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## LEVEL OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN SIMULTANEOUS LOCAL ELECTION 2018

Ngadisah<sup>1</sup>, I Nyoman Sumaryadi<sup>2</sup>, M. Sofyan Muslim<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Institut Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri

<sup>2</sup>Institut Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri

<sup>3</sup>Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan, Kemendagri

Correspondence Author: ngadisahaja12345@gmail.com

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### ABSTRACT

The rapid development of the tourism industry in Administrative District of Kepulauan Seribu in recent years has encouraged the growth of the economy in the regency towards economic independence. However, this economic development also requires an increase in human resource capacity and policy coordination between the government and its apparatus. The effectiveness policy of the District Government of Kepulauan Seribu relies on the characteristics of the civil apparatus of the state that runs the government. This research was conducted to explore these problems using a quantitative approach with saturated sampling techniques for 70 samples from the civil apparatus of the District of Kepulauan Seribu. Research shows that there are significant differences between various employee characteristics which encourage the perception of the low effectiveness of government employees in the District of Kepulauan Seribu.

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### INTRODUCTION

Election of Regional Heads (Pilkada) is one of the "corebusiness" of democracy, namely an institutional mechanism specifically intended to deliver a period of succession of power, orderly and fairly in accordance with the wishes of the people. The spirit of democratization post-reform drastically changed the mechanism of filling in the positions of Regional Heads. In this system citizens have a very central role in the process of electing political and government elites, as is the democratic creed "government of the people, by the people and for the people" which means government from the people, by the people and for the people (Fink , 2012). Direct and simultaneous elections of Regional Heads (Pilkada) on 27 June 2018 are the continuation of the first and second wave of simultaneous regional elections that took place on 9 December 2015 and 15 February 2017. At the 2018 Pilkada event will be held simultaneously in 171 regions in Indonesia, namely 17 provinces, 115 regencies and 39

cities. Simultaneous regional elections in 2018 will certainly be greater than the previous Pilkada, given the time that is very close to the implementation of the General Election and the Election of the President and Vice President in 2019.

Along with the development of general elections in Indonesia, the level of awareness of the population also developed. If you look at the voter turnout in the first and second Pilkada in 2015 and 2017, there was a significant increase of 70% in the first simultaneous regional election and 74% in the second *Pilkada Serentak* (Simultaneous Local Election). This proves that the level of political awareness of the community in choosing the Regional Head is getting higher. Thus, the government is targeting the achievement of public participation in the 2018 regional election by 77.5%, through intensive preparation and socialization by election organizers in the regions. However, many factors can influence the political participation of the community. That is, the

choice of the community personally can affect what is the political choice of the community itself. The background of the voters also influences all approaches to voters. But the approach to voters is strongly influenced by the media, political socialization and others. Then, if you look at the number of regions that will hold Pilkada and the number of voters who will participate in the 2018 Pilkada event, it is estimated to be very large, namely 158 million, which means 80% of the total voters who will take part in the 2019 elections and reach 197 million. This condition will certainly make the political party endeavor to gain votes from the public.

Community political participation, a manifestation of people's sovereignty is a very fundamental thing in the democratic process. It has a very important meaning in the movement of the wheel and the democratic system. If the community has a high level of participation, the political development process will run well, so that it will also be very significant for the development of this nation and country. Conversely political participation will not mean anything and does not mean at all if he does not fulfill the requirements in terms of qualitative or quantitative. Miriam Budiardjo (1998) states that political participation is not limited to one's activities in political parties. Political participation includes all voluntary activities through which a person participates in the process of electing political leaders and participates directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy.

Therefore the level of community political participation in general elections, including regional head elections is very important also to be looked at, because the low or high level of participation is an important signal and indicator of the course of the democratic process and the manifestation of popular sovereignty. However, the participation rate in regional elections cannot be used as a single indicator of the level of community political participation, given that political participation has a broad spectrum in society. For example, the social conditions of the community, the type of political participation of the community and the form of political participation outside the distribution of votes, can be a driving factor and a barrier to the political participation of the community in the voting booth.

This research moved from an effort to explore two issues, namely the level of community political participation in using their political rights in the implementation of the 2018 Regional Election in Indonesia as well as the motivating and inhibiting factors for community participation in exercising their right to vote in Indonesia in using their political rights.

## **LITERATURE FRAMEWORK**

### **A. Politic Participation**

Political participation is an important aspect in a democratic state order as well as a characteristic of political modernization. In countries where the modernization process in general has gone well, usually the level of citizen participation has increased. Political modernization can be related to aspects of politics and government. Political participation is basically an activity carried out by citizens to be involved in the decision-making process with the aim of influencing decision making by the government.

The issue of political participation is not only related to the nature or nature of the state government but rather has more to do with the nature and character of a country's society and the effects it has on it. Therefore, political participation as an important study in political sociology is also a study of political science. Political participation is an important part of a country's life. Especially for countries that call themselves democratic countries, political participation is one of the important indicators. That is, a new country is referred to as a democratic country if the ruling government provides the widest opportunity for citizens to participate in political activities. On the contrary, the citizens concerned must also show a high level of political participation. If not, then the country's democratic level is still in doubt.

According to Miriam Budiardjo (2009: 36), political participation is the activity of a person or group of people to actively participate in political life, namely by choosing leaders, whether state, regional or representatives who will sit on the representative council directly or indirectly directly and can influence government policy (public policy). Furthermore, according to Keith Faulks political participation is the active involvement of individuals and groups in government processes that have an impact

on their lives. This includes involvement in decision-making as well as opposition actions, the important thing is participation is an active process. From a number of expert opinions, it can be concluded that what is meant by political participation is the presence of citizen involvement or participation activities in the government process. Then these activities are directed at influencing the running of the government, so that the existence of political participation will affect their lives.

### B. Model of Politic Participation

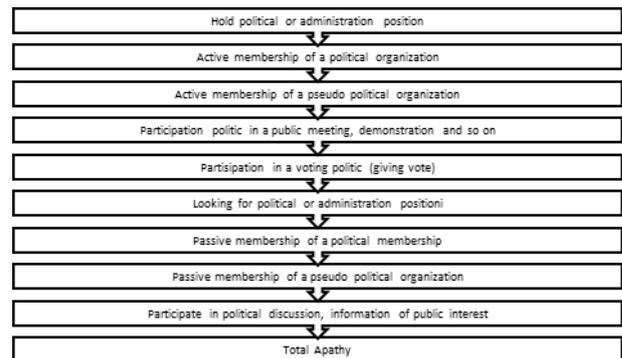
Political participation can be seen from various perspectives, which when seen as an activity, political participation can be divided into active participation and passive participation. Active participation includes the activities of citizens to propose general policies, propose policy alternatives that are different from government policies, submit suggestions and criticisms to correct government policies, pay taxes and participate in the process of selecting government leaders. While passive participation, is an activity of obeying the rules / government, just accepting and implementing every government decision (Sastroatmodjo, 1995: 56).

Huntington and Nelson (1994: 16-17) classify political participation in 4 (four) forms, namely: First, election activities that include voting, contributing to campaigns, working in election activities, seeking support for a candidate, or every action which aims to influence election results. Second, lobbying which includes efforts of both individuals and groups, to contact government officials or political leaders with the intention of influencing decisions to be taken. Third, organizational activities, involving activities as members or officials of an organization whose main purpose is to influence government decision making. Fourth, looking for connections (contacting), namely individual actions aimed at government officials and usually with the intention of benefiting only one person or how many people. By Verba Nie and Kim this participation is called seeking special connections (particularized contacting).

More complete forms of political participation were put forward by Rush and Altoff (1974). Both visualize forms of hierarchical political

participation, can be described as follows:

**Chart 1 Political Participation Hierarchy**



Source: Rush and Altoff, 1974

When viewed from the number of actors, political sociology, political participation can be divided into 2 (two), namely: individual participation and collective participation. Individual participation is participation carried out by individuals, for example writing letters containing demands or complaints to the government. Meanwhile, collective participation is a political activity carried out by a number of citizens simultaneously intended to influence the authorities. Collective participation is divided into two conventional and non-conventional. Conventional political participation, such as voting, political discussion, campaign activities and forming organizations. Non-conventional political participation such as petitions, demonstrations, strike confrontations, acts of violence, rebellion and revolution to overthrow the ruling government.

Judging from the motivations underlying the emergence of political participation, Huntington and Nelson (1994: p. 9-13) divide political participation in 2 (two) categories, namely: autonomous participation, is political participation driven by the desire of the perpetrators themselves to carry out these actions. This may be done on the basis of a sense of responsibility in political life, or because it is driven by the desire to realize his interests or the interests of his group. But it is not uncommon to also participate which is done not because of the will of the individual concerned, but because it is asked or moved by someone else and even forced by the group. Second, mobilization participation (mobilized political participation), is political

participation in the movement or desired by others, not because of their own awareness or desire. In this condition, community political participation is usually sourced from certain socio-political bases. Unless participation takes the form of contacting, participation is generally a collective action.

### C. Voting Behavior

Voter behavior can be formulated as an activity relating to the process of making and implementing political decisions. Interaction between community and government, between government institutions and between community groups, in the context of decision-making processes, policies in the political field, is basically called political behavior. The ones who always carry out political activities are the government and political parties, because of their functions in the political field. Families, as a group, carry out activities, including political activities. In the event that family members simultaneously provide support to a particular political organization, provide contributions, participate in campaigning against elections, it can be said that the family has carried out political activities.

Political behavior is not something that stands alone. However, one's political behavior is strongly influenced by internal factors and external factors that come from the surrounding environment. These factors can be in the form of natural conditions, the culture of the local community, education level and others. Regarding political behavior, something that needs to be discussed is political attitudes. Mouly (in Nadhifah, 2012: 5) states that attitudes as a reflection of affective reasoning abilities can be viewed from three basic components of psychological development, namely cognition, affection and konasi. Components of cognition include perceptions, beliefs, and knowledge possessed by individuals. The component of affection is the individual's feeling towards the object of attitudes and feelings that involve emotional problems. The component of konasi is a tendency or tendency to act or react to something in certain ways.

There are 3 (three) models of approaches commonly used, namely sociological approaches, psychological approaches, and rational choice approaches. However, in this phenomenon, research focuses more on

psychological approaches. Given that, psychology is the science of nature, where the functions and phenomena of the human mind are studied. Every behavior and activity of the community is influenced by individual reason. Whereas, political science studies aspects of public behavior so that political science is closely related to psychology. This approach emerged as a reaction to their dissatisfaction with the sociological approach. Methodologically, sociological approaches are considered difficult to measure, such as how to accurately measure a number of social class indicators, levels of education, religion and so on. This approach uses and develops psychological concepts, especially the concept of attitude and socialization to clarify voter behavior. Here the voters make their choices because of the influence of psychological forces that develop in themselves as products of the socialization process, meaning that a person's attitude is a reflection of personality and is a decisive variable in influencing his political behavior.

#### 1) Types of voter behavior

The first approach, the sociological approach emphasizes the importance of several things related to one's social instruments such as (i) socio-economic status (such as education, occupation, income and class), (ii) religion, (iii) ethnicity even (iii) region place of residence (eg city, village, coastal or inland). According to Lipset (1960), Lazarsfeld (1968). Matters relating to social instruments are believed to have strong links with voter choices or behavior.

The second approach is called the psychological approach, which was developed by several experts such as, Campbell et al. (1960), Jaros & Grant (1974), Rose & McAllister (1990) and others from Michigan University under The Michigan Survey Research Center. This approach is not infrequently referred to as the Michigan's school which explains that voter behavior is highly dependent on environmental political information that surrounds voters. Party identification is a form of political socialization that can be fostered by parents, social organizations and others. This socialization deals with the values and norms passed down by parents, community social organizations and others as a form of decline and planting to the new generation. Therefore, the choice of a child who has gone through the

stage of political socialization (party identification), it is not uncommon for him to choose the same party as the one chosen by his parents.

The third approach, the rational choice theory popularized by Downs (1957), assumes that voters basically act rationally when making choices in the voting booth, regardless of religion, gender, class, parental background and the like. In the context of rational choice, when voters feel that they have not benefited by choosing candidates who contest, they will not make choices in regional elections (Downs 1957: 261). This approach also presupposes that candidates or parties competing will try and try to express various programs to attract sympathy and the desire of voters to vote. However, if the party or candidate fails to promote the program to the voters, then the choice not to vote is rational for the voters.

## 2) Voter's Typology

In choosing candidates and political parties, voters have behavior in making decisions to make their choices. According to Firmanzah (2012: 113), in reality voters are very complex dimensions. Sometimes this voter behavior is rational and non-rational in determining its decision. Firmanzah (2012: 113-114) states that in each voter there are two orientations at once, namely; (1) orientation of "policy-problem solving", and (2) orientation of "ideology". When voters assess candidates or political parties from the perspective of "policy-problem solving", the most important thing for them is the extent to which the candidates are able to offer work programs on solutions to existing problems.

Voters will tend to objectively choose candidates or political parties who have sensitivity to national problems and clarity of work programs. Candidates or political parties whose policy directions are not clear will tend not to be elected. While voters who are more concerned with the "ideological" ties of a party or candidate, will emphasize aspects of subjectivity such as the closeness of values, culture, religion, morality, norms, emotions and psychographics. The closer the candidate or political party is to similarity, this type of voter will tend to vote for the candidate and the party. Firmanzah (2012: 120-126) maps typologies into four columns of voter typology, namely: 1) Rational voters; 2)

Critical Voters; 3) Traditional voters; and 4) traditional voters.

## D. Political Trust

Individual trust in other parties is the basis for these individuals to show their attitudes and behavior to other individuals. Psychological theories classify such conditions as "trusts". A context of circumstances, where individuals evaluate government in the form of community norms or values expected in administrative rules is referred to as "political trust." Trust is considered as essential in political support in a government.

According to Lewicki (1995), there are 3 (three) dimensions of trust, namely: a. Ability is associated with individual appearance based on knowledge, expertise, and competence to be trusted by other individuals; b. Integrity which means the level of conformity of individual principles in trusting others; and c. Benevolence, which is how much an individual believes in others to behave well to him. Trust dimensions can be used as a basis in seeing the level of individual trust in the context of their assessment of government.

## Factors Influences Politic Participation

There are three factors that strongly support political participation. First is political education, which is an effort to socialize politics, in the sense of educating people's political life, increasing the awareness of every citizen in the life of the nation and state, and increasing people's sensitivity and awareness of their rights, obligations and responsibilities towards the nation.

Second is political awareness, which is an inner process that shows conviction from every citizen of the urgency of state affairs in the life of society and the state. Political awareness or conversion of life in a state becomes important in state life, considering that the tasks of the state are comprehensive and complex. Therefore, without the positive support of all citizens, there will be many neglected state duties.

Third, is political culture. Political culture is the embodiment of political values embraced by a group of people, nations, and countries which are believed to be guidelines in carrying out state political activities. According to Gabriel Almond, political culture is classified as follows: 1) Parochial Political Culture; 2) Political Culture of

Marriage; and 3) Participant's Political Culture. For Samuel Beer, political culture is the values of beliefs and emotional attitudes about how government should be carried out and about what the government must do.

## **METHOD**

This research moved from an effort to explore two issues, namely the level of community political participation in using their political rights in the implementation of the 2018 Regional Election in Indonesia as well as the motivating and inhibiting factors for community participation in exercising their right to vote. In Indonesia in using their political rights.

The scope of the study is the details of the formulation of the main problem, in the form of more detailed questions or problems that the answers will be sought through certain data collection techniques. In this study the scope is focused on the following: 1) description of the political participation of the community at the study site; 2) forms of political participation in the election process; 3) what factors encourage public political participation in regional elections, namely ideological factors, political factors; and actual issues.

The location of this study was 171 regions in Indonesia which held simultaneous regional elections in 2018. However, given the limited funds and costs, specifically the area used as the locus was conducted by purposive sampling, namely Banten Province (Tangerang City and Tangerang Regency), and East Java Province (Tulungagung Regency). This study was conducted for 3 months (May - July 2018). The time and stages of implementing this research can be categorized into three stages, namely preparation, implementation and preparation.

The approach taken in this study is based on a field survey approach. Surveys are research conducted to obtain facts from existing symptoms and look for information factually, both about social institutions, economics, or politics from a group or an area (Sugiono, 2004). This type of research according to the level of exploration is quantitative descriptive. Sugiono (1999) states that, level of explanation is the level of explanation. This study intends to explain the position of the variables studied and the relationship between one variable with another variable while

descriptive research is research conducted to determine the value of independent variables, either one variable or more (independent) without making comparisons, or relationships with other variables.

In this study the survey was conducted to determine the condition of the political participation of the people in the regions in participating in political activities, especially regional elections. The population in this study is all regional communities that are the object of study that have fulfilled the requirements to become voters in accordance with the provisions of the legislation, which is at least 17 years old or has been or has been married. Population (N) is the total number of units or individuals whose characteristics are to be studied, referred to as the unit of analysis, which can be in the form of people, institutions or objects (Djarwanto, 1994).

Sampling in this study is the Random Sampling method that is sampling by providing equal opportunities or opportunities to all populations to be selected as samples. The sample is a portion of the population whose characteristics are to be studied. The size of the sample is based on the opinion of Frankel and Wallen (1993) who suggest a sample size for descriptive studies of at least 100 and correlation research or causality of 50. This opinion is in line with According to Alreck and Seetle for a population of at least 100 respondents. Because this research is a descriptive survey method, based on these two expert opinions, the number of samples in this study is 100 people.

Based on sample purposive that has been set by 100 people, then the respondents in this study were 100 people for each Province who will be divided in several Districts / Cities proportionally. The community groups that will be used as respondents are people who have participated in the elections (based on KPUD data), Officials / Community Figures / Political Parties who play a role in the Election process.

The data collection technique used is the field survey method, which is to go directly to the field to distribute questionnaires to respondents who were randomly selected as samples, who have fulfilled the requirements to become voters and are registered in the Permanent Voters List from the Regency / City level to the Village level.

The measurement of variables used in this

study is to use a Likert scale. (closed list of questions). To conduct a survey prepared an instrument in the form of a questionnaire (questionnaire), which is arranged in 2 (two) forms, namely the questionnaire is closed and half open. In addition, interviews were also conducted with officials and community leaders to find out more about the phenomenon of election results with more philosophical and sociological explanations. To complete the above data, documents that are related to the implementation of regional elections are also needed.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The implementation of Simultaneous Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) in 2018, which was held on June 27, 2018, in 171 regions, proceeded safely, smoothly and conducive. This should be appreciated and appreciated by all parties, but it is very unfortunate because the level of community political participation in the 2018 Simultaneous Regional Election title tends to decrease compared to the 2015 simultaneous local elections, so it does not meet the targets set by the government and organizers of elections, which is around 75 percent. The following is a picture of community political participation in the 2018 elections.

The results of the study show that the level of community political participation categories can be seen through the following graphic:

**Chart 2 Level of Participation in General Election 2018 of Each Province**



The data above shows that the highest level of participation (47.05%) is in the high category, in accordance with the government's expectations of at least 70 percent. Coupled with the Papua Province which is in the "Very

High" category, it is actually already above 50 percent of the people whose participation rate is still in the medium and low category.

The ups and downs of the level of community political participation in each local election at the national level, seem to correlate with certain regions that tend to be consistent, such as Papua which tends to be "High", Sumatra tends to "Low" and Java - Bali ranges from 63 to 66 percent, entering "Medium" category. Based on research in several regions after the direct election in 2018, it can be seen that the participation rate is influenced by the high expectation of change. If people's optimism that the newly elected leaders will bring major changes, in line with their expectations political participation will increase. However, on the contrary, if pessimism emerges that the elections will not bring change, then the motivation of the people to exercise their voting rights will decrease.

Optimism or pessimism that arises in the awareness of voters depends on the personal experience of the person concerned, as long as it is led by the previous Regional Head. There are several regions that have changed leaders several times, but are not or less influential in creating people's welfare; there are also regions that each change the Regional Head to bring positive changes, so that every time there is a local election, the people are still enthusiastic to exercise their right to vote.

### A. Reasons for Using / Not Using Vote Rights

At the moment of elections, voters have two main attitudes related to their rights. The first attitude of voters will use their right to vote and the second attitude, voters do not use their voting rights. The question is, when will the decision choose or not be decided? Usually, choices are determined before election time. So, if during the vote counting there are voters who do not use their voting rights, then the decision not to vote has actually been decided long ago. Nevertheless there are also voters who decide not to exercise their right to vote on polling day. Two ways to take this decision are things that always happen everywhere. The problem is how much the percentage of voters who make the decision not to vote on polling day and how many percent earlier decide not to vote. This condition can only be seen after the voting is over.

1) Reasons for People Using Their Voting

## Rights

An explanation of why voters use voting rights in the electoral process is often associated with motivation. This is based on his assumption that anyone who will exercise the right to vote or not exercise his right to vote is always related to certain considerations. In this process, there are trigger or driving factors, both triggers and vice versa. In general there are four reasons for voters to use their voting rights. First, there is a sense of interest and satisfaction with prospective candidates. In this case voters see candidates who hope for change. That hope can arise because of the strong attractiveness of the candidate's figure, or because of the visionary and realistic vision and mission. Second, there are quite a lot of candidates. This reason arises because voters have many choices. Especially because voters became very enthusiastic due to the high intensity of campaigns from all candidates. On the other hand, with more and more candidates, of course, there will also be more diverse backgrounds. The background of the candidates will influence the emotional ties of the voters. If all the voters' emotional ties are represented, this emotional bond will be an attraction that influences participation in the electoral process.

Third, media shows that present positive things in the case of candidates or political parties. If the media presents negative events that can be obtained by the community from the process of regional head elections, such as internal conflicts within bearer political parties, for example, the public will not be motivated to exercise their right to vote. Conversely, if the media shows the enthusiasm of candidates and political parties to carry out development, control the performance of government officials and make policies that are expected by the community, then the community will try to be present in the election process. Fourth, the belief that the process of regional head elections is considered as important as the supervision process. This belief is important as evidence that the public is not apathetic, or not pessimistic about the process of regional elections. Optimism in the electoral process will also improve the quality of people's choices, because people use their voting rights because of awareness, not because they participate.

## 2) Reasons for People Not Using Their Voting Rights (Phenomenon in Medan, Riau and East Kalimantan)

The four explanations mentioned above are the opposite of the reasons why people do not use their voting rights. However, substantially the difference between them lies in the difference in the level of one's expectations. What is meant by the difference is whether the voters are optimistic enough to respond to regional elections (Pilkada) or vice versa. Based on these four explanations, there was hope that the level of political participation of the people in North Sumatra Province, Riau Province and East Kalimantan Province would be higher than in the previous election moment. This expectation is based on the fact that there are a large number of candidates for regional heads, both from individual channels and from political party channels.

The large number of regional head candidates forced candidates to think about ways or strategies to influence voters to come to the polling station (polling station) on polling day. So that later the voters will have the opportunity to give their votes to the candidates. If the regional head candidates are able to increase community expectations of change, voter participation will automatically increase in the implementation of regional head elections (Pilkada). However, that expectation could fade if the implementation of the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) in the regions was tinged with information management which caused public pessimism such as the emergence of cases or scandals aimed at the candidates. Information that is not necessarily true will affect public participation, although often the information is difficult to prove. This information usually appears in the process of regional head elections (Pilkada) as part of political propaganda ahead of the vote

## **B. Factors Affecting Community Political Participation**

Election of Regional Heads (Pilkada) is an event for democratic parties as a form of freedom given to the people to determine their leaders. However, the fact is that many of the problems that arise before or even during this election take place including the lack of interest in giving their voting rights. It seems that both regional head elections (Pilkada) and elections have factors that are quite identical in

terms of decreasing levels of community participation in voting, for example in the 2014 elections and voter participation in the 2014 Presidential Election based on data reported by the KPU at 69.58 percent. While in the 2014 legislative elections participation of 75.11 percent, and the 2009 Presidential Election participation amounted to 71.17 percent of the data reported from news.detik.com, from the data there was a decline despite still following national trends but this not too significant decline could bring new problems if left alone.

In fact, the interest of the community not to use their voting rights (abstentions) in the election can interfere with the effectiveness of regional elections, because of course the KPU as an organizer that has set targets for achieving community participation in regional elections (Pilkada) is considered a failure in carrying out its duties if the target is not achieved. There are many factors that can cause a decline in community participation in regional elections (Pilkada).

- 1) The limited number of pairs of candidates who participated in the elections  
The number of candidate pairs participating in the regional head election event can be used as one of the factors in people's lack of interest in choosing because they are limited to the pairs of candidates who may not be what they want. Although this is a KPU stipulation, it is possible for the community to have their own choice, but for some reason the candidate pair they desire does not pass the selection, so this can cause disappointment.
- 2) Procedures and procedures for choosing which are still complicated  
Before voters can give voting rights, the voters must first obtain a C6 KWK sheet from the KPPS (Voting Organizing Group) which means that C6 KWK is an official invitation from the KPPS to vote based on the TPS determined by the Voting Committee (PPS) that does not obtain C6 KWK may only carry a KTP during the election with the condition that the voter has been recorded at their respective polling stations. If you want to move to another polling station, still in one village or kelurahan, you can get an A5 sheet from the PPS, but to move to choose the cross-regency management

directly at the nearest KPU. That is, not all people can choose only by using ID cards when choosing because there are provisions and rules to choose according to the KTP domicile.

- 3) Decreased social activities and provision of knowledge for voters from the organizers of the elections  
Not all organizers of regional elections (Pilkada) are intensely conducting socialization to the voters about the procedures for voting. This can happen because a lot of things start from community culture and less budgets. Due to the different levels of understanding of the people, the socialization of the elections is actually very important to do in order to build the same perception for every community to contribute to the success of the elections.

The reduced level of public trust in government performance This can happen because the campaign program delivered previously by the candidate pair is not able to be realized properly when the candidate pair is elected, thus giving rise to a sense of disappointment for the people who voted. Thus, it has an impact on the declining level of public trust in political parties. For this reason, it is necessary to build community trust in the performance of the government and realize most of the programs they promised when during the campaign period. Understanding work programs is an important factor in making choices.

The most important thing for voters in each regional head election (Pilkada) is to understand and understand the programs planned by the candidate pairs, the way is to pay attention and care for the region, and it could be by following the development of news from various media like mass media both electronic, print, social media and others. Such as participating in debates between candidates for Regional Heads that are broadcast on television or radio, so that little by little they will understand about the programs delivered by each candidate pair.

Furthermore, the people who better understand the conditions and facts in the field are already relevant and have a correlation with the program delivered by the candidate pair or not, from simple observations such as this, actually the community has been able to determine

which trust to become the Regional Head is given later. Basically it fosters a sense of caring and desire that is indeed not easy, but it does not mean that because of the community's apathy that should be blamed because it also must have a cause, what is clear even if the interest in choosing the community is low is homework for us to regain a sense of trust them on government performance.

The design of the work program is the main weapon for candidate pairs to be able to attract voters, of course the design is a work contract directly published to the public and must be realized immediately when it is selected, it is important to be able to maintain the trust of the community. For this reason, it is important for voters to recognize and make choices based on the track record of the candidate pairs, not because of the money, or not because of kinship / ethnicity.

### **C. Community Perception on Politic Participation**

Post-reform, from the data of the KPU RI mentioned in four regional head elections (Pilkada) in various regions, indicating an indication of the decrease in the number of voter participation. Many factors make the level of community participation decline, among others: the leader figures put forward in the elections are not pleasing to the hearts of voters, dissatisfaction with the performance of the political system that does not improve quality of life, administrative mistakes in the administration of elections, religious anti-democracy, election of heads regions are no longer viewed by voters as a priority or indispensable in building their daily lives. Another reason is the number of cases that surround political parties, the lack of potential figures owned by political parties and the decline in the image of political parties.

In addition, there is an understanding that choosing is a right and not an obligation. "Because choosing is not a right, it can be used and can also not be used because there are no legal and moral consequences for those who do not vote. Another factor is that politics is a person's perception of objects, namely figures, programs and interests. "If the object is perceived negatively then automatically the voters will not use their political rights, and vice versa if the perception of a figure and also a program is positive, people will definitely vote. In conditions like this, we cannot blame

people why they don't use political rights, because voting is not an obligation and there are more important things such as economic routines that they have to go through, not politics.

The decline in public interest and the involvement of potential voters in politics and regional head elections (Pilkada) is certainly bad news for political parties, especially for Indonesia's growing democratic life. It should be that political parties do not only have the obligation to increase the electability of the parties or candidates carried out by their parties, but also boost the involvement of voters. At present the community still has to be given an understanding related to the election, considering that there are still many people who choose ignorance ahead of the election. People today feel ignorant sometimes saying "let me come I will remain rich like this, not come too rich like this (fate)". Stakeholders need to provide understanding to the community, if the fate of their nation must be involved, not just stand idly by. In addition to the delivery of information, the government must also be involved, if you want a local election that really can participate in the community.

### **D. Barriers to Using Vote Rights**

Based on the results of the elections in 171 regions, there were still obstacles related to the implementation of the political rights of the people. In the context of good regional elections (Pilkada), all levels of society must be served in carrying out their obligations, including those who have physical or disability limitations. Disabled voters still have the opportunity or voting rights in the elections. That is why services for diffable voters are also an important spotlight in the implementation of simultaneous regional elections. Disabled people are also included as inclusive elections, namely elections that involve people who can only do limited things, such as people with disabilities, people who are in prison, and sick people, and people who have jobs with heavy mobility, such as pilots or doctors surgery.

It seems that not all polling stations provide facilities for people who have physical or disabilities, even if there are many but not many. According to information from the Election Commission of Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City and Tulungagung Regency in

the last election implementation there were several polling stations that provided facilities for disabled people, some of whom provided sign language translators for the deaf, there were also those who provided guidance for the tuna netra to help direct, or provide mobile polling stations that will come to disabled voters. In addition, another obstacle encountered was administrative problems, such as still finding "Certificates" used by the community as a substitute for e-KTP voting at polling stations.

### **E. Voting Behavior**

#### **1) Rationality of Society in Political Participation**

The socialization and political education provided by the Election Commission and other social institutions in increasing political participation did not necessarily enable the public to participate politically to the fullest. Apart from understanding humans as social beings, basically humans are individual beings. Individual beings have a very high level of rationality. The nature of rational beings is a profit and loss calculation that forms the basis of each action. Almost all humans will try to get the items that they want at a minimum cost. Goods in this case have a very broad understanding, not only tangible goods but also intangible goods such as a policy or agreement. While costs in this case are not always related to money, but also include time and effort. Its relationship with local elections, community rationality arises when people think what benefits they will get when they use their voting rights. Even though on the other hand they were clearly issuing public expenditure in the local election. The cost in this case is definitely energy and time, it can even be spent. For example, for transportation to TPS, people begin to think whether the items they get later are worth the costs they incur. The results of the election were an item when the results had changed to a decision that had been determined by the KPU. But in this case whether the goods resulting from the election have given many benefits to the community. For the community the benefits are only obtained by the chosen candidate, while they do not get the direct impact on them.

The implementation of the 2018 elections shows the fact that there is a downward trend

in community political participation by 3 percent, compared to the 2015 elections. This condition is very regrettable by the government especially for efforts that have been made in increasing political participation. Because in reality, the current phenomenon of money politics is very widespread or better known as the money politic in the political district. "Money politic" practices in local elections can be seen from the perspective of rational choice theory. One well-known figure of rational choice theory is James S. Coleman. Coleman considers that every action taken by someone is influenced by the goals and values desired by them. Furthermore, according to Coleman in the rational choice theory there are two elements involved, namely actors and resources. Money is one of the motivations for someone to participate in politics.

In elections and other elections, money and political office have a big connection. Coleman explained that there are interactions between actors and resources, each of which can control resources. Both the community and the Regional Head Candidates can control political positions. The community has the right to determine who will be elected. Whereas regional head candidates also have the ability to influence people's choices. This is where the two actors influence each other and need to achieve their respective goals. Communities and candidates for Regional Heads both have an interest in resources, namely their political position and position so that they can influence each other. Regional Head Candidates offer offers that benefit the community. On the other hand, the community offers a vote in the form of vote support to win a pair of candidates. Communities and candidates for Regional Heads eventually engage in a relationship to fulfill their respective interests. Thus, the practice of money politics cannot be avoided. The right to vote becomes something that can be exchanged for rupiah. With the transaction, the two actors will get the resources they want. Where voters in this case will get money while candidates for Regional Head will get political office in the form of a victory in the elections. According to political observers in Tulungagung Regency, Bambang Sulistiyono stated: "Money politic" was very unusual in the regional elections, because the people did not want to participate if there was no money.

In the local election the participation of the public was bought, where when there was money offered, no one refused. Each successful team took to the field to divide money with many modes. The game between actors and resources in the practice of money politics in the elections is at least shown in two ways, namely: First, dividing the envelope. Second, donating material. In the end, Coleman's rational choice theory has been able to explain the relationship between actors and resources in relation to money politics in local elections. The rationality of the people turned out to have an influence on them to determine whether they chose or not. Money is considered as an advantage they should get when they have sacrificed time and energy to use their voting rights to polling stations. On the side of candidates for regional heads, political office becomes something that is considered to provide a big advantage for them so that they are also willing to pay fees or costs to get it.

However, Coleman's rational choice theory has not been able to provide an explanation of the considerations of what people think so that resources are so important to them. Therefore, the problem of money politics can then be seen from Antony Downs' rational choice theory in order to understand more deeply about the problem of money politics itself. Antoni Downs provides an explanation of the relationship between regional head elections and rational choice theories. Today's political life is not only purely influenced by political interests. But it has been more influenced by economic interests in it. Likewise with the local election, many economic considerations emerged that were considered by the public as voters.

As expressed by Antony Downs that many political choices are determined by evaluation or economic conditions, personal or collective. People tend to consider their economic life during the previous administration, the current administration, and the future government. This case will be very visible when the incumbent returns to advance in the elections. The re-advancement of incumbent partners, such as in Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City and Tulungagung Regency could not stem the coming of criticism for the couple during the previous administration during the five years in office, of course there was a lot of

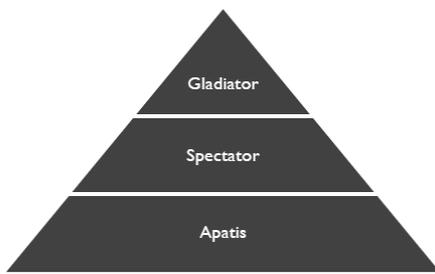
criticism from the public.

Criticism of economic problems is one of the problems that are the main consideration for the community to decide whether to choose the candidate pair or not. The economic life of the community during the previous administration with the current and future periods of government is largely determined by what the incumbent partner can do for the past five years in the previous period. The community support was then shown by the willingness of the community to exercise their voting rights to polling stations. The re-election of incumbent pairs in three regions with absolute votes can be interpreted as the return of the people's hopes to entrust the government back in the hands of the incumbent candidate pair. The community considers there will be an economic recovery again after the prospective incumbent returns to lead.

## 2) Critical Note on Rational Choice Theory

James S. Coleman's rational choice theory, Antony Downs, Friedman and Hechter have explained the influence of regional head elections (Pilkada) and social institutions and public rationality in influencing the political participation of the community. However, the rational choice theory has not been able to explain that the political participation of the candidate figure is still taken into account by the community. Money is not always considered by the community in choosing. In addition, social institutions are also not always able to encourage the public to use their political rights, even institutions that hold regional head elections (Pilkada) and social institutions have many limitations in providing socialization and political education to the public. The political participation of the community itself has been classified by Milbrath and Goel into a pyramid arrangement which is divided into three parts as shown in the following picture:

Chart 3 Pyramid of Community



Political Participation

Sumber: Miriam Budiardjo, 2008

The pyramid image shows that someone who is included in the gladiator is that they are actively involved in politics with a small amount but have a very large influence. So that their position is the highest. The next position is the spectator, namely the people who participate in their voting rights, participating only by voting at the time of the election. Finally, the people who are apathetic do not want to exercise their right to vote in the elections. Based on the grouping theory made by Milbrath and Goel above, it seems that the people of Tangerang Regency, Tangerang City and Tulungagung Regency are mostly included in the spectator category. Where they are generally not party activists. They are just ordinary citizens who use their right to vote when the election. After the regional election ended they were no longer involved in any political activities.

However, for the Indonesian people it seems to have other additional categories in classifying voters. First, traditional voters, the character of these voters is voters who come from the lower middle class. This community has great expectations of the change of leadership (elite), because through this their hopes can be entrusted as a mandate that they apply by choosing, so they hope for future changes. This condition tends to be used by many candidates, including in almost all regions that hold elections, candidates who compete at the Provincial / District / City level use public jargon as an illustration of the politics of influencing electorals. This traditional voter is the easiest to become a tool for the interests of candidates as voters, because in addition to being easily influenced by promises as well as basic necessities, which are usually carried out by several candidates several previous elections.

Second, smart voters, these voters are those

who understand the political conditions that are and should be. So, this voter will always connect the issue of political conditions to the theory he gets from books or theories. The incompatibility between the theory and the fact that this voter will be smart will determine his choice. Candidates, in general, introduce a vision and mission and work program that makes sense to influence these constituents, even though in reality this category of voters is low.

Third, pragmatic voters, the term voter is the real dollar trader. This voter causes the high cost of regional elections. These voters are voters who like to move there and here which causes them to give hope to many candidates. This makes the cause of the high cost of Indonesian democracy because of the act of this category of voters seeking personal benefits in a democratic party.

Fourth, apathetic voters, these voters are voters who do not give trust to candidates. So, not having a patron like traditional voters, having knowledge like smart voters but not trusting the credibility of candidates. Sometimes at his apathetic point he has the principle "whoever is elected does not affect the people's welfare". Very priori towards the candidates, and usually choose not to vote (golput) as a final solution to the nation's problems. Apathetic voters sometimes turn out to be pragmatic voters.

The emergence of two pairs of regional head candidates and deputy regional heads in the elections in 2018 in Tulungagung Regency more or less has affected the level of community political participation. The re-election of the Sahto incumbent pair of 60% ensured that this partner was the most influential in increasing the participation of the political community. Not only because of the success of the Sahto couple in improving the economic life of the community. But the Sahto couple is still considered by the community to be the best known partner to the community compared to other couples. The other two partners, namely the Margiono-Eko Prisdianto couple, were not domiciled in Tulungagung District, namely in Jakarta, although the candidate for deputy regent remained in Tulungagung. The Sahto couple has approached the community for 5 years during their previous leadership period, the approach was made to the bureaucracy, political parties, mass organizations, and the community

directly. So that this couple was considered positive by the community during his leadership. As expressed by Hananto as the success team of the Sahto couple and also the chairman of the organization Red and White Taruna revealed:

*Pak Sahri and Mr. Maryoto during his leadership did not make a lot of mistakes towards the community. The person is not vindictive. For example, usually the elected regent will transfer to bureaucrats who do not support him. If Mr. Sahri is not so, even though there are no bureaucrats who are not elected, they have never been threatened with transfer. So that they actually shy away themselves until they finally supported the Sahto pair again. Not only that, he was familiar with the community. He often attended the wedding ceremony of the community. Even though it's a lower class society. The community itself is also judged that the Sahto pair is still worthy to lead Tulungagung, so they will be back to support by voting for the elections. During his leadership the couple Sahto was noted to have never committed a violation legally*

Not only social institutions and also money that play a role in political participation in the community. However, the community also considered the pair of regional heads and deputy regional heads who were running for election. Even though there are only a few people today who take into account the figure and mission vision of the couple, it is not necessarily ignored. In a sense, this still has an influence on people's choices to determine whether to exercise their voting rights to polling stations or not.

## CONCLUSION

Decreasing the level of community political participation in the 2018 regional election, should be able to raise awareness of all parties that in the implementation of direct elections needed a lot of improvement. Among other things, reforming institutional management, which involves the direct implementation of local election institutions such as KUPD, DPRD, Regional Government and election monitors. Then the strengthening of political parties that must be smart may place candidates who are smart

both intellectually and morally. There are at least five factors causing the decline in community participation in the 2018 regional election, namely:

First, a decrease in the level of trust in the candidate pair figures promoted by political parties as a form of resistance to corrupt behavior of the Regional Head. Instead of being hopeful for changes in the region, this candidate figure emphasizes personal interests and groups so that they often cause problems due to their corrupt behavior;

Second, the critical factor of the community. This means that the community has become increasingly critical and can analyze the results of the candidate pairs' work in the previous period in realizing their work programs during the campaign. The level of realization of relatively low campaign promises and cannot accommodate and fight for people's aspirations is the basis for reasons for abstentions.

Third, a factor in the situation where the person cannot vote at the TPS where he lives because that person is registered at another polling station. For example, people who migrate to other regions both to make a living, to study, or other needs;

Fourth, less intense and varied socialization of local election conducted by local KPUDs so that people do not understand how much the benefits of involvement in the election itself are; and

Fifth, the lack of the role of political parties in political socialization so that people do not know clearly what the vision, mission or even do not recognize the profile of candidates who are carried by political parties themselves

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