

The Non-Voting Behaviour in City of Makassar Regional Election 2020

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Abstract: Regional head election that conducted in Indonesia already give citizen opportunity to vote for the candidate directly, this election mechanism expected can be shown the people sovereignty. However, in the implementation of this mechanism, the direct election which is requires the active participation of the society doesn't work as the expectation. It can be shown by the increase of non voters (Golput) especially in Ende Sub-District, City of Makassar. The phenomena in the Ende Sub-District is the increase of the non voters in every regional election periode. Then it is important to conducted research to know the reason of this phenomena. Data of this research conducted by using qualitative method with in-deep interview. According to de data it shows that there are some factors that influence the increase of non voters in Ende Sub-District First the political trust to the candidate, related to the campaign mechanism hat failed to get closer the candidate to the society so the implication is there is a lack of trust to the candidate. Second ethnicity, most of people in Ende Sub-District are Chinese, which is minority in Makassar. Third, is the negative assumption of the people in Ende Sub-District related to the politic.

Keyword (s) : *Regional Election, Non-Voting behaviour, Golongan Putih, City of Makassar.*

Introduction

In accordance with the mandate of the law, in 2020, to be precise on December 9, 2020. In the general election held on December 9, 2020, Indonesia will hold regional head elections held simultaneously throughout Indonesia. This is part of an effort to realize a democratic system through community involvement in the election process.

Through this process the people are placed as subjects of government, where the people have a very large influence in a government and are involved collectively in determining policies in a country called a democratic system. Through general elections, including the election of regional heads, the people are the owners of sovereignty over the state, which governs as well as those who are governed, this is a theory of the political system of democracy. One important aspect of democracy is political participation. To measure the direct involvement of the community in political participation, it can be seen through the implementation of general elections where the increase in voter participation becomes a reference for evaluating democracy at the national and local levels.

Basically the regional head election directly becomes a space to realize the aspirations of the community, this regional head election is a meaningful moment for the community at the local level because it is the first time people directly choose the candidate they want to fill the position.

Ideally, this provision will encourage voters to use their voting rights during the regional head elections. However, in reality, the level of community attendance (voting turn out) in regional head elections has decreased continuously. Concerns about low voter attendance in elections are suspected by several things, namely voter attendance is often interpreted as a form of loyalty or trust in the existing political system, so that absence is interpreted as a form of distrust of the current political system and regime. The trend of increasing absenteeism has also occurred in several countries in the last few decades (Asfar 2006).

Voter absenteeism in Indonesia in elections that occurred in the post-political reform era experienced a significant increase. At the national level in the first general election since political reform, namely the 1999 election, the abstention rate was only around 10%, the 2004 election the abstention rate reached 28.34% or an increase of almost three times or 300%. Meanwhile, in the 2009 election, the abstention rate was 29.01% (Yanuarti 2009). It is not much different from elections at the local level, the problem of community absence in elections is also one of the issues when the regional head election contestation is held.

Citizen participation in general election contestation is basically a series of decision-making activities, as stated by Ramlan Subakti (1999), namely choosing or not voting. So the decision not to vote is also a right that can influence various decisions. This is the result of various characteristics of political behavior in society.

The election for the regional election in city of Makassar was held on December 9, 2020 in accordance with the general election commission regulation number 5 of 2020 concerning the stages, programs, and schedules for regional election for Governor, Regent, and Mayor in 2020. The number of city of Makassar regional election in 2020 is very much lower than the legislative and presidential elections in 2019, and if it is adjusted to the national target of 77.5%, the decline in 2020 will further add to the distance from the target based on the City of Makassar Commission of General Election (2020). The regional election of city of Makassar 2020 where the pattern of non-voting behavior is the main issue that is of concern to the government, the General Elections Commission (KPU), the media, political parties, researchers and of course the general public. This can not be separated from the distance of the highest candidate's vote acquisition which only touched 24.30% of the votes of the lowest candidate, 2.9%, only 21.4% of the total DPT in Makassar. If the number of non-voting votes that reaches 40.35% is accumulated to the candidate with the lowest number of votes, it is possible to change the election results drastically.

From the period 2008 to 2020, there have been four regional elections in Makassar. Starting from the 2008 election which had a total vote of 58% (559,996) of the total DPT (Permanent Voters List) 934,515 votes, in 2013 it reached 59% (585,231) of the total DPT 1,392,297, while in the 2018 election the voter participation rate in Makassar reached the percentage of 57% (584,406) of the total vote, and in the 2020 period the voter turnout rate in Makassar reached 59.65% based on the city of Makassar General Elections Commission 2020.

Based on this description, this paper examines people who have registered as voters but do not exercise their voting rights in the Regional election. What are the factors that influence the community so that they do not use their right to vote in the election. As well as what variables will be used to be more precise in explaining this phenomenon, this is the background for researchers to look at non-voting behavior so that they can find out what causes voters not to exercise their right to vote in one area of the city of Makassar which has always been recorded as an area with the highest level of non-voting behavior, namely the Ende Sub-District, Wajo District.

Method

The type of research used in this study is a case study. A case study shows all the important aspects of a case to be studied. By using this type of research will be able to reveal a deep and detailed picture of a situation or object. The case to be studied can be in the form of a single person, an event or a fairly limited group, so that the researcher can appreciate, understand, and understand how the object operates or functions in an actual natural setting (Muri 2017).

This study is intended to examine more deeply about the behavior of not voting in the Ende SubDistrict, Wajo district, Makassar city. The author uses a case study research basis in this study to see the behavior of not voting specifically in the Makassar Mayor election, so that the author is able to conduct in-depth research on informants to be interviewed in order to obtain accurate and in-depth data. Is descriptive qualitative. Qualitative descriptive research is a way of solving problems based on facts and existing data. This research provides a more detailed description of a symptom or phenomenon through accurate facts. This descriptive study seeks to describe and analyze the phenomenon of non-voting behavior in the Ende Sub-District, Wajo District, Makassar City in the Makassar Mayor election.

Discussion

Behavioral Approach in Political Analysis

Behavioral approaches to political and social analysis generally concentrate on one main focus: why people behave the way they do. What distinguishes the behavioral approach from other approaches is that: behavior can be observed (observable behavior) and any explanation of the behavior is easy to test empirically. Behavioral studies is an approach that emerged after World War II. This approach is influenced by the study of sociology and psychology. One of the main ideas of the behavioral approach is concerned with political behavior, power, or political beliefs (Budiardjo 2008). Political behavior has various definitions or meanings. Lasswell in Varma provides an explanation that political behavior is: First, political behavior always has an orientation to a value in the ongoing political process and is a part. Second, political behavior aims to reach the future, is anticipatory, relates to the past, and always maintains past events (Mufti 2012).

Political behavior is a form of citizen participation in an organized way in making political decisions, with voluntary participation and of their own volition, based on a sense of responsibility for thinking, acting, and freedom of expression (Hamid 2020).

As for the terminology, political behavior is an activity between the government and the community or vice versa which has elements of making, implementing, and enforcing political decisions. This is in accordance with what was stated by political scientists, for example as stated by Ramlan Subakti, who said that the interaction between government and society, between government institutions, and between individual groups in society in the context of the process of making, implementing, and enforcing Political decisions are basically political behavior. In more detail, Gabriel Almond argues that political behavior is not only limited to taking part or a role in the context of political activities. However, according to him, political behavior is always preceded by an articulation of interests where an individual is able to control political resources, such as a leader of a political party or an individual. political dictator (Almond and Powell 1966). Therefore, political behavior according to Almond is divided into three categories, namely the articulation of interests, the union of interests and the articulation of further interests.

Thus, the political behavior approach is then used to see the activities and dynamics that occur within the scope of state institutions. In addition, political behavior is also designed as a political science approach that emphasizes individual behavior as the main object of analysis, but with the assumption that the group is a collective interaction that occurs between individuals.

Then what is included in the category of political behavior as in general that often occurs according to Gabriel Almond are internal or common responses including voting, political discussions, campaign activities, lobbying, protesting, and joining interest groups. The emergence of various internal responses, according to Huntington, is sometimes caused by not distributing power fairly and equitably. This resulted in the emergence of protests, by pressure groups and opposition organizations (Almond and Powell 1966). Therefore, it can be said that political behavior is a political approach or political perspective that was developed and used to look more concentrated on a person's behavior than political institutions. articulate interests.

Non-Voting Behaviour

People who do not vote in the electoral process in an area (non-voting) in Indonesian politics are often referred to as the non-voting people or called as "Golongan putih" (golput). This term became popular in the era of the 1970s which was pioneered by Arief Budiman, Julius Usman, and the late Imam Malujo Sumali (Putra 2003). This group arose as a result of dissatisfaction with the implementation of the New Order election. Non-voting basically consists of two kinds, namely ideological abstentions and pragmatic/administrative abstentions. Ideological abstentions are voters who deliberately do not vote for political reasons, while pragmatic/administrative golput are more because they are not registered as voters or the votes are invalid.

In the book *Political Explore* (Efriza 2012), several scientists define golput, the first is according to Irwan H, Dulay he said the white group is acronymized as golput is a group of people who are negligent and unwilling to give their right to vote in elections for various reasons, both in legislative elections, presidential elections, local elections and village head elections. Golput is also called abstention or blank in a limited election to an institution, organization or company. According to Susan Weich, a person's absence from an election is related to voter satisfaction or dissatisfaction. If someone gets satisfaction from not attending the election, of course he will not attend the voting booth, and vice versa. In addition, absenteeism is also related to the calculation of profit and loss. if someone feels more fortunate financially by not attending the election, of course he will prefer to do other jobs that are more profitable. So that the outline of non-voting or golput is the act of not giving the right to vote in the election process either intentionally or unintentionally.

Non-voting behavior in Indonesia is mainly manifested in various forms, namely: First, people who do not attend polling stations as an act of protest against the implementation of the election and the existing political system. Second, people who attend polling stations but do not exercise their right to vote correctly by piercing more than one image mark. Third, people who exercise their right to vote by piercing the white part of the ballot card. In this context, non-voting behavior is a reflection of protest over dissatisfaction with the current political system. Fourth, people who are not present at the polling station because they are not registered so do not have voting rights (Efriza 2012).

Concerns about the low turnout of voters in the election are suspected by several things. First, voter attendance is often interpreted as a form of loyalty or trust in the existing political system, so that absenteeism is interpreted as a form of distrust of the current political system or regime. Second, there is a tendency to increase the number of absentee voting in several countries in the last few decades. In Indonesia, voter absenteeism in post-political reform elections has also experienced a significant increase.

At the national level, the first general election since political reform, namely the 1999 election, the abstention rate was only around 10%, the 2004 election the abstention rate reached 28.34% or an increase of almost three times or 300%. Meanwhile, in the 2009 election, the abstention rate was 29.01%. M. Asfar (1998) puts forward a more detailed definition of golput, namely: (1) people who do not attend polling stations as an act of protest against the implementation of the election or the existing political system; (2) people who attend polling stations but do not use their right to vote properly, such as stabbing more than one picture; (3) a person who exercises his/her right to vote but stabs at the white part of the ballot card; and (4) people who do not exercise their voting rights due to lack of motivation to vote. In this proposal, the notion of not voting refers to the understanding conveyed by M. Asfar and does not include voters who do not vote due to negligence or situations that cannot be controlled by voters.

David Moon explains that there are two approaches to explaining non-voting in an election. First, it emphasizes the social and psychological character of voters as well as the institutional characteristics of the electoral system. While the second approach emphasizes voters' expectations about the advantages and disadvantages of their decision to attend or not vote (Moon as cited in Efriza 2012). According to the two approaches, there are at least four factors that influence a person not to vote, namely Psychological, Political System, Political Belief, and Socio-Economic Background. Psychological factors can basically be grouped into two categories. First, it relates to a person's personality traits. Second, related to personality orientation. The first explanation sees that nonvoting behavior is caused by intolerant, authoritarian, indifferent personalities, feelings of insecurity, feelings of worry, lack of personal responsibility, and the like. People who have an intolerant or indifferent personality tend not to vote, because what a candidate or political party stands for is not always in line with direct individual interests, however it may involve the wider public interest.

In this context, voters who have an intolerant or indifferent personality tend to withdraw from the political arena directly because it is not related to their interests. Meanwhile, the second explanation focuses more on the personality orientation factor. This second explanation sees that non-voting behavior is caused by the personality orientation of voters, which conceptually shows the characteristics of apathy, anomie, and alienation.

Next, the Political System basically still does not show any theoretical agreement regarding the relationship between the degree of democracy in a political system and the quantity of voter attendance or absenteeism in an election. The fact that the presence and absence in the election does not clearly show the relationship between the two variables. For example, in the United States as a country called the champion of democracy, the turnout of voters in elections is relatively low, only 50% on average. On the other hand, in Western European countries such as Italy, Denmark, Belgium, Austria, Germany and so on, where the level of democracy is quite good, the voter turnout rate reaches 90% (Yanuarti 2009).

One of the results of research that shows the relationship between the political system and the level of voter attendance is what Tingsten did. The results of the Tingsten study concluded that in countries that implement an electoral system or a proportional representation system such as Western European countries, the average voter turnout is quite high. While the countries that implement the district system, the number of voter turnout is relatively low.

The next factor is trust in the political system. This seems to be related to the level of trust that is believed to affect the high rate of voter absenteeism. The concept of political trust is used to explain a person's activeness and inactivity in the political world. Inactivity in the concept of political distrust itself always has a double meaning. First, inactivity can be interpreted as an expression of low trust in the political system

or as an expression of feelings of alienation. The military dictatorship in Greece, for example, found it difficult to produce a sufficiently high percentage of "yes" votes in an expected constitutional plebiscite.

On the other hand, inactivity can also be interpreted as an expression of high trust, where someone's inactivity in the voting booth indicates that they are satisfied with the existing political system, or are not worried about the existing political situation. They are only active or participate when they are really disappointed with the existing political system or situation (Yanuarti 2009). A. Gamson's research tries to explain that trust in the existing political system can influence the high rate of voter absenteeism. For example, there is strong evidence that participation in the political system increases in times of crisis. That way, someone's inactivity indicates that they are satisfied with the existing political system, or at least worried about the existing situation. They are only active or participate when they are really disappointed with the existing political system or situation. In such conditions, inactivity is a sign of confidence or trust in the existing political system (See in Asfar 2004).

Political trust is also related to a person's assessment of government performance and performance. Whether someone judges the government to be trustworthy and can be influenced or not, both in policy making and in the implementation of government in a political system.

The last factor is related to socioeconomic status where there are three indicators that are often the center of attention, namely education level, income level, and occupation. Wolfinger as described by M. Asfar (1998) concludes that there are several reasons why the level of socioeconomic status is correlated with voter attendance or absenteeism. First, higher education levels create a greater ability to study political life without fear, while enabling one to master bureaucratic aspects, both at the time of registration and election.

Second, certain jobs value citizen participation more. Voters who work in institutions or sectors that are directly related to government policies tend to have higher levels of election attendance than voters who work in institutions or sectors that are not directly related to government policies. Civil servants or retirees, for example, show higher attendance rates than others. Because these civil servants are often directly affected by government policies such as salary increases, termination of employment and so on Third, high incomes make it easier for people to bear the financial burden of being involved in the electoral process. Several research results show that the relationship between the level of education and the level of attendance always shows the opposite direction. Voters with low levels of education tend to show a fairly high rate of absenteeism from elections. On the other hand, highly educated voters tend to have low election absence rates. Meanwhile, the relationship between the level of income and the level of absenteeism also shows the same pattern. Voters with low income levels tend to show a fairly high rate of election absenteeism. On the other hand, voters with high income backgrounds tend to have low election absence rates. However, several cases show that those with "crossed status" tend not to vote

Influencing factor of non-voting Behaviour in City Makassar

The analysis of non-voting behavior in Ende Sub-District, Makassar City is basically observed based on available data, especially in the 2020 Makassar Mayor and Deputy Mayor election. %. And if you look at the number of not voting at the Kelurahan level throughout Makassar City, Kelurahan Ende within a period of three election administrations always occupies the Kelurahan with the lowest participation in Wajo Subdistrict, this is an early indication that people in the area have a tendency not to vote.

If you look at the last three elections, the Ende Sub-District itself always occupies the lowest score in the Wajo District. In the 2018 mayoral election, the Ende Sub-District only reached 44.32% of the total number

of 2951 voters. In the 2019 legislative election, it touched 63.41% of the Permanent Voters List of 2662 votes. Meanwhile, in the 2020 mayoral election, it only reached 42.57% of the total voters list of 2330 people.

These data indicate significant conditions related to non-voting behavior in the community election process in Ende Sub-District. The findings in the research conducted indicate that it seems to be related to psychological factors, political beliefs, and socio-economic background. In the psychological context, non-voting behavior is often interpreted as a form of political decision not to attend political contestations with reasons as a form of political or pragmatic attitude. In terms of decisions taken, both political and pragmatic attitudes can be implied from the orientation of a person's personality which according to David Moon there are three characteristics, namely apathy, anomie and alienation (see in Yanuarti 2009). The characteristics of apathy can be interpreted as an attitude of lack of interest and interest in political problems. This disinterest is based on the view that politics is an arena that is full of the interests of certain groups, so that participating in political activities does not give satisfaction to self-interest or immediate results. This illustrates a person's apathy or disinterest in the political process based on a skeptical view that the electoral process does not provide significant results for the community directly,

The anomie attitude refers to the feeling of being useless. They see that political activity is useless, because they feel it is impossible to influence political events or policies. It seems connected with their interpretation of their position in a context of society (see Tamma and Ruslin 2016). For these voters, voting or not voting has no effect, because political decisions are often beyond the control of the voters where the people who are finally elected usually use their own logic in making various political decisions, and in many cases their matters are far beyond the reach of the electorate. This feeling of powerlessness is known as anomie. Based on the description above, it can be seen that the people in Ende Sub-District also have an anomie attitude. With business activities in the area which are very active and dense, it creates the perception that doing work activities is more beneficial than choosing regional leaders with the view that the choices given have no effect on the results. election.

Furthermore, the factor of trust in the political system can be seen to affect the high rate of voter absenteeism. This explains the fact of one's activeness and inactivity in the political world. Inactivity can be interpreted as an expression of low awareness and belief in political institutions, political actors, or even the current political system.

Political trust is also related to a person's assessment of the performance and performance of political institutions, political actors, and government. With this one has an assessment of whether the government can be trusted and can collaborate with the community, both in policy making and in the implementation of government in a political system. The assessment of the performance of the pairs of candidates who took part in this election contestation became one of the factors that made people in Ende Sub-District not to vote, the findings in the field showed that the proximity to the candidates and the lack of socialization carried out during the campaign made people not know the track. record or vision and mission carried by the candidate pairs. Coupled with the fact that the candidates have never come directly to interact with the community.

The last factor identified in this paper is the socio-economic background factor. Basically social factors in shaping a person's political behavior. A person not participating in the election is explained as a result of certain sociological backgrounds, such as religion, education, occupation, race and so on. The type of work factor is also considered to be able to influence people's decisions to participate in the election or not (Asfar 1996).

Education is a very important factor to improve human resources, both formal and informal education. In accordance with the views of Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rossonstone (2015) that higher education levels create a greater ability to study political life without fear, in addition to enabling one to master bureaucratic aspects, both at the time of registration and election, in schools and lectures, we learn about the political system and how an issue affects a person's life, and is actualized to pressure the surrounding environment to participate in the political process, this becomes a result of a sense of success, to take over the rights that should be owned by the political community.

Based on the analysis of the Ende Sub-District community, it was found that the behavior of not voting was caused by social factors, namely the level of voter education. The education factor also influences the people in Ende Sub-District to participate or not participate in the election. This is because the people in the Ende Sub-district with a fairly high level of education do not vote (non-voting) in the election, not because of their indifference to elections or political issues, but because their high level of education makes them more critical and rational towards political issues and has strong resistance. high enough against candidates or candidates who according to them do not have good capacity and capability to lead the region in the future.

With the ability to analyse and assess political activities, people who have higher education have an awareness of the current political conditions where the view that politics is not much different from the previous elections where the role of the community does not have a significant impact and the interests of a few people who have a political desire to get Power is the main goal of political contestation.

On the other hand, the economic background where the sub-district of Ende is dominated by selfemployed groups causes the view that there is no direct relationship to local government policies towards the real work sectors involved in making people not interested in attending the regional head election process. no significant gains were made by the community in their participation in the election. With this perception, people are more concerned with other matters such as those that are more profitable than attending election events.

Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, there are several conclusions that can be drawn, namely that there are three important factors that influence the non-voting behavior of the community, especially in Ende Sub-District, Makassar City. The first factor is the psychological factor. The people of Ende Sub-District, the background so that voters do not give their right to vote in the Makassar mayoral election in 2020 can be grouped into apathy which considers all political activities including the election process not to have a direct impact on the community. The thing that has a significant influence is that community activities are classified as productive and active in making the view that the process of electing regional heads is an activity that is a waste of time (unproductive).

The second factor is related to the political trust factor. The effect of the lack of socialization during the campaign period, which focused more on the indirect socialization model strategy than by holding direct meetings of the candidates, made the Ende Sub-District community feel that they were not close to the candidates personally. and social segmentation based on ethnicity (Chinese) is often perceived with small voter groups on the basis of votes and it is difficult to attract sympathy, making candidates not pay more attention to certain social groups. The existence of a negative stigma against voter groups (ethnic) and coupled with political practitioners who are reluctant to open access to constituents makes the people in the Ende SubDistrict not put more trust, both in political actors and various political institutions that are active in the 2020 Makassar mayoral election process.

The last factor is the Socio-Economic Background, the education factor becomes very important when the community has a higher education level which is dominated by high school graduates and undergraduates. so that the understanding related to the political process is filled with pragmatic political views that have been identified with negative point of view of politics. The assumption that is built on community groups is an attitude that is more concerned with what can be seen directly, produces and is profitable rather than hanging on uncertain expectations. With this perception, people are more concerned with other matters such as work, rather than attending the election process. Because doing their job will automatically provide them with a material advantage, rather than attending a voting process that has no direct impact on them.

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