

From Rational to Irrational Behaviour: The Shift in Indonesian Voting Behaviour After Reformasi Era

Dari Rasional Menjadi Tidak Rasional: Pergeseran Perilaku Memilih di Indonesia Paskareformasi

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Abstract

Article aimed to analyses about construction of voting behavior in Indonesia election implementation. It urge and significant to elaborate and scrutinize political preferential which became base foundation to elect and submit their vote. There are two prominent factor can be main tools to covering voting behavior trend In Indonesia. Firstly, figures presumably primary sources to mention constructing public voting behavior. In Indonesia post authoritarian era, democracy has been suspended due to emergence of strong figure. This become ironic in implementation of democracy when hijacked oligarchic power that still persist and insist their resources in recent era. Secondly, analyzing of voting behavior in Indonesia has been swiftly in every election. It's important to note that main character of voting behavior is swing voters dominated by young residents. Therefore, voting behavior trend fluctuated depending on issue and media news, become main consideration public to elect and submit their vote. In addition to both factor, emergence of political broker in recent election has indicated urgent needs to bridging voter and candidate in order to more engage. Those three factor will be primary focus to be elaborated in this paper, how recent trend in voting behavior in Indonesia and its impact to election event.

Keywords: Voting Behavior; Irrational Choices; Rational Choices; Political Preference, Indonesian Voters

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis konstruksi perilaku memilih dalam pemilu Indonesia. Isu ini menjadi penting dan signifikan dalam melihat pola preferensi memilih ketika akan mencontreng kertas suara. Temuan dalam riset ini memuat dua faktor penting yang menjadi basis politik perilaku memilih Indonesia. Pertama, kekuatan personal seorang elite agaknya menjadi faktor penting dalam membaca perilaku memilih tersebut. Hal ini dikarenakan kondisi demokrasi Indonesia yang masih terbajak oleh kekuatan oligarki yang masih cukup kuat. Kedua, masih adanya masa pemilih mengambang, utamanya kalangan muda dan terdidik. Hal tersebut dikarenakan perilaku politik mereka masih dipengaruhi adanya isu dan kepentingan. Di luar dari kedua faktor tersebut, munculnya broker politik dan uang politik menjadi faktor yang tidak bisa terelakan dalam konstruksi perilaku memilih di Indonesia paskareformasi.

Kata Kunci: Perilaku Memilih; Pilihan Rasional; Pilihan tidak Rasional; Preferensi Politik, Pemilih Indonesia

Introduction

Experimentation of election in Indonesia since falling of New Order Regime has been showed political fluctuation on voting behavior. It has been indicated within increasingly of Non-voters groups are well-known as abstainer group/(white group or golongan putih) which those making a political position standing by refusing to vote. In 1999, numbers of political participation to vote reach out 93 percent. However, next election was held in 2004, political participation has been declined until 84,9 percent. Its declining number then continued in 2009 wherein trend of voter increased further 70,99. Recently in 2014 election, level of public participation have risen little bit 75 percent. Trend of fluctuation in submitting their vote in election has indicated that public voting behavior unpredictable. Its condition associated within degree of political understanding from public increasingly rapidly that implicated in their political preferences. Main premises to conduct those conditions related that acceleration of dissemination information sourced media has crafted and created public knowledge to criticize political issue every day.

In regards to the information dissemination, this has been affecting public voting behaviour. Generally, there are three current voting behaviour aside from abstainer group, namely the economic voting behaviour, religious voting behaviour, and rational voting behaviour. For the first one, economic voting behaviour means the way voters evaluate past economic performance and its prospect toward second terms.¹ For the second one, religious voting behaviour means the way public voters use religion whether to be religious affiliation or religious belonging. These two represents the politicization of

religion in electoral matters.² Meanwhile, the last one rational voting behaviour means the way voters objectively assess the performance of government according to various views. These three general voting behaviour arguably has been continuously affecting public political preferences in Indonesian politics.

There are four arguments to analyze public political preferences trendsetters in every election event. Firstly, public enthusiasm in 1999 election reflected newly spirit and hopes to looking forward new government born into democracy realm. Secondly, public have loosening in 2004 election toward corruption symptom of government, so that public reluctantly to submit their vote in ballot box. Thirdly, public become more pessimistic and apathy since 2009 election due to lack of integrity and morality that showed from government apparatus and political elite within many corruption cases occurred in legislative, judicative, and executive. Becoming abstainers in 2009 election is manifestation of public deprivation against oligarchy elite in governmental tiers. Fourthly, Jokowi effect in 2014 has been raised new hope and transformation to change old model of govern mentality that during this time surrounded corruption case and passiveness practice from government apparatus to absorb public aspiration in grass root level. In the end, political analysis to investigate Indonesia political preferences needs to be posited into political culture, especially in this research question in this paper, how far culture can affected political preferences and how beyond contestation amidst patrimonialism and rational thinking in development of public political preferential.

This paper aimed endeavor to analyse political preferences that construct voting

¹ Nurdien Aji and Teguh Dartanto, "Behind the Jokowi's Victory: Did Economic Voting Matter in the 2014 Indonesian Presidential Election?," *Asia-Pacific Journal of Regional Science* 2, no. 1 (2018): 121-22.

² Saiful Mujani, "Religion and Voting Behavior: Evidence from the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial Election," *AlJami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 58, no.2 (2020): 428-29.

behavior in Indonesia election event. Most importantly, this paper would like to further investigate the shift of voting behaviour from irrational to become rational attitudes in Indonesian politics.

Political Culture in Indonesia Election

Analyses the 1999 general election and the subsequent presidential election in the broader context of Indonesian elections and politics have showed fluctuation in political preferential trend. Previous study which conducted Western-trained *political* scientists has been showed Indonesia election process in both major perspective; patrimonialism based on patron-client relation and then rational thinking. Patrimonialism perspective analyses came from several scholars such as Gaffar, Hadiz, Tomsa, Leo Suryadinata, and Sulistyono.

In early election era was held in 1971, political analysis that conducted in study of political preference yet developed sophisticated and deeply. In spite of New Order regime has ensured that there is liberation toward public to choose and submit their vote independently. Nevertheless, regime then created and issued political policy called *massa mengambang* (*floating mass*). Its policy aimed to restrain both party, neither Indonesia Democratic Party and United Development Party exceptionally Functionalist Group restrained and prohibited to open branch office into sub district level. Its policy aimed to prevent political cleavages in society that implicated political riot. In the end, construction of political preference at least had been solely crystallized toward Functionalist Group. Political triumvirates who coexist in New Order such as bureaucrat, military, and then charismatic figure directly ordered regime to pushed public to choose functionalist group. Regarding toward political preference in New Order Era, Affan Gaffar on his book *Javanese Voter* initiated study

about political preferential in Indonesia.³ His analysis carrying on political constellation regarding to both party; Indonesia Democratic Party & Unity and Development Party, and Functionalist Group (Golkar) which analyzed into *politik aliran* perspective. That perspective has been undermining social structure based on occupation. In this case, bureaucrats either piety figure have role position in public relation then converted into political preferential construction. This condition was followed by common people whom believe that political way was chosen remarkable figure is remarkable. Gaffar has found two major things which become basis of political preferential construction in Indonesia. Firstly, emergence of patrimonial voters which submit their ballot based on charismatic figure. Patron-client is nature of Indonesia political life, patron is manifestation of protection and salvation and then client is form of vulnerable entities. Secondly, emergence of *aliran* had been indicate that rational preferential yet manifested broadly in public. Meanwhile, penetration of political party is unwillingness to be political medium for entire public due to lack of morality and integrity concurrence within many corruption cases. Thirdly, influence of public figure as patron who assumed problem solver in grassroots. Regarding of public figure, there much both credibility and maturity which inherent in public figure. In this case, roots of political party in grassroots is not based and built on ideology. Public figure embedded in public daily life more trusted comparing within political party. In the end, patrimonial pattern occurred between public figure, political party, and then public itself that made political triangle form.

This make causality relation amidst patron and client then formed artificial loyalty. Perhaps

3 Afan Gaffar, *Javanese Voters: A Case Study of Election Under a Hegemonic Party System* (Yogyakarta: UGM Press, 1992), 164-165.

this is way implementation of democracy has been never deepening in common political thought, particularly why Indonesia people not act as political supremacy tenure to elect and legitimize their leader. Emergence of “follower” culture have manifested as implication of patron-client relation. Cultural relation built into patron-client presumably related political heritage which planted and bounded public that elder wisdom is solely must be obey and ordered. That phenomenon then called as social proofing; common political preferential based on popularity that attracted and attached public to choose them. In this case, follower is dealing with rational thinking paradigm that develops in modern society in Indonesia recent especially in urban area. They so attached within figure and make robust practice toward their figure. Social proofing is antagonistic reflection to mention bounded rationality inherited in educated people. On other words, social proofing also becomes analyze tools to measure that either public figure or party politic whom be followed by public indicated it public is popular and populist. In this case, meaning of social proofing must be admitted torn in two perspective; social proofing as political heritage that posited public figure as master and social proofing as bounded rationality.

Political preferential based on figure charismatic in post Indonesia reform has been inherited into voting behavior in recently time. Assumption which built that charismatic figure presumably can solve any problems in public life. It seems that political myth likely “Ratu Adil” or “Imam Mahdi” still existed unconsciously to perceive figure as chosen one to lead common people. It can be said that political cult quietly vibrant in daily life which posited remarkable and valuable person as savior. Starting in various holy verses that informed last savior will be available to save human race from mass destruction. Its

prognosis then reconstructed become political commodity that imagine chosen person as leader will be repaired political havoc and political immorality due to corruption cases. Many of politician and parties aptly use this issue to raise and pull public sympathy by supporting personal who be prospective figure in public become politician.

Political cult also can be understood as disillusionment from public toward corrupt administration then produced apathy and apolitical act. Its situation can be manifested into two situation. 1) Wandering and wondering to seek obligatory person become leader. Commemoration about charismatic leader translated and transformed as political commodity for candidacy in election event, this condition then created imaginary politic used politician or political party to used political personification, that figure has been bestowed heavenly as leader. Its condition straddles into cultural linkage in Indonesia political pattern which posited political leader as well as political master in daily life. Anderson through his book entitled *Language and Power* describe that political cult then influenced in political behavior is form of two myth words; *sabda pandito ratu* (holy direct order from kings) and *kultus deva raja* (king-god cult).⁴ Both premises located and posited that leader as representation of god in this world to rule and govern. Its principle as same as within “Kings can Do Wrong”, wherein patron can’t be blamed and convicted due to representation of god in this world. In Javanese term, its principle conduct to leadership regarding absolut power which means king as well as representative of gods in earth.

Another thesis describing about patrimonial style was came from Hadiz and Robison in his book titled *Reorganization of Power*.⁵ They emphasized his study into

4 Benedict R. O’G. Anderson, *Language and Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 75-76.

5 Vedi R. Hadiz and Richard Robison, *Reorganising Power*

emergence of new predator actor which reorganizes himself into new democracy realm. Predator who always seek many political chance to take own benefit from discrepancy of regulation and its practices. They have argued that emergence of patron was come from urgent needs to seek person who capable to hold secure public from any threat. Those notion addressing to inheritance of post-colonial society which emphasize inheritance of absolute power as protector. In many experience of post-authoritarian regime, democracy implementation has encountered old established structure that resulted clash of democracy and oligarchy. Predatory power has existing and coexisting within in democracy realms to preserve their politco-economy resources. The actor who be suspected predator in recent political realms can be mentioned as old elite in previous administration era. It can be said that old elite presumably want to survive to preserve their political linkage in new democracy era. Patrimonial still existed in Indonesia political dimension due to lack of dissemination about democracy. The notion of democracy defies simplify that only submit vote ballot box in election event. Perhaps, democracy only considered as part of election so that people didn't know truly meaning of democracy. Reorganization merely understood as re-emergence of political elite in new order transformed be new political elite in *reformasi* era that still brought on old-established style to affect and attach public political choice. Those old-established style manifested in vote buying mechanism pushed morality toward people to choose its figure and political party. Therefore, vote buying mechanism is manifestation of patrimonial that still persistent and coexistent in recent political campaign. This condition was an intriguing challenge for Indonesia democracy development because patrimonial can be seen

in *Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Market*, (London: Routledge, 2004), 80-81.

as tools of political survival for political elite to secure their political tenure chair. Indeed on his analysis that posited political predatory as basic perspective, patrimonialism built on accumulation of capital as basis political material. Regarding of capital as best motive on predatory political preferential, Robison through his book title *The Rise of Capital* has declared Indonesia predatory regime have been constructed from crony network that existing from previous administration.⁶ In other words, Aditjondro preferred Hadiz term as capital oligarchy in election which hijacked public budgeting year to year. Its practice occurred due to abundant budget allocation that become primary target for predator elite to corrupt its budget. Those bribery practice is part of state capturing system which pushed by either intra parliamentary forces or extra parliamentary forces. Regarding to state capturing style, it can be mentioned that state basically huge status quo that pulled and attracted many actor to be rule and control the state. Main matter is weak state institutionalisation then created strengthening of informal state actor.

Another study about voting behavior was came from Leo Suryadinata in his book titled *Election and Politic in Indonesia*.⁷ Suryadinata undertakes his analyses toward comparison between 1955 and 1999 election which emphasized *politik aliran* perspective as unit of analysis. Addressing toward *politik aliran*, he found that fragmentation of ideology of voters still inherited and persistent in common public senses. Furthermore, its fragmentation then developed into ramification of patrimonial based on ideological line. Another aspect to mentioned is societal rootline. It can't be neglected when societal root line still persistent in public area. In addition, both factor; ideology and patrimonial relation has

⁶ Richard Robison, *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital*, (London: Equinox Publishing, 2008), 75-76.

⁷ Leo Suryadinata, *Elections and Politics in Indonesia*, (ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, 2002), 95-96.

been synergized prominent factor to explained condition of public preferential recently. This was seen as anomaly in assessing voting behavior which has been fluctuated. It is also worth noting to say that Indonesia political transition mostly unprecedented to analyze and put on *politik aliran* as main tools to covering political preferential option.

Similar as Suryadinata that employed *politik aliran perspective* as well as ethnicity factor, voting behavior also could be understood into three major aspect; figure, wealth, and performance. It note to remember that Javanese term on political power so called *kasekten* that not only are instrument on political arena, but also are used for people to make sense of their live. The nature of voting behavior in Indonesia was through patronage relation to organize politic in Indonesia to be more pervasive and redistributed, conception of *kasekten* as base form to create and crafting voting behavior was totally different within western style. In western, voting behavior reflected rationalism built in western political thinking which carried out politic is manifestation of public service matter. Politician-elect already aware their consequence that becoming public officer is mean public service officer. Politic is understood as voluntary practice to servicing common people, so that politic is meant devotion to public. Meanwhile, in Indonesia case, politic is pathway to seek rent and chair oriented. Therefore, patrimonialism is urge and significant to bound public to be his political follower. The follower yet released from heri master unless they can be strong enough to be release their loyalty chain with their own resources. Thus, accumulation of production factor is best practice to create loyalty and then make main bound rationality.

Patronage indeed became old style political campaign that insisted in democracy realm recently. This thesis acknowledged Dirk Tomsa and Ufen mentioned in clientelism

framework. Clientelism undertakes frequently many patronage forms ranging from traditional, personalized clientelism with direct face to face relationship between patron and client based on anonymous and systematized. Due to anonymous as sole basic to construct patrimonialism, emergence of intermediary actor who behalf acts for politician or party as patron. Intermediary can be called as political agency or political broker to enforce and manipulate public political choice. If the political broker succeeded huge majority vote addressing to patron, they can be submitted as political chair tenure in street level government. According Tomsa dan Ufen, the centrality focus of patrimonialism and clientelism was constituted both formal and informal political system.⁸ It worth to be noting that both notion has been played pivotal to accumulate huge scale vote in public area. Comparing than ordinary campaign effectively and efficiently to evoke public awareness in order to pick up public sympathy. Both term then concluded as mechanization and instrumentation for candidacy to be loosening their tenure flexibility to move and mobilize their campaign in grass root level. Its practice is urge and significant to argue that personal campag In formal political arena such as party politic understood that role of intermediary agency as political broker to accumulate majority ballot. It was acknowledged that synergy among formal political institution and intermediary actor would be benefited to strengthening political loyalty toward figure and political party itself. In this case, patrimonialism as subject of matter to realize that democracy in grass root level is yet operated well. Its mean, in democracy realm, clintelism stiiil enacted as taken for granted mechanism to bounded public as well as

⁸ Dirk Tomsa and Andreas Ufen, *Party Politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and Electoral Competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*, (London: Routledge, 2015), 70-71.

their voters. That phenomenon then related into institutionalisation of political party resulted presidential party. As earlier above that patrimonialism concluded into subjection pattern from local strongmen to their client. It can be perceived party as manifestation of loyalty machine. Phenomenon of presidential party constructed based on both capital and figurity as prominent ones.

The Use of identity Politics and its impact on Recent Indonesian Voting Behaviour

The consensus of the literatures on Indonesian politics that Identity politic has been rampant in recent both local and national election in Indonesia.⁹ Compared with other consolidated democratic countries, the programmatic campaign has been rare since the 2004 election. Since left-right competition has been gone after 1965, the elite use identity politics as their preferred themes. This condition prompts identity politics to mobilise mass votes on election days. In addition, identity politics often exacerbates religion-ethnic tension by linking of an electoral opponent to that minority. Moreover, religious and ethnicity often serve as a vote engine for the candidates. Consequently, “the cross cutting cleavages based on religion and place of origin can be very significant politically”.¹⁰ Moreover, identities linked-religious cleavages reach out larger communities into pragmatic pacts with leading politicians.¹¹ These cleavages pattern

affects way people to cast vote. It may be true this polarisation is sort of clientelism network, but identity overlaps it. This condition makes asymmetric democracy understanding between elites and citizens. The elite, which serve a patron of identity, believes ideally in democracy procedure, whereas citizens viewing democracy as a means of delivering social and economic benefits.¹² As a result, these cleavages and distortion then create communal voting for those voters, aligning themselves with certain socio religious elites background. In short, identity-linked affective polarisation is being salient when election campaign period, thereafter less likely.

In line with the above-mentioned explanations, it has been widely established within literatures that identity driven-polarisation also become important when electorates become a bastion of certain political powers¹³. Here, the main current contributor of identity are religion, regionalism, and class (income). These three sources arguably affect the public vote share and policy preference. This means people has vary opinion regarding to view Islam not only a religion per se, but also civil norms. And this overlapping view dispute with the pluralist itself. This condition, therefore, makes some regions will identify themselves as green or red zone. For the class (income) matter, Muhtadi and Warburton argue “people’s own sense of where they sit within economic hierarchy might also shape their perception of inequality”.¹⁴ Moreover, the perception of inequality are deeply polarised within partisan bias.

9 Edward Aspinall, “Elections and the Normalization of Politics in Indonesia”, *South East Asia Research* 13, no. 2 (2005): 149-51; Edward Aspinall, “Democratization and Ethnic Politics in Indonesia: Nine Theses”, *Journal of East Asian Studies* 11 (2011): 297-99, Marcus Mietzner, “Authoritarian Innovations in Indonesia: Electoral Narrowing, Identity Politics and Executive Illiberalism”, *Democratization*, 23,(2019): 6.

10 Aspinall, “Democratization and Ethnic Politics in Indonesia: Nine Theses”, 293.

11 Marcus Mietzner and Burhanuddin Muhtadi, “Explaining the 2016 Islamist Mobilisation in Indonesia: Religious Intolerance, Militant Groups and the Politics of Accommodation,” *Asian Studies Review* 42, no. 3(2018): 5 & 18.

12 Edward Aspinall et al., “Elites, Masses, and Democratic Decline in Indonesia”, *Democratization* 27, no. 4 (2020): 514.

13 Saiful Mujani and William Liddle, “Indonesia: Personalities, Parties, and Voters,” *Journal of Democracy*, (2), 35-49.’ 21, no. 2 (2010): 35-49; Mujani and Liddle, 37; Diego Fossati, “The Resurgence of Ideology in Indonesia: Political Islam, Aliran and Political Behaviour”, *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 38, no. 2 (2019): 11.

14 Burhanuddin Muhtadi and Eve Warburton, “Inequality and Democratic Support in Indonesia”, *Pacific Affairs* 93, no. 1 (2020): 44-50.

Following up the previously-mentioned arguments, the identity politic that diverts the voting behaviour from rational to irrational attitude is mainly religious-driven factors. While this shift maybe partially true, the general trend on Indonesian politics currently shows the increasing use of religion in political competition. This may lead voters to become irrational because the religion has doctrinal power to bound voters. The past rational factors like economic evaluation may still relevant but less likely power compared with the religion. Here, the religious sentiment seems to shape the rational behaviours. In another word, the irrational voting behaviour beats the rational ones.

Indonesian Voting Behaviour in Post-Reformasi Era

Since breakdown of Soeharto regime in 1998, study about political preference prevailed to accentuate open proportional system as unit analysis. Its election system also become main tools to produce both politician and party who have emotional affection to public. The old system called by close proportional system only benefited government party, and not for opposition party. The lack of close proportional system evidenced from many vote flow only government party. In this context, the transformation in election system from closed proportional system become open list system enabled pluralist preference to choosing their political party as well as their favorite candidate. Those political shifting then has altered electoral competition amidst contestant to be pragmatic with voters who tends to be easily influenced as their political follower. On the behalf democracy, political preference should be pluralist and independent from any intervention. Democracy wondered people as supreme judge to asses both party and candidate, just to be normative notion. This anomaly can be analyzes into three main

reasons. Firstly, bounded rationality occurs due to lack of political knowledge from public to establish their ideal political preferences. Second, that phenomenon cordially happened into rural society. Thirdly, political influence from prominent figure who can handle and steer massive people undoubtedly make paternal vote toward their client. Emergence of local strongmen in midst of public matter as well as take role as both protector and guardian indeed. Having said before that democracy produce free zone for people to articulate their political interest. In reality, people need to whisper each other according to main figure as elder ones.

Methodology

Research method that used in this paper is library research. Analysis on his study based on accumulation of the literacy resources which relevant with this study sourced from book, proceedings, journal, and other relevant literacy. Those literacy sources then analyzed and elaborated until found red line from many sources. Library research chosen in this paper because to scrutinize and triangulated previous study about voting behavior in Indonesia politic studies.

It is important to note that the main aim of library research is to build analytical narrative. This means that every piece of information has different meaning because it has critical juncture and sometimes has certain focus.¹⁵ As a result, the scholars who work on archival and library research should make a trackable analysis to make every piece of information getting into one linear analysis.¹⁶ This attempt certainly needs rigorous works because the researcher have to carefully filter

15 Diego Fossati et al., "Ideological Representation in Clientelistic Democracies: The Indonesian Case", *Electoral Studies* 63 (2020): 514.

16 Daniel Carpenter, "Commentary: What Is the Marginal Value of Analytic Narratives?", *Social Science History* 24, no. 2 (2000): 653-55.

out the information that might be irrelevant for making concise analytical analysis.

In line with the explanation above, this paper begins with the collecting the relevant literatures sources that might suitable with the main topic. After that, the author would like to select and filter out the relevant sources and then subsequently picks up the important information to be arranged into one single relevant study.

Main Analysis: Recent Voting Behavior in Post 2004 Indonesian Election

Assessing to analyze political preferential trend in post 2004 election, we can able that inheritance of *political aliran*, *patron*, and other clientelistic still relevant to be discussed as political analysis. Media then explained new sounding to both created and manufactured new political preferential trends called media preferential. Political influence from media framing delightly capable to spread political issue more deepened and remarkable to stirring public preferential ideas. Its implicate with fast growing of political consultant by using media to conduct public issue. Therefore, media has been emerged as political campaign tools in post 2004.

Contestation among politician who wants to running in order to pursue their chair in administration undoubtedly has greater impact in constructing political preferential. Instead of populist campaign practically can able to attract public awareness to submit their vote. However, attempt to counter *politik aliran* and *patronalism* as both old established paradigm to construct recent voting behavior still enough inherit in public area. Recent voting behavior of Indonesia society undermined as pragmatic trend. Its worth to be understood, there are linkage between acceleration of economic growth within public awareness in political knowledge. Therefore, dirty political attitudes such as pork barrel policy, money politic, and

others inefficiently to create voting behavior especially in urban area.

Comparing within rural resident that still trapped into patrimonialistic rule, analysing on voting behavior in urban area is more dynamic and durable. It can be said that there are many segregation and fragmentation in urban resident to understanding and knowing political event. Basically, urban resident who dominated middle class has showed fluctuation trend to keep their political choice in line. Its occurred due to construction of voting behavior that showed from middle class developed in both ways; by issue and by accident. Shifting of voting behavior instantly and rapidly also influenced by social media. In urban area, greater influence from social media have deep impact for politician and party to herd public attention. That condition will be remarkable argumentation to point out recent voting behavior. Those condition resulted into emergence of swing voters unprecedentedly can made election result prediction will be shifting instantly. Another aspect to be mentioned in elaborating swing voters is manifestation of disloyalty public to choose one party. In recent political urban area, political awareness can be attracted with bit or more with issue. In the end, its resulted into main argumentation to said that voting behavior in Indonesia had been swiftly move depends on political incident. It can be said to preserve public awareness constantly to avoid rapid change from public attention.

The use of identity politics seems increasing in the 2014 election. This mainly shaped by ethnicity and religion. For the first identity factor, it seems the intolerant attitudes that addressed to minorities and anti-Chinese sentiments. These two targeted group of people often become a scapegoat or economic inequality in Indonesia.¹⁷ When

¹⁷ Randy Mulyanto, "Indonesian Chinese Still Face Discrimination. Can One Muslim Make a Difference This Election?", *South China Morning Post*, 24 March

it comes to the electoral competitions, the identity-themed campaign is famous due to raising the supreme position of “native majoritarian people” over the minorities and Chinese descendants. The chaotic feelings of ethnicity subsequently transformed into the religious sentiments that loom large between 2014-2019¹⁸. As a result, religion became the salient factor in shaping post 2014 election since the candidate keen to use the religion as the campaign theme. Consequently, the polarisation goes further as the voters tend to be irrational when evaluating the candidates. As long as having same religion and ethnicity, these two can secure votes for the candidate whatever the electoral competition level they get into it.

Main Analysis: Recent Voting Behavior in Post 2009 Indonesian Election

The last 2014 and 2019 Indonesian election showed that Indonesian society is highly polarised. This polarisation arguably reflected different attitudes to the presidential candidates at that time –Jokowi’s administration’s performance and Prabowo’s nationalist vision. Contestation between the supporters of the two candidates often spread out of the campaign context. Relations in households, neighbourhoods, and even working places were marred by polarised presidential preferences. This tension grew worse during the first Joko Widodo term. The peak of polarisation came when people used the negative terms “cebong” (tad poles for Joko Widodo’s supporter and “kampret” (little bats)

for Prabowo Subianto’s supporter. These two terms of abuse reflect each candidate’s hobby and personality trait.

The ongoing highly polarised society has been peaked at 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election. Former Minister Anies Baswedan’s nomination has strong endorsement from Prabowo’s party “Gerindra” (Great Indonesian Movement Party) and its allies, while Incumbent Governor Ahok gains political backup from Joko Widodo’s party “PDI-P” (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle). Ahok’s re-election chance seems to come true, but the situation has changed drastically after his slip of tongue citing one verse in Al-Qur’an. This situation hardens the strong stance of Prabowo’s supporter over the Joko Widodo’s loyalist. The conservative Muslim groups like 212 mass movement led by FPI gives strong support to Anies Baswedan and Prabowo’s allies. Anies defeats Ahok to become new Jakarta governor. However, the situation in society, particularly in Jakarta, was getting worse. The polarised society is the not only figure but also religious cleavages. Over-religious view in society has been embedded since then. The position of Muslim is more favourable than non-Muslim.

The re-contestation between Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto occurs in the 2019 election. Each candidate realises that polarised Muslim and non-Muslim still in effect after 2017 Jakarta election. Joko Widodo polishes his Muslim approval by appointing prominent ulama Ma’ruf Amin as a running mate, whereas Prabowo choosing a young Muslim entrepreneur Sandiaga Uno as his political pair. These two candidate’s decisions eventually affect to the grass-root level. Joko Widodo wins the heart of the biggest mass Indonesian Islam organisation “Nahdlatul Ulama/NU” by visiting and donating each “pesantren” (Islamic boarding schools) during his campaign. He also still maintains a relationship with the

2019, <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3002921/indonesian-chinese-still-face-discrimination-can-one-muslim-make>.

18 Stanley Widiyanto and Shibani Mahtani, “It’s Going to Be Close”: As Indonesia Heads to the Polls, Identity Politics Loom Large”, *Washington Post*, 15 April 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/its-going-to-be-close-as-indonesia-heads-to-the-polls-identity-politics-loom-large/2019/04/15/0999f5f8-5d62-11e9-98d4-844088d135f2_story.html.

existing allies, such as non-Muslim and nationalists. Likewise, Prabowo strengthens his ties with 212 movements by participating in several “pengajian” (religious Muslim gatherings). These both candidate informal allegiance causes stronghold polarised society at the provincial level. Aspinall and Mietzner argue Jokowi increases his vote share in the majoritarian non-Muslim province and NU’s basis like East and Central Java, while Prabowo gets high approval in Islamic stronghold outside Java.¹⁹ In the end, Joko Widodo once again defeats Prabowo in the presidential race.

The most important lesson learned from 2014 to 2019 election is the level of polarisation has been looming large in society. The shift of the focus of polarisation source from the political leaders to religious cleavages has taken polarisation out of a purely political context, making Indonesians view many issues in black and white terms and injecting religion into many situations. For example, neighbours refused to attend funeral services for deceased people from the other camp, hostile view on different believers, exclusive neighbourhood community, and public service discrimination is the common cleavages phenomenon in Indonesia recently. I believe these three examples are the residual or remaining impact from polarisation from the last elections. And I also believe these three phenomena reflects the affective polarisation on religious matters. Another new identity cleavage calling is the contestation between “kadal gurun/kadrun” (desert lizard—a pejorative term from Joko Widodo supporters for those Islamic hardliners) and “togog” (Javanese puppet Semar’s evil twin brother—a term for those Joko Widodo’s loyalists). Although this contestation has been more buzzing in the online sphere, this also possibly takes place in offline conversations. More importantly,

internet facilitated-polarisation often ignites the wide mass mobilisation as anti-Ahok demonstration series did in 2017.

Conclusion

This paper has showed the big difference pattern of voting behavior in Indonesia between 2004 and 2009. While the large picture of 2004 election showed the emergence rational voters, the 2009 aftermath, it seems to me that the emergence rational voters are less likely visible and it subsequently turned into divided voters due to heated polarisation tension recently in Indonesian politics. This dramatic change, in general, indicates the rationality is still weak because it depends on the issues and news. After that, identity factors that driven by race, ethnicity, and religion are still influential when it comes to persuade the political preferences in Indonesia. In sum, the pattern of voting behavior has reserved just in a decade after *Reformasi* era from patrimonial to rational and then go back in patrimonial voters until now.

In assessing of voting behavior in Indonesia, there are some significant shifting in analysing this theme. Firstly, transition from *politik aliran* and *patrimonial* perspective toward rationalistic model has been suspended by cultural restriction from public. The main source of this restriction was coming from important needs from public to seek protector figure who become main advisor to lead public informally. It occurred due to old established values that manifested into patron still persist and insist in midst of public area. Secondly, rationalistic behavior would be better enactment to addressing newly trend on reading voting behavior in Indonesia political realm, but practically still depend on whistle blower who be main figure to spread issue as main thing to construct political preferential.

Emergence of figure almost being main premises to analysing its transition. In this

19 Robert H. Bates et al., “The Analytic Narrative Project Analytic Narratives”, *American Political Science Review* 94, no. 3 (2000): 696.

case, figure can be understood either political broker or patron. Figure can be said as main determinant to put his power in line to not only to stirring but also conducting public political preferension. In many studies area, discrepancy of voting behavior trend between urban and rural resident also becoming crucial point. In additon, growth of using social media also become main things to do in assesing recent voting behavior.

Practice of voting behavior in post authoritarian regime like New Order administration has indicated that middle class position as determinator and executor in influencing of voting behavior in Indonesia. Unfortunately, its issue can be baseline to construct voting behavior of middle class is yet strong enough due to fluctuation of determinant factor in middle class preferential. In the end, analysing of voting behavior in Indonesia has been encountered obstacles and chances how perception can be created and submitted in election.

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