HOW DEMOGRAPHIC AND POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE SHAPE VOTERS EXPECTATION TOWARD CANDIDATES CHARACTER

[1]Hendri Budi Satrio, [2]Tirta Nugraha Mursitama, [3]Firdaus Alamsjah, [4]Yosef Dedy Pradipto

ABSTRACT-- *Leaders have so many character. Indonesian has also expectation for their leader. This article will show us the leader's character that Indonesia have expectation for according to the demographic and political knowledge of the people. The research conducted in 1 city and 3 districts in Indonesia, namely Simalungun District, North Sumatra Province, Bandung District, West Java Province, Tangerang Selatan City, Banten Province and Pacitan District, East Java Province. There were 400 respondents for each area, thus, involved a total 1600 respondents. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in January until February 2020. The result will inform us the character of leaders that Indonesian have hope for since Joko Widodo's character become new phenomena in Indonesia.*

Keywords--*Election, Power, Political New Strategy, Candidate Electability, Leadership, Political Knowledge, Leader's Character, Expectation, Indonesia*

I.   INTRODUCTION

Indonesia will have local election in 2020. The election will involve 270 area consists of 9 Provinces, 224 Districts and 37 cities. Around 105 million voters will choose their local leader. In Indonesia, there are only limited studies about character related to local politics voters. Liddle & Mujani's (2007) empirical study shows the character and leadership factor to be the most important determinant in the election of a party at the level of legislation and presidential elections in Indonesia. The thing that makes a politician who wants to jump into the political arena will adjust to the character expectations expected by the public. The study of Maurer, et al (1993) explains the existence of a strong relationship between perception of character with the vote or intention to choose a leader. Expectations on the character of leaders also have differences depending on the context of the community. Herbert Cheshire (2003) mentioned that leaders in local or rural has specific character compare to leaders in the city.

This study is an exploratory study that try to examine the relation between demographic and political knowledge of the voters towards voter approval of candidates characters in local election contexts. The research conducted in 1 city and 3 districts in Indonesia, namely Simalungun District, North Sumatra Province; Bandung

[1] *Doctor of Research Management Student, Bina Nusantara University, Indonesia, inihendrisatrio@gmail.com*

[2] *International Business Management, Bina Nusantara University, Indonesia, tmursitama@binus.edu*

[3] *Binus CREATES, Bina Nusantara University, Indonesia*

[4] *Psychology Department Bina Nusantara University, Indonesia, ypradipto@binus.edu*

District, West Java Province' Tangerang Selatan City, Banten Province and Pacitan District, East Java Province. Each area involved 400 respondents, thus, there were 1600 respondents in total.

The tendency of constituents to elect a leader often falls on personalistic aspects rather than those that are substantial and related to policies or other political substance (Garzia, 2011). Wattenberg (1991) says that politics in the current era has shifted from politics on the basis of party accountability and policy, towards candidate-centered politics or politics focused on the character of candidates (Wattenberg, 1991). He analyzed the longitudinally of presidential elections in America from 1952 to 1988, where public attention in each election showed empirical empirical evidence that there was a significant change from the previous public attention focused on policy towards matters relating to candidate leaders. In Indonesia this also happens even though the study of Choi (2009) clearly illustrates how the practice of the patrimonial system in local politics in Indonesia creates a tension that is specific to politics in Indonesia when compared to Europeans, for example.

Some of the studies explained about leaders' character and how their characters influenced voters. Scholars studied character in the Richard M. Nixon-John F. Kennedy debates of 1960. Lang and Lang (1962) found that perceptions of Kennedy improved whereas perceptions of Nixon declined. Tannenbaum, Greenberg, and Silverman (1962) reported a decrease in character evaluation for Nixon but no change for Kennedy.

Hagner and Rieselbach (1978) as well as Morrow (1977) compared character evaluations (e.g., honesty, personal appeal) for Ford and Carter in 1976 and found that both candidates experienced improvements from the debates (Benoit & Hansen, 2004). Simons and Leibowitz (1979) reported that character evaluations for neither Ford nor Carter improved after the debate.

In Indonesia, political personalization was at its peak when Joko Widodo succeeded in his career from the seat of the Mayor of Surakarta, to the Governor of Jakarta in 2012 and won the Presidential election in 2014 and for the second time in 2019. Jokowi used political branding that made him related with characters and identities such as simplicity and populist (Hamid, 2014; Ediraras, Rahayu, Natalina, & Widya, 2013). Jokowi built top of mind with the association which is an ideal leader for the people of Indonesia (Fukuoka & Djani, 2016; Alimuddin & Seniwati, 2016). Markers such as plaid shirts and white shirts that are related to readiness for work, are reinforced by the gesture of roll-up of clothing, associated with the figure of Jokowi (Fukuoka & Djani, 2016; Alimuddin & Seniwati, 2016). Jokowi became a leader who succeeded in building his character (ie: charisma).Existing studies show an interest in character and leadership developed during the last two decades (Conger & Kanungo, 1998). Charismatic character has been widely studied in recent years (Lowe & Gardner, 2000) and is often described as one of the "new" leadership approaches that is better suited to the dynamic political and sociological environment that we are working on (Bryman, 1993). Jokowi can be a leader with a vision of transformational leadership in the head of society with the top of mind character and association that has been explained previously.

Political knowledge also plays a significant role to vote a leader. The more knowledgeable the citizens are, the better they will be able to relate issues of public policy to their own interests and to assess the performance of governments. However, overall levels of information, knowledge and comprehension of politics are relatively poor; moreover, they are unevenly distributed across the citizenry (Bernhagen and Schmitt, 2004).

Knowledge gains are expected by many to increase the likelihood of voting correctly (cf. Lau and Redlawsk, 1997). Political knowledge, in this perspective, must be considered to be a co-determinant or intervening variable

in any explanation of vote choice as it must be expected to strengthen the association between issue attitudes and policy preferences on one side and party choice on the other (Bartels, 1996).

II.   METHODOLOGY

The research employed face-to-face interviews as data collection method, assisted with computer for each interviewers. The interviews were conducted from January 2020 to February 2020. We analyzed the data using logistic regression method. The sample consisted of 55,5% women and 44,5% men. Housewifes are the largest category for the occupation (34,1%), followed by entrepreneur 25,6%, farmer/fishermen 13,8%, blue collar 11,6% and others.
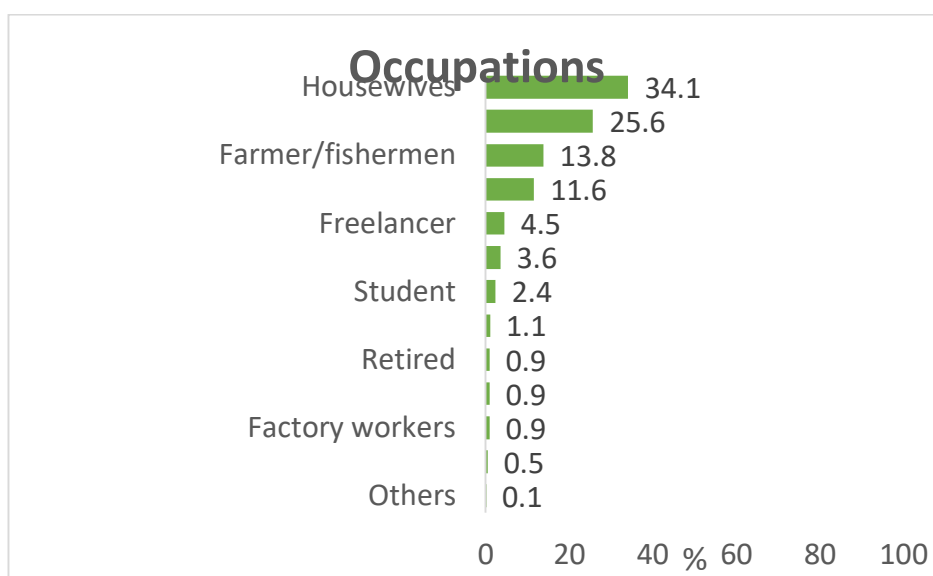
III.   FINDINGS

From the Table 1, those who have occupations as farmers/fishermen and unemployed are less likely to endorse candidates who have honest/fair/anti-corruption character. The farmers/fishermen are 1/.733 or 1.364 times (p = .039) less likely to like candidates with the honest/fair/anti-corruption character compared to other occupations. The unemployed are 1/.525- or 1.905-times (p = .031) dislike candidates who have honest/fair/anti-corruption character compared to other occupations. However, gender and political knowledge did not predict the approval toward honest/fair/anti-corruption candidates.

From the table 2, housewives and students are less likely to prioritize candidates with the close to people character. Housewives are 1/.781 or 1.280 times (p = .029) dislike candidates who have close to people character compared with those who are not housewives. Students are 1/.293 or 3.413 times (p = .011) disfavor candidates with the close to people character compared to other occupations. On the other hand, farmers/fishermen are more

likely to favor candidates with the close to people character. They are 1.814 times (p = < .001) approving candidates who close to the people.

From the table 3, freelancers and unemployed are more likely to approve candidates who have bold/charismatics/good-looking character. The freelancers are 2.347 times (p = .010) liking candidates with bold/charismatics/good-looking character compared to other occupations. The unemployed are 2.165 times (p = 0.040) supporting candidates who have bold/charismatics/good-looking character compared those with occupations.

Additionally, gender differences are detected in the analysis influencing approval for candidates with bold/charismatics/good-looking character. Female are less likely to support bold/charismatics/good-looking candidates compared to male. Female are 1/.583 or 1.715 times (p = .003) disapprove candidates with bold/charismatics/good-looking character compared to men. Furthermore, farmers and fishermen are also less likely to support candidates with bold/charismatics/good-looking character. They are 1/.380 or 2.632 times (p = .009) dislike candidates who have bold/charismatics/good-looking character. Political knowledge did not predict the approval toward candidates who have bold/charismatics/good-looking character.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This study explored the relations between demographic, particularly gender and occupations, and political knowledge with voters' support toward the big-three of candidates' character. The most popular characteristic is the honest/fair/anti-corruption character, followed by candidates who close to the people, and lastly is bold/charismatics/good-looking character.

The study demonstrated that gender, in particular female, predicted the less support toward candidates who have bold/charismatics/good-looking character. This finding is counterintuitive, specifically with the common believe that candidates' charisma is more appealing for women voters. However, gender only significantly predicted approval for the bold/charismatics/good-looking character in a negative way.

Political knowledge as the mean to vote correctly (cf. Lau and Redlawsk, 1997) did not predict on all categories of character. It can be inferred that the voters did not require political knowledge in supporting candidates based on their characters. Characters of candidates are one of the heuristics or a short-cut for voters to judge candidates' quality. That is why the political knowledge did not significantly predict any support for all categories of candidates' characters.

For occupations, this study found that farmers/fishermen always have to say in all categories of candidates' characters. Farmers and fishermen approved candidates who close to the people. However, farmers and fishermen did not approve candidates who have honest/fair/anti-corruption and bold/charismatics/good-looking characters. The support for candidates that close to the people is what pundits and media commentators mention as the "Jokowi's effect." Joko Widodo, the president of Republic of Indonesia got elected because voters perceived him as a leader who down to the earth and close to the people. This character has persuasive power for the lower class and especially for farmers and fishermen in the rural areas.

However, the magic of "close to the people" character was not working for housewives and students. Housewives were well-known for their supports toward Prabowo (Jokowi's contender) in the last election. It is

understandable that housewives or "emak-emak" (in Indonesia's political term) did not approve the character that already became brand of Jokowi. Students was also one of occupational category that did not approve the close to the people character. Those who have high education and still young were apparently not attracted by the Jokowi's main characters. Other occupations such as unemployed

Prabowo, on the other hand, was well-known for his bold and charismatics characters. As an army general retiree, Prabowo is branded as "satria" (knight). However, housewives as occupation did not predict the approval for such characters. Freelancers and unemployed were more attracted with bold/charismatics/good-looking character. Freelancer and unemployed may be the most affected economically from Jokowi's policy in the first period in the presidency. It is possible that freelancers and unemployed also disapprove the Jokowi's brand that used by local candidates.

This study is a exploratory study that try to examine the relation between demographic and political knowledge of the voters towards voters approval of candidates characters in local election contexts. However, this study did not take into account the approval towards Jokowi or Prabowo after elections as a context to establish the "Jokowi effect" that may be working on the local candidates. Another shortcoming is this study did not take into account the culture differences and myth that guide voters to support candidates. Cultural wisdom or myth can be used as heuristics to vote candidates, moreover if candidates' policies, programs, or platforms have a minimal differentiation.

Table 1: logistic regression on the honost ,fair, anti-corruption characterisitc

Table 1: Logistic regression on the honest/fair/anti-corruption characteristic

Independent variables	Omnib-us Test	R^2	Accurac y	Constant						Independent variables					
				B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Gender	0.312	0.001	57.9	-0.375	0.076	24.187	1	0.000	0.687	0.103	0.102	1.023	1	0.312	1.109
Occupation: Housewives	0.166	0.002	57.9	-0.368	0.063	34.582	1	0.000	0.692	0.148	0.106	1.925	1	0.165	1.159
Occupation: Entrepreneur/ merchant	0.399	0.001	57.9	-0.343	0.059	33.955	1	0.000	0.710	0.098	0.116	0.714	1	0.398	1.103
Occupation: Farmer/Fishermen	0.037	0.004	57.9	-0.276	0.054	25.740	1	0.000	0.759	-0.311	0.151	4.256	1	0.039	0.733
Occupation: Blue collar workers	0.628	0.000	57.9	-0.327	0.054	36.733	1	0.000	0.721	0.077	0.158	0.236	1	0.627	1.080
Occupation: Freelancer	0.936	0.000	57.9	-0.317	0.052	37/383	1	0.000	0.729	-0.020	0.245	0.006	1	0.936	0.980
Occupation: Student	0.510	0.000	57.9	-0.323	0.051	39.667	1	0.000	0.724	0.218	0.329	0.437	1	0.508	1.243
Occupation: Teacher/lecturer	0.680	0.000	57.9	-0.320	0.051	39.461	1	0.000	0.726	0.202	0.489	0.171	1	0.679	1.224
Occupation: Retired	0.483	0.000	57.9	-0.314	0.051	38.176	1	0.000	0.730	-0.379	0.550	0.474	1	0.491	0.685
Occupation: Contract/Seasonal worker	0.867	0.000	57.9	-0.317	0.051	38.792	1	0.000	0.728	-0.089	0.529	0.028	1	0.867	0.915
Occupation: Factory worker	0.381	0.001	57.9	-0.322	0.051	40.037	1	0.000	0.725	0.456	0.520	0.767	1	0.381	1.577
Occupation: Civil servant	0.003	0.007	57.9	-0.309	0.051	37.101	1	0.000	0.734	-20.894	14210.361	0.000	1	0.999	0.000
Unemployed	0.025	0.004	57.9	-0.296	0.051	33.152	1	0.000	0.744	-0.645	0.299	4.640	1	0.031	0.525
Political knowledge	0.666	0.000	61.2	-0.497	0.115	18.593	1	0.000	0.608	0.035	0.080	0.186	1	0.666	1.035

Table 2: Logistic regression on the close to the people characteristic

Variabel Independen	Omnibus Test	R²	Ketepatan Prediksi	Konstan						Variabel Independen					
				B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Gender	0.702	0.000	66.4	-0.658	0.079	69.206	1	0.000	0.518	-0.041	0.106	0.146	1	0.702	0.960
Occupation: Housewives	0.028	0.004	66.4	-0.598	0.064	86.239	1	0.000	0.550	-0.248	0.113	4.772	1	0.029	0.781
Occupation: Entrepreneur/ merchant	0.143	0.002	66.4	-0.726	0.062	137.866	1	0.000	0.484	-.176	0.120	2.162	1	0.141	1.193
Occupation: Farmer/Fishermen	0.000	0.014	66.4	-0.768	0.058	176.105	1	0.000	0.464	0.596	0.147	16.441	1	0.000	1.814
Occupation: Blue collar workers	0.087	0.003	66.4	-0.648	0.056	133.940	1	0.000	0.523	-0.291	0.173	2.838	1	0.092	0.747
Occupation: Freelancer	0.275	0.001	66.4	-0.668	0.054	152.662	1	0.000	0.513	-0.288	0.269	1.148	1	0.284	0.750
Occupation: Student	0.003	0.007	66.4	-0.658	0.053	151.942	1	0.000	0.518	-1.229	0.483	6.481	1	0.011	0.293
Occupation: Teacher/lecturer	0.514	0.000	66.4	-0.684	0.053	164.947	1	0.000	0.505	0.327	0.496	0.435	1	0.509	1.387
Occupation: Retired	0.116	0.002	66.4	-0.688	0.053	167.188	1	0.000	0.502	0.822	0.520	2.496	1	0.114	2.275
Occupation: Contract/Seasonal worker	0.559	0.000	66.4	0.677	0.053	162.339	1	0.000	0.508	-0.334	0.586	0.326	1	0.568	0.716
Occupation: Factory worker	0.981	0.000	66.4	-0.680	0.053	163.545	1	0.000	0.507	-0.013	0.550	0.001	1	0.981	0.987
Occupation: Civil servant	0.339	0.001	66.4	-0.684	0.053	165.907	1	0.000	0.505	0.684	0.709	0.930	1	0.335	1.981
Unemployed	0.532	0.000	66.4	-0.674	0.054	156.654	1	0.000	0.510	-0.182	0.294	0.382	1	0.537	0.834
Political knowledge	0.315	0.001	66.6	-0.792	0.120	43.522	1	0.000	0.453	0.083	0.083	1.006	1	0.316	1.087

Table 2: logistic regression on the close to the people charaaterisitic

Table 3: Logistic regression on the bold/charismatics/good-looking characteristic

Variabel Independen	Omnibus Test	R²	Ketepatan Prediksi	Konstan						Variabel Independen					
				B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Gender	0.003	0.013	91.9	-2.139	0.122	307.084	1	0.000	0.118	-0.540	0.183	8.675	1	0.003	0.583
Occupation: Housewives	0.329	0.001	91.8	-2.347	0.109	462.628	1	0.000	0.096	-0.190	0.197	0.933	1	0.334	0.827
Occupation: Entrepreneur/ merchant	0.653	0.000	91.8	-2.433	0.106	522.534	1	0.000	0.088	0.093	0.204	0.205	1	0.651	1.097
Occupation: Farmer/Fishermen	0.003	0.013	91.8	-2.315	0.094	604.584	1	0.000	0.099	-0.967	0.372	6.752	1	0.009	0.380
Occupation: Blue collar workers	0.069	0.005	91.8	-2.473	0.099	620.673	1	0.000	0.084	0.471	0.248	3.607	1	0.058	1.601
Occupation: Freelancer	0.017	0.008	91.8	-2.462	0.095	670.486	1	0.000	0.085	0.853	0.330	6.673	1	0.010	2.347
Occupation: Student	0.935	0.000	91.8	-2.408	0.092	686.064	1	0.000	0.090	-0.049	0.609	0.006	1	0.936	0.952
Occupation: Teacher/lecturer	0.708	0.000	91.8	-2.405	0.091	695.293	1	0.000	0.090	-0.367	1.035	0.126	1	0.723	0.693
Occupation: Retired	0.107	0.004	91.8	-2.399	0.091	696.178	1	0.000	0.091	-18.804	10377.780	0.000	1	0.999	0.000
Occupation: Contract/Seasonal worker	0.817	0.000	91.8	-2/407	0.091	696.168	1	0.000	0.090	-0.232	1.039	0.050	1	0.823	0.793
Occupation: Factory worker	0.107	0.004	91.8	-2.399	0.091	696.178	1	0.000	0.091	-18.804	10377.780	0.000	1	0.999	0.000
Occupation: Civil servant	0.240	0.002	91.8	-2.403	0.091	699.249	1	0.000	0.090	-18.800	14210.361	0.000	1	0.999	0.000
Unemployed	0.057	0.005	91.8	-2.446	0.094	677.363	1	0.000	0.087	0.772	0.375	4.236	1	0.040	2.165
Political knowledge	0.552	0.001	90.3	-2.131	0.184	134.101	1	0.000	0.119	-0.078	0.131	0.355	1	0.552	0.915

Table 3: logisitic regression on the blod ,charismatics good looking characterisitic

REFERENCES

1. Alimuddin, A., & Seniwati. (2016). The Internet and Social Media in Political Participation in Indonesia. International Journal of Management and Apllied Science, 2(8).

2. Bartels LM (1996) Uninformed votes: Information effects in presidential elections. American Journal of Political Science 40(1): 194–230.

3. Benoit, W. L., & Hansen, G. J. (2004). Presidential Debate Watching, Issue Knowledge, Character Evaluation, and Vote Choice. Human Communication Research, 30(1), 121–144.

4. Bernhagen, P., & Schmitt, H. (2014). Deliberation, political knowledge and vote choice: Results from an experiment with second-order elections. European Union Politics, 15(3), 352–371.

5. Bryman, A. (1993). Charismatic leadership in business organizations: Some neglected issues. Leadership Quarterly, 4, 289−304.

6. Choi, N. (2009). Democracy and Patrimonial Politics in Local Indonesia. Indonesia, (88), 131–164.

7. Conger, J. A., & Kanungo, R. N. (1998). Charismatic leadership in organizations. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

8. Garzia, D. (2011). The personalization of politics in Western democracies: Causes and consequences on leader–follower relationships. The Leadership Quarterly, 22(4), 697–709.

9. Ediraras, T. D., Rahayu, D. A., Natalina, A., & Widya, W. (2013). Political Marketing Strategy of Jakarta Governor Election in The 2012s. Social and Behavioral Sciences, 81, 584–588.

10. Fukuoka, Y., & Djani, L. (2016). Revisiting the rise of Jokowi: The triumph of reformasi or an oligarchic adaptation of post-clientelist initiatives? South East Asia Research, 24(2), 204–221.

11. Hagner, P. R., & Rieselbach, L. N. (1978). The impact of presidential debates: Conversion or reinforcement. In G. F. Bishop, R. G. Meadow, & M. Jackson-Beeck (Eds.), The presidential debates: Media, electoral, and policy perspectives (pp. 157–178). New York: Praeger.

12. Hamid, A. (2014). Jokowi's Populism in the 2012 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election. Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 33(1), 85–109.

13. Herbert-Cheshire, L., 2003. Translating policy: power and action in Australia's country towns. Sociol. Rural. 43 (4), 454e473.

14. Lang, K., & Lang, G. E. (1962). Reaction of viewers. In S. Kraus (Ed.), The great debates: Background, perspectives, effects (pp. 313–330). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

15. Lau RR and Redlawsk DP (1997) Voting correctly. American Political Science Review 91(3): 585–598.

16. Lowe, K. B., & Gardner, W. L. (2000). Ten years of The Leadership Quarterly: Contributions and challenges for the future. The Leadership Quarterly, 11, 459−514.

17. Maurer, Todd. J., Maher, Karen. J., Ashe, Donna. K., Mitchell, Debora.R.D., Hein, Michael B., Hein, Judith Vein. (1993). Leadership Perceptions in Relation to Presidential Vote. Journal of Applied Social Psychology. 25, 12: 959-979.

18. Morrow, G. R. (1977). Changes in perceptions of Ford and Carter following the first presidential debate. Perceptual and Motor Skills, 45, 423–429.

19. Simons, H. W., & Leibowitz, K. (1979). Shifts in candidate images. In S. Kraus (Ed.), The great debates: Carter vs. Ford, 1976 (pp. 398–404). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

20. Tannenbaum, P. H., Greenberg, B. S., & Silverman, F. R. (1962). Candidate images. In S. Kraus (Ed.), The great debates: Background, perspective, effects (pp. 271–288). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

21. Wattenberg, M. (1991). The rise of candidate-centered politics. Cambridge: Harvard University Press