Media Access, Collective Efficacy, And Vote Buying Among Female Voters During Local Leader Elections In Indonesia

Joko Siswanto, Eva Lydia, Sylvie Agustina, and Alamsyah Alamsyah

Abstract: While there are many studies available on general elections and female voters in Indonesia, less research has systematically studied the connection between media access, collective efficacy, and the likelihood of vote-buying practice among female voters during local leader elections in Indonesia. Using data from the 5th Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS), it argues that level of education, media access (internet access, mobile phone ownership, and reading newspaper), collective efficacy (social participation and social capital) has influenced the odds of vote-buying practice among female voters in Indonesia during local leader elections. This paper demonstrates that the female voters who have a low level of education have the odds as much as 43 percent significantly (p < 0.01) to practicing vote-buying during the local leader election. It also suggests that media access has a negative relationship with the odds of vote-buying among female voters. It means that the odds of female voters to practicing vote-buying will decrease as much as 29 percent (read the newspaper) and 16 percent (mobile phone and internet access) if woman voter has media access. The study finds that social participation has a negative relationship with vote-buying practice. If the female voters become a member of social gathering, its opportunity to practicing vote-buying will decrease as much as 15 percent. Finally, this paper finds a strong and positive relationship between social capital and vote-buying. This paper suggests that the government at all levels should increase the level of citizens’ education, mass media access, including social media, and promote social gathering at the grass-root level as an integrative strategy to eliminate vote-buying practice among female voters in Indonesia.

Index Terms: collective efficacy, female voter, local leader election, mass media, IFLS, vote buying, voter behavior

1. INTRODUCTION
The gender equality is one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) [1, p. 6]. In electoral politics, it has two meaning. First, how to give equal access for all woman as a candidate or voter to realize their political rights. Second, how to eliminate all discrimination facing by all women during election process. Indonesia, as a democracy country, has affirmative policy to increase the odds of woman in candidacy process. Each political party in Indonesia has recruited a woman candidate as much as 30 percent in the fixed list candidate (Daftar Calon Tetap or DCT) at all level election (national, province, and district). To eliminate discrimination facing by woman voters, the Government of Indonesia (GoI) through the National Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum or KPU) and the Election Supervisory Body (Badan Pengawas Pemilu or BAWASLU) has realize massif political education for woman voters so that they can vote the ballots as rationally as possible. However, the effectivity of this policy is still debatable. Many researchers show that the woman as the legislator candidate has facing several constraints such as patriarchal culture [2], religion, domestic job, educational background [3], gender bias [4], [5], primordial politics [6], institutional factors [7], money politics/vote buying [8], and vote counting fraud [9]. Although the open-list proportional representation system made local identities more prominent and the campaign became increasingly candidate centered [10], [11], this system make the woman candidate receives a smaller share of the vote, a worse list position, and have lower probability of winning a seat [12]. In Indonesia, Prihatini [13] demonstrated that for every additional lower rank in the nomination list, the odds of winning for woman legislator is reduced by 63.5%. In the local leader election, Satunama Foundation [14, pp. 13–14] find that 7.5 percent woman has become a candidate in the Pilgakda 2015. A half of woman candidate has a clear vision on woman issues in politics, economics, education, and health. However, regional head elections are still an exclusive and limited space for women who have social, financial and power capital. In legislative elections, kinship and political dynasty remain to be influential aspects in women’s political nomination [13].

Also, current research shows different conclusion toward Indonesian voters, including woman voter. Several researchers stated that Indonesian voters, has been transformed into rational voters [15], [16]. Mujani, Liddel, and Ambardi [17, p. 230], for example, used critical democrat to describe this phenomenon. In another publication, Mujani and Liddel used muslim secular [18] to indicate the characteristic of Indonesian voters. However, another researcher show that Indonesian voters, including woman voters, could be categorized as patronage voters [19], [20], [21], [22], and emotional voters [23], and ethical voters [24]. This paper will contribute in this debate and tries to understand the effect of mass media and collective efficacy (CE) towards vote buying among female voters in Indonesia. Previous research show that many variable influences woman voters such as demographic attribute [25], [26], [27], gender [28], education [29], [22], [30], [31], religiosity [32], [33], [34], [35], [36], [37], the mass media [38], [39], [40], social capital [41], [42], [43], [44], [45], [46], [47], [48], social media [49], mobile phone [50], [51], internet [52], [53], gender stereotype [5], level of poverty and education [30], female workforce [54], [55], [56], [25], and government performance [15]. However, no previous research in Indonesia combine demographic attribute, media access, and CE as the predictor of woman voter behavior. As far as

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• Joko Siswanto is an associate professor in Department of Public Administration, Sriwijaya University, Palembang, Indonesia. E-mail: jokosiswanto@fisip.unsri.ac.id
• Eva Lydia is an associate professor in Department of Sociology, Sriwijaya University, Palembang, Indonesia. E-mail: evalydia@fisip.unsri.ac.id
• Sylvie Agustina is a lecturer in Department of Public Administration, Sriwijaya University, Palembang, Indonesia. E-mail: sylvieagustina@fisip.unsri.ac.id
• Alamsyah Alamsyah is a lecturer in Department of Public Administration, Sriwijaya University, Palembang, Indonesia. E-mail: alamsyah78@fisip.unsri.ac.id
• Alamsyah Alamsyah is an associate professor in Department of Public Administration, Sriwijaya University, Palembang, Indonesia. E-mail: jokosiswanto@fisip.unsri.ac.id
• Eva Lydia is an associate professor in Department of Sociology, Sriwijaya University, Palembang, Indonesia. E-mail: evalydia@fisip.unsri.ac.id
• Sylvie Agustina is a lecturer in Department of Public Administration, Sriwijaya University, Palembang, Indonesia. E-mail: sylvieagustina@fisip.unsri.ac.id
• Alamsyah Alamsyah is a lecturer in Department of Public Administration, Sriwijaya University, Palembang, Indonesia. E-mail: alamsyah78@fisip.unsri.ac.id

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the authors knowledge, this paper is the first paper that analyze the influence of mass media, demographic attribute and CE towards vote buying among female voters in Indonesia.

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vote buying among female voters in local leader election (Y)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Independent variable

| Mobile phones ownership (X1) | 1 = yes; 0 = no |
| Internet access (X2) | 1 = yes; 0 = no |
| Reading newspaper (X3) | 1 = yes; 0 = no |
| Gender (X4) | 1 = woman; 0 = man |
| Level of education (X5) | 1 = < high school; 0 = > high school |
| Age (X6) | 1 = old voter; 0 = youth voter |
| Marital status (X7) | 1 = not married; 2 = married; 3 = divorce/widow |
| Social ties (X8) | 1 = yes; 0 = no |
| Social participation (X9) | 1 = yes; 0 = no |
| Social capital (X10) | 1 = high; 0 = low |

Theoretically, three scientific approaches could be applied to understanding female voter behavior [57, pp. 201–226]. First, the Columbia University tradition, which emphasizes the importance of social characteristics, social cleavages, and social networks of voters to predict voters’ final choice preferences. This approach is representing by Coleman’s research on the influence of social conformity [58]; de Matos & Barro’s research on the influence of social norms and networks [59]; and McDermott’s research on the organizational similarity between voters with candidates [60]. Second, the University of Michigan tradition that emphasizes socio-psychological factors (for example, identification of political parties, political behavior, emotions) that influence the final choice of voters. Many research findings represent this approach, such as the candidate’s perception [61], voter personality [62], voters’ belief [63], trust [46], [64], and gender preferences [65]. Third, an economic model that emphasizes the process of evaluating voters on election candidates (both individuals and political parties) and the influence of the macro and microeconomic situation perceived by voters [66], [67]. For example, Scotto’s research shows how subjective and objective perceptions of economic indicators influence the final decisions of voters [68]. Meanwhile, Weisheier’s research [38] shows how a bad economic situation tends to encourage voters not to vote/abstain [69], whereas Schofield & Reeves [70] examines the final decision of voters which is influenced by voter satisfaction with government performance. This paper combines three approach on the above. Mobile phone (X1), internet access (X2), and reading the newspaper (X3) represent the economic models. Demographical attribute (gender, level of education, age, and marital status), social ties (X4), social participation (X5) and represents the sociological approach (the University of Columbia). Finally, social capital (X10) represent the socio-psychological approach (the University of Michigan). Social ties (X4), social participation (X5), and social capital (X10) could be integrated as the concept of CE because all of them represent the attribute of social groups or social cleavages and related to one another [71]. CE can be defined as social cohesion among neighbors combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common goods. It can measure using concept such as informal social control, social cohesion and trust [72], [73]. CE is different from political efficacy (PE). The latter is refers to an individual’s belief in its ability to understand and participate in politics (internal efficacy) and belief that the political system’s responsiveness to citizens’ demands [74].

**2 METHODS**

This article applies a quantitative method to analyzing statistical relationship between independent and dependent variable. The author used the 5th Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS) produced by the RAND Corporation, Ltd, USA, and Survey Meter, Indonesia, in 2014 - 2015. IFLS 5 is a continuation of IFLS 1 (1993), IFLS 2 (1997), IFLS 3 (2000) and IFLS 4 (2007) survey. IFLS 5 involves 16,204 households, and 50,418 individuals spread across 13 provinces in Indonesia. Four provinces in Sumatra island (North Sumatra, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, and Lampung). Five provinces in Java Island (DKI Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, DI Yogyakarta, East Java). Four provinces were representing other islands (Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, South Kalimantan, and South Sulawesi). The research sample was selected by stratified random sampling technique, which refers to the 1993 SUSENAS sampling framework [75]. Research respondents are female household members who have voted in the local leader elections (pilkada), specifically the mayor election (pemilihan wakil/wali kota and the regent election (pemilihan bupati or pilupu). Because the 5th IFLS 5 field data collection process was carried out after the 2014 Legislative Elections, between September 2014 - March 2015 [48], the intended pilkada was the elections that took place between 2010 - 2014. The proportion of the 5th IFLS successfully interviewed 31,409 respondents using Book 3B. The proportion of respondent who is voting in pilkada reached 21.296 (69.30%) people. The dependent variable in this study is the vote buying practice among female voters (Y). It measures through the question of ‘what factors do you consider in electing a regent/mayor?’ Respondents were asked to answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to one consideration, campaign money, in voting the candidate. If female voter chooses ‘yes’ (1), it indicates that she is practicing or selling her votes to the candidate of local leader elections and otherwise if she chooses ‘no’ (0). There are ten independent variables in this research — first, the mobile phone ownership (X1), which is measure through the question ‘do you have mobile phone?’ and have two answer: yes (1) and no (0). Second, internet access (X2), which is measure through the question ‘do you have Internet access?’ and have two answer: yes (1) and no (0). Third, reading newspaper (X3), which is measure through the question ‘do you read a newspaper?’ and have two answer: yes (1) and no (0). Fourth, the socio-demographic variables such as gender (X4), level of education (X5), age (X6), and marital status (X7). This variable is transformed as dummy variable as follows: gender/X4 (1 = woman; 0 = man), level of education/X5 (1 = < high school; 0 = > high school), age/X6 (1 = old voter; 0 = youth voter), marital status/X7 (1 = not married; 2 = married; 0 = divorce/widow). Fifth, social ties (X8). It measures through the question ‘would you helping the people in this village if they need it?’ This question has two possible answer: yes (1) or no (0). Sixth, social participation (X9). It measures through the question ‘have participated in.
social gathering (arisen) in the last 12 months? and has two answer: yes (1) and no (0). Seventh, social capital (X_{10}), which is referring to the respondent’s perception of the level of trust in their village. It is measured using a Likert scale that contains ten statements. Each statement has four answer options: strongly agree, agree, disagree, very disagree. The total score of the respondents was divided into two categories: high (above average) and low (below average). A high category is coded 1, and low category is coded 0. Table 1 summarizing the research variable. This research applies binary logistic regression (BLR) and uses STATA 15 in organizing dan analyze raw data. Data processing and analyzing is referring to a guide suggested by Hosmer & Lemeshow [76]. BLR

**TABLE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Dependent variable: Vote buying among female voters in local leader election (Y)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level of education (X_3)</td>
<td>0.436*** (-0.0306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet access (X_5)</td>
<td>-0.166*** (-0.0323)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile phones ownership (X_1)</td>
<td>-0.165*** (-0.0335)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading newspaper (X_3)</td>
<td>-0.296*** (-0.0614)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social participation (X_9)</td>
<td>-0.159*** (-0.026)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social capital (X_{10})</td>
<td>0.0745*** (-0.0259)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-0.0724 (-0.0679)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>25,361</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 parameter estimation will use the maximum likelihood ratio method. The goodness of fit of the final model will be tested using Hosmer-Lemeshow test.

### 3 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1 The setting

This research was conducted in Indonesia which is located in between 60°04’30” North latitude and 11°00’36” South latitude, and between 94°58’21” and 141°01’10” East longitude and lies on equator line at 0° latitude line. Indonesia is located between the Asian Continent and the Australian Continent and between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. The total area of Indonesia reaches 1.9 million km² and divided into 34 province government, 514 district/municipality government, 7.094 sub-district government, and 83.931 village government [77]. Indonesia is multiethnic nations and practicing the general elections since 1955, ten years after the Independent Day (1945). During the New Order regime (1966 – 1998), the local leader in Indonesia, especially in province and district level, was appointed by the member of the Regional House of Representatives at the province and district level. Since 2005, Indonesia adopts general elections as a mechanism to determine the chief of the executive branch at the provincial government and district/municipality government. Now, Indonesia has five types of general elections: presidential election (pemilihan presiden or pilpres), legislative election (pemilu legislatif or pilgub), governor election (pemilu gubernur or pilgub), mayor election or regent election (pemilihan wakilkota or pilwako and pemilihan bupati or pilbup), and village head election (pemilihan kepala desa or pilkades). Although, presidential election and legislative election was carried out simultaneously, it should be analyzed separately because it has different attribute (for example, the ballot form, campaigning issues, district magnitude, etc.). The same approach should be applied to local leader elections. Each region is different from one another (for example, political history, political issues, economic condition, cultural values and practice, social norm, etc.). However, since 2005, each region can carry out the elections peacefully, except Aceh. Many political elite at province level and district/mayor level practicing candidacy buying to get a ticket from political party elite as an candidate and vote buying at voter level to winning elections [78, p. 31]. Also, the Constitutional Court can resolve the political conflict between the candidate legally and peacefully. Although citizens participation in local leader election is varied between region, it reaches 73.24 percent at the national level [79]. It indicates that many Indonesia’s citizens still trust local head elections as a political mechanism to choose local leaders democratically.

#### 3.2 Bivariate Analysis

Table 2 show that all independent variable has significant relationship with Y, except social ties (X_9). However, as shown by phi (ϕ) number, all independent variable has a weak relationship with Y. Based on this finding, social ties (X_9) should be omitted from the multi-variate analysis using BLR. Table 2 has been sorted (largest to smallest) based on X² value and will guide researcher to entering all independent variable using Enter method.

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>ϕ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>X_1 and Y</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>X_2 and Y</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>X_1 and Y</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>X_3 and Y</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>X_4 and Y</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>X_5 and Y</td>
<td>83.13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>X_7 and Y</td>
<td>41.03</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>X_9 and Y</td>
<td>12.16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>X_8 and Y</td>
<td>8.71</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>X_6 and Y</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Multivariate Analysis

This study produced the final model of BLR after ten stages of regression. Three independent variables (age/X_1, marital status/X_7, and gender/X_8) should be omitted from the final model because does not have significant relationship with Y (vote buying among female voters in local leader election). The log-likelihood ratio of the final model, X² (6) = 718.30, p <.01, indicates that it is better than the null model (logistic regression model without independent variables) to predict the odds of vote buying among female voters during local leader election. This final model can explain Y as much as 0.0209 (2%). Table 3 show the final model of BLR.

According to Table 3, two independent variable has significant (p < 0.1) and positive relationship with vote buying practice
among female voters (Y), namely: level of education (X₅) and social capital (X₁₀). Because level of education was coded as 1 (< high school) and 0 (> high school), this finding implies that the female voters who has a low level of education level has the odds as much as 43 percent to practicing vote buying and vice versa. It is implying that more highly educated voter woman is most likely to reject the money. This finding supports the previous finding that highlighting robust causality relationship between education and voter behavior [29], [31], especially vote buying [22], [30]. Social capital (X₉) also has significant (p < 0.1) and positive relationship with vote buying practice among female voters (Y). This finding demonstrates that the female voters who has a high social capital has the odds as much as 7 percent to sell their vote. It is not surprising. Many previous researches on vote buying in Indonesia highlighting the role of social capital, especially social network [80] and mutual trust [46], [81], [30], during the identifying, targeting, and distributing resources for buying the vote. Although vote buying has market logic [21] and cognitive scenario [82], it still needs social capital as shortcut to opening and ensuring that vote buying could be realize effectively. Social participation has negative relationship with Y. If woman voter participates in social meeting or social gathering at community level, then she has the odd to reject vote buying as much as 15 percent. This contribution is higher than the contribution of social capital (7 percent). The authors argue that social participation facilitate information exchange, learning process, and increasing social cohesion among female voters. This explanation answers why social ties (X₅) does not affect vote-buying. In shortly, the present of social ties are not necessarily equivalent to high level of social participation and social capital. All independent variable that representing media access (mobile phone ownership/X₁, internet access/X₂, and reading the newspaper/X₃) has a negative relationship with Y (vote buying among female voters in local leader election). If woman voter has mobile phone, internet access, and read the newspaper, then they have the odds to reject vote buying as much as 16 percent, 16 percent, and 29 percent respectively. This finding supports the previous research that showing the power of mass media [38], [39], [40], [83], mobile phone [50], [51] and the internet [52], [53], to influences voter behavior. In the future, the role of media access will be increasingly important in influencing voters because the number of internet users in Indonesia continues to increase from year to year. Gender, marital status, and age does not have significant relationship with Y (vote buying among female voters in local leader election). This article reject Putra’s [28] finding that concluded female voters tender to consider money or gift more than male by 2.44% in local leader elections. It also strengthening the current research that showing the influence of socio-demographic factors has been decreasing in influencing voters in Indonesia [31], [15]. The findings have several policy implications for the multi-stakeholder deal with the electoral process in Indonesia. First, the government, private sector, and civil society should increase education access for woman voters. The Government of Indonesia has a constitutional mandate to enrich the life of a nation. It should ensure that no woman left behind in all education levels. Education is a primary shortcut to socializing the value of democracy, increasing political awareness, and decreasing vote-buying practice among Indonesian voters. Second, the Government of Indonesia should continue to develop the infrastructure of information and communication technology in all areas so that all Indonesian citizens will have internet access. However, this policy should integrate with education policy. The Government of Indonesia should collaborate with the many actors in improving the digital literacy of internet users. Without positive knowledge, awareness, values, and norms, the internet could destroy democracy through hoax news, bullying, and online radicalism. Third, the Government of Indonesia should maintain the level of trust at the community level. Corruption in public sector, for example, could trigger citizens’ distrust towards the political process and government institutions. Law of enforcement should become the priority of the government at all levels. The Government of Indonesia should guarantee the freedom of expression of all groups and communities that have various identities within society. It is important for the government to facilitate and promote various social gathering or social meeting at the community level.

4 CONCLUSION
This research concludes that women voters in local leader election are pragmatic voters. They are victims of patronage and clientelism practices that carried out by political elites. In demand-side, increasing woman education level, media access, information and communication technology access, and strengthening social capital and social participation is a shortcut to eradicating vote buying practice among woman voters. In supply-side, government should increase the quality of law of enforcement deal with local leader elections. While offering some strong results, this study has limitations. This article is abandoning type of residence (urban-rural dichotomy), household income, employment, poverty rate, subjective evaluation of woman voters on government performance, religiosity, party ID, and so on. Unfortunately, some of this data is not available in the 5th IFLS data. This research uses cross-sectional data so that it does give opportunity for the researcher to analyze the change of female voter behavior in lifetime perspective. Future research should expand the discussion by explaining the ways in which female voter are being participated in various type of political activity using a more qualitative perspective. More study is also needed into explaining how female voters maintain their relationship with the winner candidate. Finally, this paper is a step forward in forecasting the final choice of women voter in a Third World countries.

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