GENDER AND VOTING BEHAVIOR:
POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY ANALYSIS FOR VOTING BEHAVIOR IN INDONESIAN

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Abstract

There are interesting developments of political psychology, particularly in the effort of women in politic arena. Until the mid-year 2007, at least 82 women were recorded following the elections in 232 provincial-level regions and districts level. Out of the above, 26 women (30.76%) registered as a candidate for the leader of region and 57 women (69.24%), registered as a deputy leader of the region, although only eight women who are successfully elected as the leader of region and 11 elected as deputy leaders of regional (Arifin, 2008). With direct elections as happened today, making the candidates should follow the "interest" of voters. Efforts to understand the voter's behavior, feelings and thinking do not always easy. The old ways by making a donation of material deemed not affect voters more powerful. One possible solution is the assessment needs of the voter. Fullfillness of voter's needs is not always easy because there are differences of character between communities, genders and individuals that influence their voting behavior. Voting behavior was defined as a voter in the decision to vote for certain candidates in both the legislative and executive elections. In political science, there are two kinds of approaches in analyzing the voting behavior. 1). sociological approach. Person's background, gender, social class, race, religion, and ideology determine the decision to voting according the approach. 2). psychological approach. In this approach, value, personal qualities of the candidates, issues which developed by candidate and loyalty to the party are influence voter's choice. Some research shows that there exist different patterns of voting behavior between men and women. Women are more conservative in determining her choosen than men (Inglehart & Norris, 2000). The study involved 90 students (45 women and 45 men). To take data used scenarios about election for leader of region (*bupati*). Than subyek choose Male or female as a leader, or not vote at all. Each alternative answer to the subjects was asked to give a reason. Analysis of data using qualitative thematic and cross tabulation. The results shown that subjects who choose a man as a leader as much as 68 people or 75.56%, and who chose women as leaders "only" 12 people or 13.33%. Subjects who abstained are 11 people or 11.11%. From these results also show that women's voting behavior, are more likely to choose a man as the leader. This could occur because women are believe that the more entitled and deserve to be leaders are men, as seen from a variety of reasons expressed by respondents, such as the existence theorem "*Arrijalu Qawwamuna 'Alannisa"* that for those respondents meaning of the phrase is an indication for Muslims that the man was "better" than women, so men more creditable of a leader, and they also hold on to reason like all the other prophets were men and the prophets had a good lead with each group, the alternative answer to this emerged from the respondents from the Islamic university. In otherside college law student backgrounds, they are more likely to choose women, because women have the ability as good as men, and women are also more sensitive to the people.

A. Introduction

Today, several places in Indonesia have been conducted local government election. From those places rise a unique phenomenon that is women participation to be local government leader candidates (Governor, vice governor, regent, or vice regent). By applying direct vote for local government leader election, it makes the candidates follow "the taste" of voter. It is not easy to understand the behavior, feel, and vote of the voters. The traditional way such as giving donation to the voter is not effective nowadays. One way that can be applied is making voter's need assessment. The gender equilibrium hopefully can represent the need of the voters.

Judith Squires (1999) stated that women has been very long time and widely humiliate from many kinds of politics activity and stopped to define their activity as inline part of politics. It is usual that some women think that they do not want to enter the political world because they feel that politics is not their world. Moreover, a lot of women also feel inferior and incapable to join in political world.

The opinion regarding to the women participation in political world grows several problems in the national life. Eventhough women's participation is one of indication of democracy development in certain country. Gender equality concept in political world in Indonesia finally can be implemented through affirmative action. It stated in the general election law no.12 verse 65 by the year of 2003 that 30% is women quota in political world.

Regarding to the women participation in the political world, there is a unique phenomenon especially for women competition in the local government leader election. Until in the middle of 2007, it is notified that about 82 women joined in 232 places in provinces and cities in Indonesia. From those, 26 women (30,76%) participated to be the local government head, and the others 57 (69,24%) participated to be vice leader. Eight of them were elected to be local government leader and the other 11 were vice leader (Arifin 2008).

Unsuccessfully women in several local government elections raise some questions regarding to the capacity of the women to be a leader that represents the trust and interest to the women leader. Besides, is this unsuccessfully women to be a leader phenomenon also strengthened social value which tends to be patriarchy?, so it is important to conduct the comprehensive study especially from the voters psychology and their voting behavior.

Theoretically, voting behavior can be defined as the decision of voters to give their vote to the certain candidates both for legislative and executive. In politics studies there are two approaches in order to analyze voting behavior. 1). Columbia faction which applied sociological approach. According to this approach sex, social class, race, ethnic, religion, and ideology, or even hometown affect the voting behavior. 2). Michigan faction which is known as psychological approach. According to this approach quality personal of the candidate, government performance, issues developed by the candidate and loyalty to the party affect the voters. Besides, the voter value also affects the vote.

Several researches showed that there was a difference about voting behavior between the men and women. Women are more conservative in giving the vote than the men (Inglehart & Norris, 2000). Studlar, McAllister. & Hayes (1998) found that there was a big gap between 1964 until 1992 about women voters. It is stated that women voted Democratic Party 10% more than men. According to the researcher, the result of this observation showed that there were some differences considering the way to vote between men and women. The voting pattern between men and women is different because women tend to have differet views in the certain issues such as poverty, gender equality, abortion, and death penalty (Studlar, et al, 1998).

The complete explanation about gender equality must consider biological capacity, social environment of men and women, and interaction between biology and culture. Four general perspectives about the origin of gender pattern are based on biological factor, socialization, social role, and social situation.

1. Biology

The gender equality is affected by biological factor. There are physical differences between the growth of muscles and height, it terms of baby sitting and breast feeding. Woman has ability in pregnancy and giving birth. Since the earlier time, woman naturally is considered to have a role and duty in managing household. While the man who has bigger and stronger muscle has the duty to hunt and fulfill the daily needs for family (Budiman, 1985). This classification has been developed since several centuries ago because it came from the structure of the society in every human culture (Bem, 1981).

2. Socialization

Social perspective focuses on the way of people to learn about gender and get the service based on the gender since they are in childhood. The most important idea here is the society has a different perspective and expectation to man and woman. For example,

during the children growth the society learns the gender through strengthen and modeling process. According to socialization perspective, various social experiences from girls and boys will cause the gender discrimination in attitude, interest, expertise, and personality, even from time to time.

3. Social Role

Adult life is constructed based on various roles such as member of family, worker and member of society. The important thing is that there are so many important role defined differently for man and woman. In the working area, occupational role such as nurse, typist, and kindergarten or elementary school teacher is usually for woman, while sport teacher, medical, and engineer are for man. In the business organization, the woman job is often positioned as the lower status job. (E.Taylor, Shelley, et all 2009) Social traditional role affects woman and man behavior in several aspects. These differences make job differentiation based on gender. Woman must work at home doing housework while man must work to get some money in order to fulfill daily needs. Role also affects the expertise and interest appears in childhood and will be developed in adult. The effect of gender role based can be widened to another situation. The individual role is learned from family, religion, or even working experience, it is stated that men has higher status than woman. When somebody meets new comer, sex is used for recognizing the character. For example, man is often assumed as leader and woman as the follower (Eagly, 1987 in E.Taylor, Shelley, et all. 2009).

According to social role theory, the differentiate behavior of man and woman can be happened because they have different social and status role in society. People usually adapt to the norms associated with specific role and good behavior. (E.Taylor, Shelley,et all. 2009).

In patriarchy system, it is still assumed that concept man and woman differentiation are based on biological fact, woman has lower status than man. Regarding to this matter, Mac Kinnon (1979) stated that "the biological sex difference has been both exaggerated and to justify different treatment". So, the role will only be focused on the behavior and characteristics of each sex.

Farley (in Bem, 1981) explained that the kind of role problems is one of society conditioning to the boys and girls, whereas the boys are learned to be independent, initiative, duty oriented, rational, and analytical, While the girls are learned to be sympathetic, non-competitive, dependent, and helpful. Those standards are continually used as the reference for the normal behavior.

According to Mac Kinnon (1979), man role push them to be aggressive, strong, domineering, and also competitive in every aspects. On the other hand, social condition shows that woman tends to be softer and more passive and also follows what the man want.

Research about man and woman stereotype was conducted by Broverman dan Rosenkrantz (Deaux, 1984) resulted that there was warm and expressive for woman characteristics and competitive and rational were man characteristics. Based on the explanation about the difference between woman and man characteristics, it can be concluded that there are several aspects that can be categorized into man and woman characteristics. Those are behavior and characteristics aspect. Feminine behavior aspect is kind of woman role such as managing household and children sitting, while feminine character aspects are warm, emotional, and passive. Masculine behavior aspect are active, aggressive, initiative, and able to fulfill the daily needs, while the character aspects are rational, competitive, dominant, independent, and full of confident.

Regarding to the value and voting behavior it is interesting to know the reason of voter in order to choose the leader. Through this research, the researchers try to investigate the reason of voter to choose local government leader by using simulation especially for several things regarding to gender.

B. Research Method

This research involves 90 respondences consist of 30 students from Islamic State University in Malang (15 men and 15 women), 30 students from State University in Malang (15 men and 15 women), and also 30 students from Polytechnic in Malang (15 men and 15 women).

To get the necessary data, scenario simulator which consists of a case about the governor's candidate election who has different gender and stronger vision and mission, in this case, respondences as voter are given some alternative answer such as vote for womencandidates, vote for men candidates or not vote at all. This simulator is divided into two parts, the first part is using subject identity and the second part contains the case. Each answer for the alternatives is required to give the reason, so some thoughts about researched phenomenom can be identified from some reason that respondeces given. Data analysis is using qualititative thematic descriptive analysis.

C. Research Result and Discussion

The variation result in the each group based on questionnaire and scenarion which is given to each reseach subject can be seen in this table:

Table 1; Selection distribution

NO	University	Gender	Vote for woman	Vote for man	Not choose at all
1	Islamic State University	Woman	2	11	2
		Man	1	13	1
2	State University	Woman	8	5	2
		Man	-	13	2
3	Polytechnic	Woman	1	14	-
		Man	-	12	3
Total			12	68	10
			90 orang		

From those research can be known generally that respondeces who decide to vote for male as the leader is 68 people or 75,56%, and who decide to vote for female as the leader is "only" 12 people or 13,33%. The abstain respondeces is 10 people or 11,11%. From the questionnaire can be known that voters behavour in vote for female or male is relatively equal, because although they have the different gender role but their understanding of the gender role concept between man and woman are the same.

That result also shows that women behaviour in vote has a tendency to vote for man as a leader. It is because women sure and believe that men are deserve and proper to be a leader, it can be seen from some respondences reason. Like it is said in *dalil Arrijalu Qawwamuna 'Alannisa* which considered as a guidance for muslim that men is "more" than women, so men is more suitable and proper to be a leader. In the other, they also believed in some reason that all *nabi* (prophet) are men and the succesfully in leading their *umatnya* (man) This alternative answers are given by PTAIN students. Beside of that, competence reason is also said by the respondenced that:

"*Dari segi fisik dan psikis pria lebih pantas dalam memimpin, contohnya : pria lebih terkontrol emosinya, sedangkan wanita memiliki masa-masa yang sullit untuk mengontrol emosi atau aspek perilaku (misalnya pada masa menstruasi)*"

"from physically and pshycologycal aspect, men are more suitable in leading a community, for the example: men have an ability to control their emotion, in the other side, women have some difficulties in control their emotion or behevior aspects (in menstruation condition)"

There is something interesting about PTN students especially women, most of the respondences are from law faculty and they have a tendency to vote for women as a leader, with a reason that women are also have a strong ability as men have, women can get themselves and also become more sensitive to their society, it is because women rely on her feeling. Beside of that, the reason to vote for women also based on desire to reach gender equality, for example by saying *"Women should not be always positioned above the men"*. Nevertheless, some of State University students also vote for men as a leader with a reason that men's competence is better than women.

It is different with respondenced fromPoltek students, onle one of them vote for women as a leader, and the others have a tendency to vote for men. Many of the respondences said that they choose men because considered for having a better cognitive ability, for the example a respondence said that:

> *"Pria lebih terlihat berwibawa dari pada perempuan, laki-laki juga cenderung lebih tegas dan menggunakan logika"*
> "Men are stronger and wiser than women. men also have a tendency to be more bearing and using logic"

The others vote for men because women are considered as not having an ability in controlling their emotion:

> *"Sebagai pemimpin diperlukan ketegasan dan control emosi, terdapat fakta bahwa wanita memilki sisi negatif, yakni control emosi yang kurang stabil (mudah terpengaruh situasi) dari situ dapat disimpulkan kekurangakurasian keputusan yang diambil"*.
> "As a leader, strenght and controlling emotion are needed; there is a fact that women have negative side that is unsatble in controlling emtion (easier to be infulenced by the situation). From that reason can be concluded that there is a possibility in being inaccurate to make a decision".

The reasons that are said by the respondences in this research show that women are more conservtive than men in decide their choice (Inglehart & Norris, 2000). Except for some State Universities students especially women which is more progressive and brave in their choice.

Value is an important point which influence respondences' choices. Bilksy & Schwartz (1996) said that value which is held by someone will be pictured from their choices in the socialization. Even Feather (1994) also said that value is related with justice that someone feel. As it is stated before that patriarchal gender roles' values have influenced individual point of view that men is more superior than women, especially in

the public business. It can be seen that Islamic state university students have a tendency to prioritized religious value than the other respondences.

This values are gained from social structure of the society. In this research, the researchers, Ulfaizah (2006) conclude that social interaction of the society influential in the political participation of the society. That influence come from the interaction in the family, work field, social organization, religious figures who also play as political figure which will give some influences in the society's choices in the *pemilu*. The differences between men and women are also based on formation of the impression which is built by mass media Karakowsky & Siegel (1999). External factor dominancely influence political behaviour, especially in the determination of the voting behaviour.

D. Conclusion

From the result, it shows that there is no different tendency in the regional election. The voting reason is influenced by some society values. The influence of the background eduction is also take a part in influencing the values. Implication from this research is the uderstanding about voting behaviour and psychology factors ,which are underlying, is needed to understand the political behaviour. There is an special characteritics in Indonesia's political behavour which is related with gender. Indonesia's value related to gender role is also different. Patriarchal culture is dominant in the society gender role.

Nevertheless, scientifically this research still can be developed by seeing some socio-cultural differences, for the example city and village area. Political behaviour, especially which influenced students' choice, in this research, is more critical and absolutely different with villagers political behaviour which more depends on patron that they believe.

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