three most dominant schools used in voting behavior, the three schools are: sociological, psychological, and rational or economic. First, the sociological school emerged before the other two schools. The sociological school is believed to have originated in Europe. The sociological school explains related to a person's political behavior which is influenced by sociological factors. This approach shows that there is an influence of sociological values that influence people in politics. sociological values such as religion, ethnicity, tribe, social class and others. The following cross tabulation is related to the sociological values of Voters after the 2019 election:

This sociological school sees the influence of social class identification, which is a common perspective between voters who have a certain social position and the social position of the political party concerned. The sociological school is also influenced by the environment, where the environment affects a person's political values and beliefs. The second school is the psychological school. The psychological school highlights how voters perceive existing political parties or how emotionally connected voters are to a particular party. This school is also a form of dissatisfaction with the sociological school. This is because the sociological school cannot be measured methodologically. In this psychological school, the concern is how voters' perceptions of existing political parties, or how voters' emotional relationships with certain political parties through a long psychological process.

According to Roth, there are three factors that influence individual political choices psychologically (trias determinant), namely: party identification (Party ID), candidate orientation and issue orientation. Furthermore, the psychological approach reveals that what directly affects voter behavior is not the social structure as revealed by the sociological approach but short-term and long-term factors on voters. Issues circulating in a society are also a determining factor of the psychological school. Although the issues circulating are only as a driver of public opinion.

The last is the rational or economic school. This school is a school pioneered by Anthony Downs who used the assumptions of modern economic theory in the book *An Economic Theory of Voting* in 1957. According to this rational school, what is decisive in an election does not depend on structural ties or strong party ties, but is a result of the rational judgment of capable citizens. In explaining voting behavior, the rational school analogizes economic markets to voting behavior. One of the key elements of the approach to democracy is that elections are like a market in which transaction processes such as supply (political parties) and demand (voters) take place rationally. Rational voters will emerge if political parties or candidates can act rationally (Syafhendry, 2016).

The assumption of this school is that individuals tend to act rationally, namely maximizing the benefits and minimizing the losses obtained from the actions they take. Hestie & Dawes (2001) categorize a person's decision as rational if; (1) Their decision-making choices are based on the status quo, and if they have to lose their assets, they will be compensated equally. ; (2) The decision choices made provide tangible results to the decision maker; (3) The decision made does not violate basic principles that cause the chance of uncertainty of a decision to be large or threaten what it wants to obtain.

Result and Discussion

In the case of Indonesia with a wide and uneven demographic population distribution, it shows that voter rationality sometimes fluctuates. This is the basis for the public's critical evaluation of the government's policy track record by still touching on economic, social and cultural issues. Thus, this context shows how the rationality of Indonesian voters tends to be static, idealistic, and even dynamic. This condition causes the rationality of Indonesian voters themselves to still be in the transition stage. The causality of perception and voter behavior ends with the activity of voting by individuals who are closely related to decision-making activities to vote or not vote in a general election.

Voters are simply defined as all parties who are the main goal of the contestants to influence and convince them to support and then vote for the contestants concerned. Voters in this case can be constituents or the public in general. Constituents are groups of people who feel represented by a certain ideology which is then manifested in political institutions such as political parties. In addition, voters are part of the wider community who may not be part of the constituents of certain political parties. Therefore, the relationship between the dynamics of perception and voters is an important homework that we must answer one by one, not forgetting the objectives of the research above.

In some previous studies in voting behavior, there are various perspectives that are described from the pattern of changes in *voting* behavior and determining political choices in general elections or regional head elections in a region using a *voting behavior approach*. Studies related to voting behavior are studies related to studies that aim to reveal several reasons or factors that cause a person to tend to choose a party or contestant. Sobur (2003: 446); Firmanzah (2013: 87); (Ferdian, 2019); (Fahmi 2019).

1. Perceptions and voting behavior towards the government's policy track record

Before concluding the dynamics or changes in today's political flow, we need to assess or evaluate the performance of the government to see the benchmarks of success or unsuccessfulness in the implementation of today's government. As explained in the following picture.

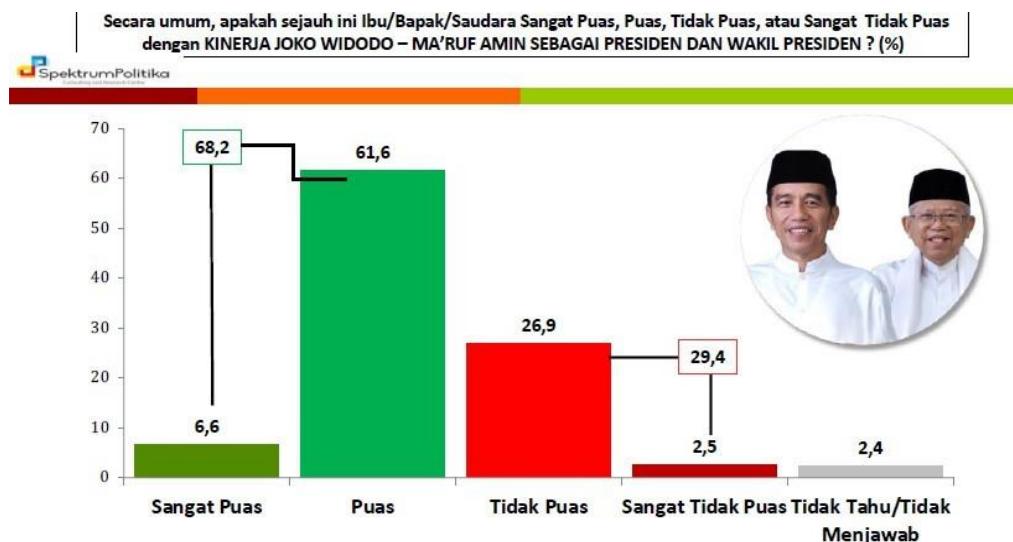


Fig.4 Government Performance Evaluation

The evaluation of the performance of the Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin government shows that 68.2% are satisfied (6.6% very satisfied and 61.6% satisfied) and only 29.4% are dissatisfied with the performance of the Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin government.

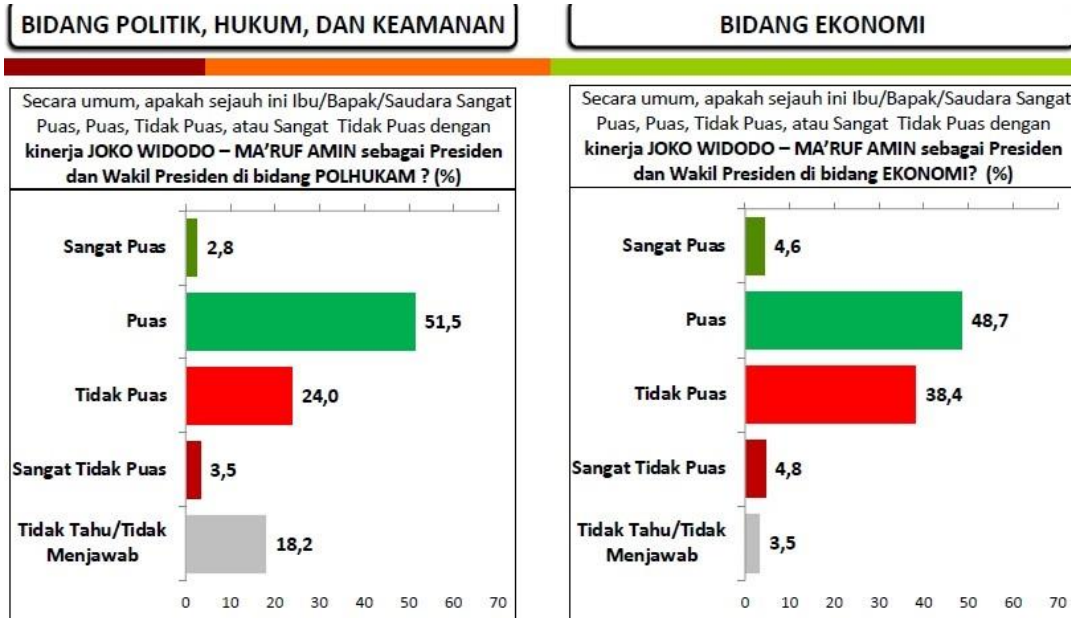


Fig.5 Government Performance Evaluation

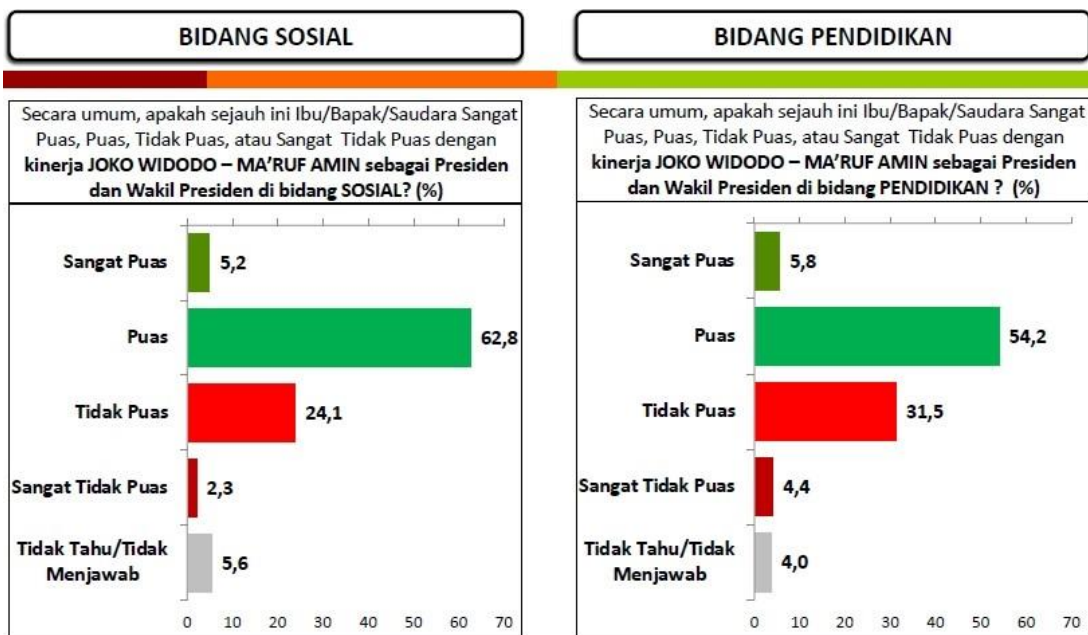


Fig.6 Government Performance Evaluation

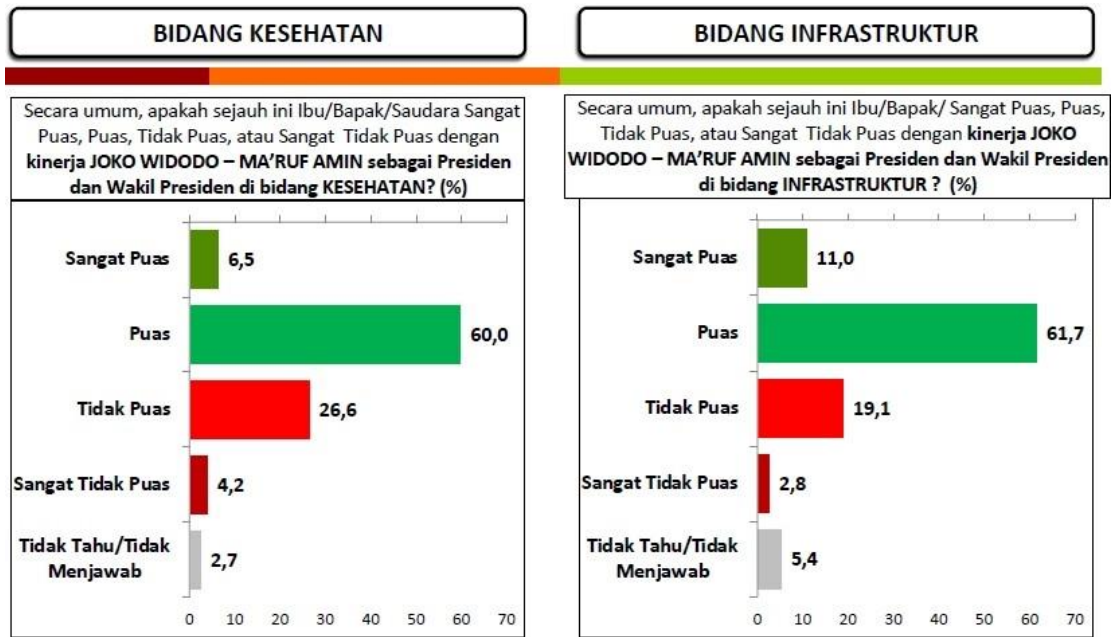


Fig.7 Government Performance Evaluation

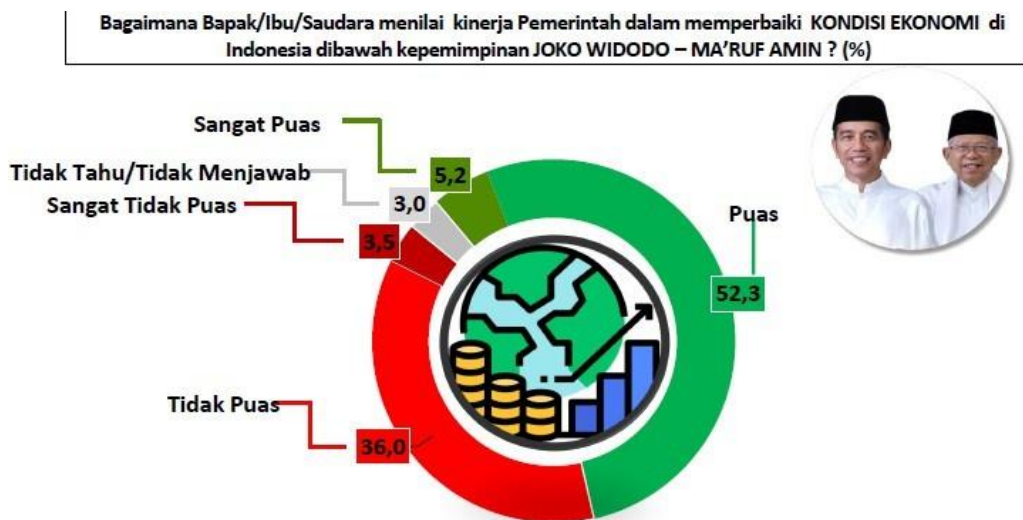


Figure. 8.1 Evaluation of Government Performance in Improving Economic Conditions

KEBIJAKAN PEMERINTAH DALAM MENANGANI PANDEMI COVID-19

Bagaimana Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menilai kinerja Pemerintah dalam PENANGANAN COVID-19 di Indonesia dibawah kepemimpinan JOKO WIDODO – MA'RUF AMIN ? (%)

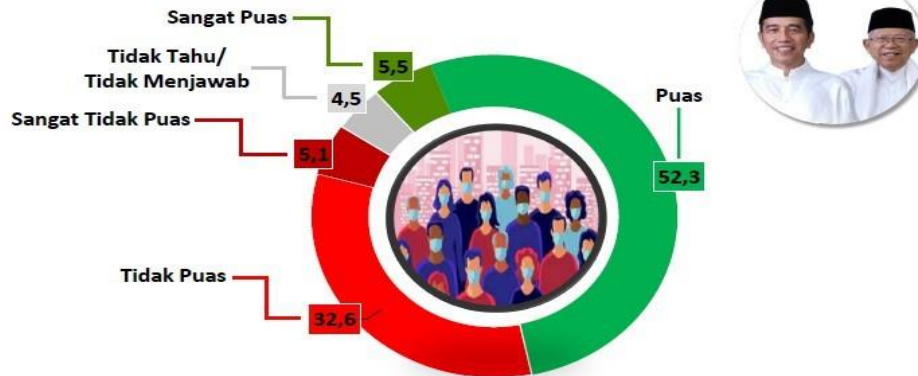


Figure.8.2 Government Performance Evaluation

Bagaimana Bapak/Ibu/Saudara menilai kinerja Pemerintah dalam PEMBERANTASAN KORUPSI di Indonesia dibawah kepemimpinan JOKO WIDODO – MA'RUF AMIN ? (%)



Fig.9 Government Performance Evaluation

The performance of the Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin government when viewed from 6 areas of development and basic human needs, the results show that the infrastructure sector has the highest public satisfaction, namely 72.7%, followed by the social sector at 68% and the health sector at 66.5% and in the education sector 60% of respondents are satisfied. The level of public satisfaction with the government's performance in improving economic conditions is at 57.5%, while for the eradication of corruption there are only 48% of respondents who are satisfied, for handling the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia there are 57.8% of respondents who

are satisfied with the performance of the Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin government. Therefore, it can be concluded that "there is no ivory that is not cracked" which means that nothing is perfect, including the current or future governments that have power and legitimacy must continue to improve and evaluate performance to be even better. There will be no agreement regarding the definition of satisfaction.

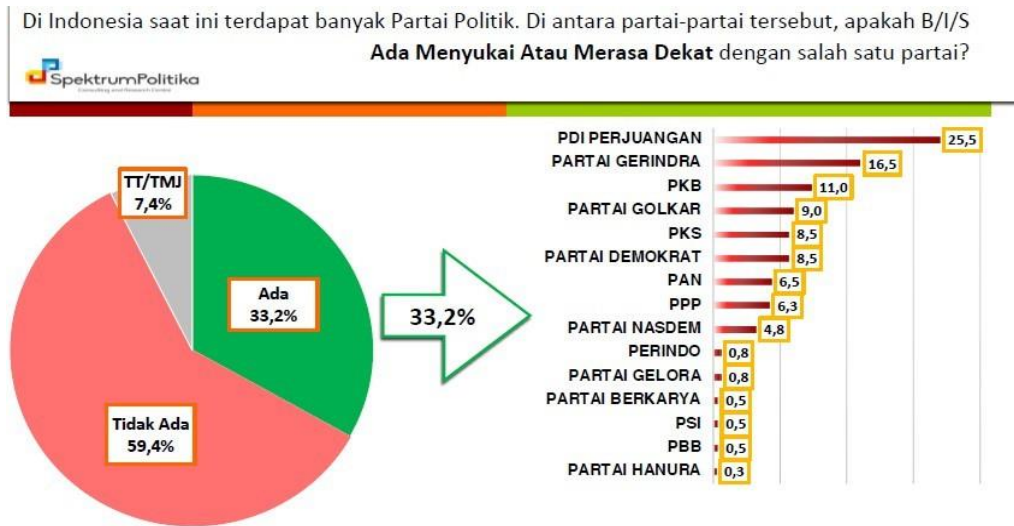


Fig.10 Closeness of Political Parties to Respondents

There were only 33.2% of respondents who liked or felt close to one of the political parties. Of the 33.2% of respondents, 27.6% favored PDI Perjuangan, while Gerindra (17.5) and PKB (11%) did so.

Jika melihat Kinerja Partai Politik Di DPR Satu Tahun Terakhir, berapakah B/I/S memberikan Nilai Kepada Partai Politik berikut ini ? (Angka 1 artinya kinerja "sangat buruk" dan angka 5, artinya kinerja "sangat baik")

PARTAI	TT/TJ	1	2	3	4	5	INDEKS
PDI P	0,8%	10,6%	17,8%	34,2%	21,3%	15,3%	3,11
GERINDRA	0,8%	6,9%	16,0%	48,0%	19,4%	8,9%	3,05
PKB	0,8%	6,9%	16,0%	48,0%	19,4%	8,9%	3,04
Demokrat	1,0%	7,7%	18,1%	46,1%	17,8%	9,3%	3,00
Partai Golkar	0,9%	6,3%	18,9%	49,4%	16,3%	8,2%	2,98
PAN	0,4%	10,0%	23,3%	45,8%	13,8%	6,7%	2,87
PKS	3,2%	9,2%	18,6%	45,4%	14,6%	9,0%	2,86
PPP	1,2%	9,2%	20,1%	48,3%	14,3%	6,9%	2,86
Partai Nasdem	0,9%	10,6%	21,7%	46,1%	13,8%	6,9%	2,82

Figure.11 Political party performance in the House of Representatives in the past year

Of the nine political parties represented in the House of Representatives, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI P) received an index of 3.11 on a scale of 1-5, followed by Gerindra Party with an index of 3.05 and PKB with an index of 3.04. If the election to elect members of the DPR RI were held today, 18.6% of respondents would vote for PDI Perjuangan, 9.5% would vote for Gerindra Party, and 6.9% would vote for PKB. Using an MoE of + 2.9%, there will only be a maximum of 9 political parties that qualify for the DPR RI.

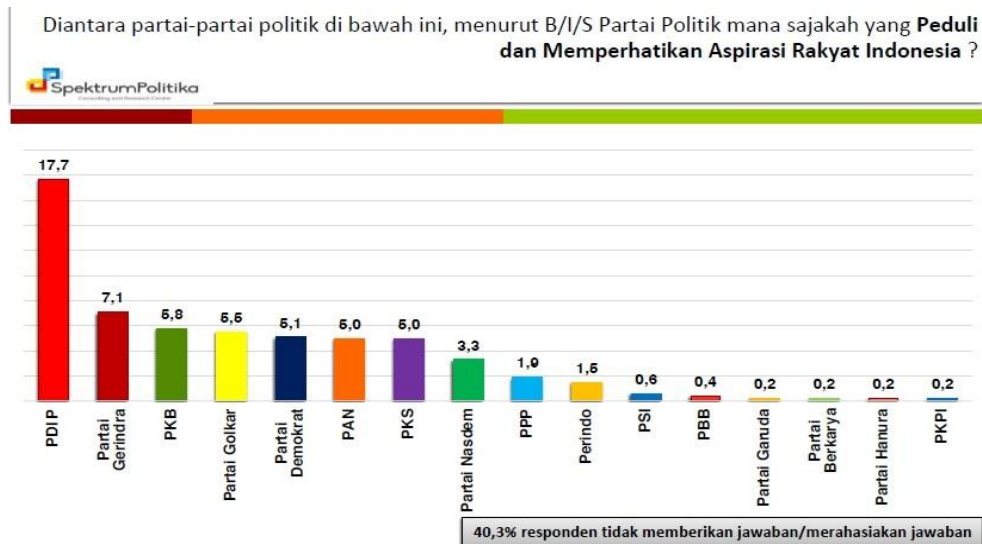



Figure.12 Political party performance in the House of Representatives in the past year

Respondents cited PDI-P (17.7%) as the party that most cares and pays attention to the aspirations of the Indonesian people, followed by Gerindra (7.1%) and PKB (5.8%). It can be concluded that PDI-P dominates respondents' votes on voter tendencies.

2. Perceptions and Voting Behavior of Indonesian Communities based on Economy, Social and Culture

Respondents' Occupation, Expenditure, Ethnicity

Tabulasi Silang Pilihan Presiden (10 nama) dengan Pekerjaan Utama responden




	TT/TJ	AHY	Anies Baswedan	Airlangga Hartanto	Ganjar Pranowo	Tri Risma	Prabowo Subianto	Puan Maharani	Ridwan Kamil	Sandiaga Uno	Zulkifli Hasan
Nelayan	14.2%	14.3%	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%
Petani	15.0%	5.5%	10.0%	1.4%	22.3%	3.2%	29.1%	4.1%	2.3%	6.4%	0.7%
Buruh	14.9%	3.2%	6.5%	2.2%	26.9%	1.1%	33.3%	0.0%	6.5%	4.3%	1.1%
Supir/Tukang Ojek	16.7%	20.8%	12.5%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%	20.8%	4.2%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%
Jasa	20.0%	4.0%	4.0%	0.0%	20.0%	4.0%	32.0%	4.0%	4.0%	8.0%	0.0%
Pedagang	12.3%	3.8%	19.8%	0.8%	19.1%	5.3%	24.4%	0.0%	6.1%	8.4%	0.0%
Usaha Sendiri	13.0%	6.0%	6.0%	0.0%	26.9%	4.5%	25.4%	4.5%	3.0%	9.0%	1.7%
PNS/Guru	3.5%	0.0%	35.7%	0.0%	17.9%	0.0%	35.7%	0.0%	3.6%	3.6%	0.0%
Karyawan Perusahaan Swasta	18.6%	4.0%	17.3%	0.0%	16.0%	6.7%	32.0%	0.0%	2.7%	2.7%	0.0%
Pensiunan PNS/Swasta	13.0%	3.3%	13.3%	3.3%	26.7%	6.7%	16.7%	3.3%	10.0%	3.3%	0.4%
Kerja Tidak Tetap/Serabutan	12.4%	2.0%	22.4%	0.0%	24.5%	2.0%	30.6%	0.0%	2.0%	4.1%	0.0%
Ibu Rumah Tangga	14.5%	3.9%	16.6%	1.0%	15.3%	5.5%	23.4%	1.6%	6.2%	12.0%	0.0%
Pelajar/Mahasiswa	18.4%	4.7%	23.3%	0.0%	14.0%	9.3%	20.9%	0.0%	2.3%	7.0%	0.0%
Tidak/Belum Bekerja	6.6%	4.3%	13.0%	2.2%	32.6%	0.0%	23.9%	8.7%	2.2%	6.5%	0.0%
Lainnya	13.8%	3.2%	10.6%	0.0%	30.9%	11.7%	20.2%	0.0%	3.2%	6.4%	0.0%

Figure.13 Cross Tabulation of Presidential Election against Respondents' Occupation

Prabowo's voters tend to be diverse in terms of their professions/occupations compared to other candidates who only come from one or a few professions. Prabowo's biggest supporters by social class are those from the lower class at 33.9%. And this segment splits to Ganjar who also gets support from this class of society. However, Prabowo's advantage is that he also has support from the middle class segment and upper middle class.

Tabulasi Silang Pilihan Presiden (10 nama) dengan Pengeluaran Kotor Per Bulan responden



Rata-Rata Pengeluaran Kotor	TT/TJ	AHY	Anies Baswedan	Airlangga Hartanto	Ganjar Pranowo	Tri Risma	Prabowo Subianto	Puan Maharani	Ridwan Kamil	Sandiaga Uno	Zulkifli Hasan
< 500.000	15.1%	6.8%	10.2%	0.0%	13.6%	1.7%	33.9%	0.0%	6.8%	10.2%	1.7%
500.000-999.999	15.4%	4.2%	12.2%	2.1%	25.4%	4.2%	23.8%	2.6%	1.6%	8.5%	0.0%
1.000.000-1.999.999	13.9%	5.2%	11.6%	0.6%	19.6%	6.6%	29.8%	2.8%	3.0%	6.9%	0.0%
2.000.000-3.999.999	10.8%	3.7%	16.0%	1.1%	21.0%	4.0%	26.9%	2.1%	6.4%	7.7%	0.3%
> 4.000.000	11.1%	1.7%	21.6%	0.0%	19.0%	4.3%	26.7%	0.9%	6.0%	7.8%	0.9%
Tidak Menjawab	25.3%	5.8%	16.7%	0.7%	22.5%	4.3%	13.8%	0.0%	2.9%	8.0%	0.0%

Figure.14 Cross Tabulation of Presidential Election against Respondents' Expenditure

Tabulasi Silang Pilihan Presiden (10 nama) dengan suku/etnis responden

	BASELINE	TT/TJ	AHY	Anies Baswedan	Airlangga Hartanto	Ganjar Pranowo	Tri Risma	Prabowo Subianto	Puan Maharani	Ridwan Kamil	Sandiaga Uno	Zulkifli Hasan
Jawa	44,5	16,3%	4,3%	10,1%	0,5%	32,2%	8,5%	19,0%	1,6%	2,2%	5,1%	0,2%
Sunda	16	8,6%	3,5%	16,1%	0,5%	8,0%	1,0%	39,7%	1,5%	15,1%	6,0%	0,0%
Melayu	5,5	13,3%	4,4%	11,8%	0,0%	17,6%	2,9%	35,3%	4,4%	1,5%	8,8%	0,0%
Bugis	4	14,3%	4,1%	14,3%	0,0%	8,2%	0,0%	34,7%	2,0%	2,0%	20,4%	0,0%
Madura	3,6	20,0%	0,0%	13,3%	0,0%	13,3%	6,7%	35,6%	0,0%	0,0%	11,1%	0,0%
Betawi	3,4	11,8%	0,0%	31,0%	7,1%	4,8%	2,4%	28,8%	2,4%	7,1%	4,8%	0,0%
Minangkabau	2,9	5,6%	5,6%	44,4%	0,0%	2,8%	0,0%	33,3%	0,0%	0,0%	8,3%	0,0%
Batak/Mandailing	2,3	10,7%	3,6%	3,6%	0,0%	21,4%	3,6%	32,1%	3,6%	10,7%	10,7%	0,0%
Banjar	2,3	6,9%	6,9%	20,7%	0,0%	20,7%	6,9%	34,5%	0,0%	0,0%	3,4%	0,0%
Makassar	1,7	14,2%	4,8%	9,5%	4,8%	4,8%	0,0%	52,4%	0,0%	0,0%	9,5%	0,0%
Aceh	1,6	0,0%	10,0%	50,0%	0,0%	5,0%	0,0%	10,0%	0,0%	5,0%	20,0%	0,0%
Timor	1,6	5,0%	25,0%	10,0%	5,0%	25,0%	0,0%	15,0%	10,0%	0,0%	5,0%	0,0%
Papua	1,5	88,3%	5,3%	10,5%	5,3%	0,0%	0,0%	5,3%	0,0%	0,0%	5,3%	0,0%
Sasak	1,5	26,4%	10,5%	0,0%	0,0%	10,5%	0,0%	42,1%	0,0%	0,0%	10,5%	0,0%
Ball	1,0	7,7%	0,0%	7,7%	0,0%	61,5%	7,7%	7,7%	0,0%	7,7%	0,0%	0,0%
Tionghoa	0,6	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	85,7%	0,0%	14,3%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Lampung	0,6	0,0%	0,0%	12,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	40,0%	0,0%	0,0%	12,5%	35,0%
Maluku	0,5	0,0%	0,0%	66,7%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	33,3%	0,0%
Ternate	0,4	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
Lainnya	4,5	20,1%	5,6%	13,0%	1,9%	9,3%	0,0%	16,7%	7,4%	1,9%	24,1%	0,0%

Figure 15 Cross-tabulation of voting behavior against ethnicity

Based on the cross tabulation above, the candidate's support base consists of various tribes/ethnicities. Among them, 39.7% of Sundanese ethnicity, 35.3% of Malay ethnicity, 34.7% of Bugis ethnicity, 35.6% of Madurese ethnicity, 33.3% of Minangkabau ethnicity, 32.1% of Batak ethnicity, 34.5% of Banjar ethnicity, 52.4% of Makassar ethnicity, 42.1% of Sasak ethnicity, 40.0% of Lampung ethnicity, and 16.7% of other ethnicities dominate the votes for Prabowo. Meanwhile, 32.2% of Javanese ethnicity, 25.0% of Timorese ethnicity, 61.5% of Balinese ethnicity, and 85.7% of Chinese ethnicity dominated the votes for Ganjar Pranowo. Then, as many as 31.03% of Betawi ethnicity, 44.4% of Minangkabau ethnicity, 50.0% of Aceh ethnicity, 10.5% of Papuan ethnicity, 66.7% of Maluku ethnicity, and 100.0% of Ternate ethnicity dominated the votes for Prabowo.

3. Rational Choice Voter



Figure.16 Tendency to vote for a candidate in the presidential election

From the figure above, it is explained that respondents answered that the reason they chose a presidential candidate who is a political party chairman is because they saw his proven performance (22.7%), authoritative (22.4%) and clean/honest (18.7%). These three variables must certainly be a concern for any party leader who wants to run for office. Choosing behavior based on rational considerations is not only in the form of choosing the most profitable alternative or bringing the least doubt. But also in terms of choosing alternatives by maximizing gains and minimizing losses.

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ALASAN	PERSEN
Kemampuan dan kepribadian personal yang unggul (tegas/berwibawa/mengayomi/pintar/visioner/ sederhana/ramah dll)	43,39
Sudah ada bukti kerja/ada hasil kerjanya (kinerjanya bagus) ketika memimpin	36,05
Berpengalaman sebagai pemimpin	35,00
Perhatian dan dekat dengan masyarakat serta punya kepedulian dengan masalah yang dihadapi masyarakat (berjiwa sosial)	24,52
Bebas dari masalah korupsi, kolusi dan nepotisme (KKN)	19,44
Tidak ada alasan khusus/saya suka saja karna penampilan/kharismanya	8,31
Berlatar belakang yang saya sukai (militer, pengusaha, birokrat, ustadz, seniman, akademisi, profesional, dll)	7,42
Memahami agama dengan baik (religius)	7,34
Putra daerah	6,53
Belum ada calon lain yang sesuai dengan harapan saya	4,60
Berasal dan diusung dari Partai Politik atau Kelompok/Ormas yang saya sukai	2,18
Memahami adat dan budaya daerah ini	1,29
Masih ada hubungan keluarga	0,40
Lainnya	5,97

Figure. 17 trends in voting behavior of Indonesians

The table above shows that the voting behavior of the Indonesian people after the 2024 elections has experienced a significant shift in tendency. Where *rational choice* values rank first. The more rational the voters are, the more critical they are in making their choices. If we

look at the tendency of voters to prioritize track records, leader performance, experience and achievements in selecting candidates who will rise to become president later. Then followed by sociological values in second place on the grounds of regional sons, religion, ethnicity, culture, kinship, and other regional characteristics. Then the last is occupied by psychological values with measure of the emotional ties and closeness of voters to political parties or presidential candidates.

4. Opportunities and challenges in the years leading up to the 2024 elections

As we know, in the future there will be simultaneous elections in 2024. This cannot be separated from the opportunities and challenges that will be faced with various problems. Ratnia Sholihah (2019: 11) emphasizes in her writing that there are several issues regarding the opportunities and challenges faced, namely; (1) opportunities and challenges for voters, when viewed from the opportunity for increased voter participation. Meanwhile, for the challenge, it takes a lot of time in the voting booth; (2) opportunities and challenges for the government, simultaneous elections provide opportunities for the creation of a stronger and more stable presidential government system. This is because the coalition formed in carrying out the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidate pairs is carried out earlier and is based on the same vision and mission, not merely to win the election. As for the challenges, in creating a solid and vision-mission-based coalition, it is necessary to simplify the party system; (3) opportunities and challenges for political parties, with the opportunity of simultaneous elections, political parties can carry out their functions more efficiently. The time, energy and costs required by political parties for campaigns become more efficient because they are carried out simultaneously. Meanwhile, the challenge is that political parties must be able to offer a pair of candidates for President and Vice President who are popular and acceptable to other parties to gain support from the coalition of parties that will be formed; (4) opportunities and challenges for organizing elections, the opportunity for simultaneous elections for election organizers is the efficiency of election costs. Meanwhile, the challenge is that the change in the electoral system from gradual elections to simultaneous elections has considerable technical consequences for organizing elections (Ratnia Sholihah, 2019).

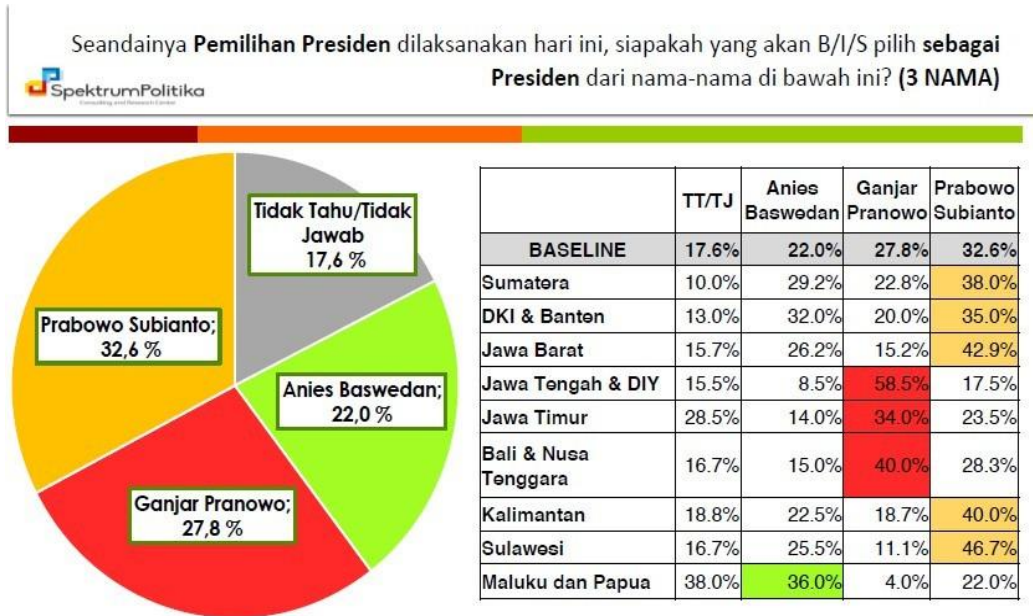


Figure .18 Mapping of Regions in Indonesia Against Candidates



Figure 19 Competition for 2024 Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates

From the simulation among the top three names of presidential candidates, between Prabowo Subianto, Ganjar Pranowo and Anies Baswedan, the leader is Prabowo Subianto with 32.6%. Meanwhile, Ganjar and Anies received 27.8% and 22% respectively. The competition would be even more competitive if made head to head, although Prabowo is still ahead of Ganjar with an electability of 42.1% : 33.3%; Prabowo vs Anies, 40.4% : 28,9%. Meanwhile, Ganjar vs Anies, 34.5% : 37,4%.

The spontaneous electability level of the public still tends to Prabowo Subianto with 19.3% support. Prabowo Subianto's potential competitors are Ganjar Pranowo at 10.2% and Anies Baswedan at 14%; Interestingly, although Ganjar Pranowo's popularity and acceptability are below Anies Baswedan, the public's top of mind tends to be Ganjar Pranowo. Ganjar

Pranowo's strong mass base in Central Java and several other regions is the cause of the high public top of mind towards Ganjar Pranowo.

With several simulations conducted, Prabowo Subianto still remains the strongest presidential candidate compared to the other candidates. Meanwhile, the competition with several simulations is still followed by Ganjar Pranowo and Anies Baswedan. Prabowo is still considered by some people as a figure who can represent their expectations who is firm, authoritative and nurturing. Likewise, his military background is considered a suitable profession to become the next president of Indonesia. If a mapping of regions in Indonesia is made of the tendency towards well-known candidates, namely Prabowo, Anies, and Ganjar, it can be seen that Prabowo's supporters are mostly located in Sumatra, DKI and Banten, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and West Java. Meanwhile, Anies' supporters are mostly in Maluku and Papua, and Ganjar's supporters are mostly in Central Java & DIY, East Java, Bali and Nusa Tenggara. (Spektrum, 2021)

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Based on some previous research results, some findings and discussions related to voter behavior and electoral democracy in Indonesia often discuss and examine voter behavior and political parties in general, then research on three schools of thought that are the basis for the development of voting behavior, namely: rational, traditional, and psychological voting

behavior. We can conclude that voter behavior and electoral democracy in Indonesia have a significant impact on political parties and general elections. However, this research tries to answer the novelty that there are many other variables that influence the voting behavior of Indonesian people even though they tend to be less idealistic, static and dynamic, including: current issues about government policies, track records of political figures obtained by the public through various references. However, of course this research needs further research in order to add to the treasure of science, especially about contemporary elections in Indonesia where government elites are able to influence the results of the upcoming presidential and vice presidential elections, if in the regions there are local strong men, in the center there are center strong men with other supporting variables.

Conclusion

The discussion of the dynamics of changing perceptions of elections cannot be separated from the study of voting behavior studies. The frenetic elections in Indonesia will still haunt the Indonesian people. Because in today's modern era, there are still many violations in elections that cause insecurity. But people are increasingly demanding elections that are democratic and not anarchic. Parties not only pit their heads but also their fists with tactics and strategies. Contestants also compete for influence and to attract public sympathy. Parties and contestants who fail in this strategy battle are certain to lose the vote.

In the multiparty system implemented in Indonesia, election contestants are faced with the reality that competition to be able to win, satisfy and convince voters is getting tighter. The ultimate goal of competition between parties and contestants is to bring voters to the polling stations (TPS) until finally voting and converting their votes through the voting booth. Changes in the electoral system mechanism held simultaneously and the dynamics of changes in perceptions and voting behavior after the 2019 elections will undoubtedly also change the relationship between contestants (political parties, presidential candidates, DPRD, DPR, and DPD candidates) and voters in the perspective of the upcoming 2024 elections.

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