

MACROECONOMIC FACTORS TOWARD POLITICAL CHOICE ON LOCAL ELECTION : A CASE IN CILACAP DISTRICT

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Abstract

The prosperity is defined as the fulfillment of the quality of life of both the quality of man and the economy. The district search for regional leaders through the election (Pilkada). The election is closely related with the behavior of voters. The consideration of the chosen people is the economic and political factors, because it was considered the determining the prosperity factors. The research done in Cilacap district, Central Java to review so far what extent the economic and political factors influence voters Cilacap to determine the candidates for the head of the territory. The data collection was done by a survey of 300 respondents of 24 sub-district in Cilacap District using purposive sampling method. The results of this research shows that the regional head chosen determined by rational choice that includes an economic and political factors that boosts the prosperity, so the individual choice toward the regent leader crystallize to be the public choice.

Keywords: *political economy, prosperity, voter behavior, rational choice.*

Introduction

Local political dynamics closely related with the improvement of quality of life. Regional autonomy dribbles region toward the economic independence of the people in the area. In order to achieve what is called the independence and prosperity of the region by political mechanism would be taken through a local political event which is called the election.

The process of succession of the regional election aimed to select local leaders who surely means to select a leader who has control of the local conditions that the patterns of leadership are able to increase the quality and quantity of regional development and be able to improved welfare of the region. In relation with, the general elections in political economy is the gate to reach the prosperity of a region through the competition candidates or political competition in the general election.

Leaders of the Regent, Governor or mayor is a figure that is expected by the people of the region in terms of the improvement of prosperity of life. This is a function of the head of the region in building its territory to deliver the region toward the gate of

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prosperity. The prosperity that was interpreted as the fulfillment of the quality of life of the good quality of man and the accompanying economic quality.

Prior to the era of regional autonomy was born, on the decade of 1970s appears the concept of "basic needs approach" as efforts to improve the national income distribution mechanism that does not run well with how to emphasize on the distribution or equality of the development. The formulation of the regional development is the foundress of development resources to determine the success of national development. In the context of this the development done by the regional government.

Decentralisation of government as regulated in the ACT ON 23 year 2014, includes broad autonomy authority, includes given the authority of the implementation of regional development starting from the planning phase, implementing, monitoring, controlling to evaluating. As known that the broad autonomy authority is imposed along with the imposition of rules that require the balance of the allocation of funds between central and local government.

Decentralization should focus on development in the area, both human and economic development. Human Development is simply not associated with the growth of their GNP, revenue/wealth, commodity production and capital accumulation. The improvement of earnings of course important but it is just one of the many choices, increased revenue is not the only human elect in order to live in prosperity or welfare.

Economic and political factors are closely linked to the behavior of the voters against political choices. When the area decided to choose candidate leaders, many economic and political factors that determined the election candidate, because the economic and political factors considered important to determine the prosperity of the territory. The voters have already started to learn the importance of intelligence candidates for future leaders will come because of the influence of prosperity and the future of the territory. Thus the voters have understanding that choose a candidate cannot be indiscriminately selected because influential directly to the progress of the economy in the area.

Political and economic conditions and the quality of the population of Indonesian had many lessons from the UNDP (United Nation Development Program), which set a composite index based on the three quality of life indicator, namely life expectancy of birth, numbers literacy adult population, means year of schooling and purchasing power parity. Life expectancy indicators measure the quality of health. Adult population literacy

indicator is to measure the education, while purchasing power indicator is to measure the ability of people to access economic resources.

In regard of tracing the political choices of the community in determining the regional heads toward the dynamics of the economy quality in the area it is necessary to examine the empirical studies about the quality of the economy of a region against the voting behavior of selected community through early detection of economic indicators as the parameters of a region prosperity.

Theoretical review and Conceptual Framework

The process of democracy in Indonesia has already started to visible shape, foundress of democracy intelligence is the quality of life of the people. The most important aspect to recognized is the behavior of voters in every event election, especially the presidential election and regional head elections. The theory that underlie about the behavior of the voters namely the *public choice theory*. *Public choice* theory is how the implementation of the concept of the economy in the making of a collective decisions, on the design and how the work of the constitution, the mechanism of the general election, political parties, political lobbies, bureaucracy, parliament and other government system. There are three theories that explain the voter choice in determining political choices. First, sociological theory where a person does not participate in the election because certain sociological background. Second, psychological theory is the decision to vote due to the factor of proximity to the party or candidate who participated in the election. Third is the theory of the rational economy that many made one of the consideration of the voters.

Economic Rational Approach

The rational choice approach explains that the activity of selecting as the calculation of profit and loss that are considered not only "costs" choose solely. But there is the possibility of his vote can affect the result expected from the general election. So that they can create a difference in the election results from the existing choice alternative. This economic rational reasoning used by voters and candidates who will run for the election as regional heads or the president. For voters, consideration of profit and loss is used to make the decision to elect the party or the selected candidates, especially to make the decision whether participate or not participate (Surbakti, R : 1992 : 146)

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Some approaches of voting behavior assume that choosing is autonomous activities, no intervention or intimidation from other parties. However, often in developing countries voting behavior is not only determined by the voters, but rather determined by the pressure groups, intimidation and force from the group or certain leader so often selected leaders does not match with society or the people's want.

In addition to the exposed of the rational public choice, the linkage of political and economic also can be seen from the theory of economic voting. The underlying theory of economic voting is voters rational choice who often see economic conditions that occurred previously, especially for the position of the incumbent that can have an impact on the profit and loss of the candidates. The influence of the worst economic performance on the great economic voting has implications directly. So, good economic performance will be greatly appreciated and bad economic performance will be given the sanction (Lewis-Beck, 2012).

Nezi (2012) examine the relationship between macroeconomic indicators and the vote of the incumbent party and find that when the economy worsened, *incumbent* does not have the opportunity to win and expect only support from *loyal supporter*. Again, in the democratic countries in Europe, voting box is very sensitive to bad news economic condition and its effect to the position of the *incumbent* (Dassonneville and Lewis-Beck, 2013).

In Spain, throughout the elections of 1982 until 2008 seen that economic conditions have a significant impact on the choice of voters. The capacity of the government to regulate the national economy has a strong impact in encouraging their election process (Bellucci, 2012). In the case of the Turkish economic performance thus increased when partisan loyalty has declined. In the research done by Pacek (1995) find that the relationship between economic conditions and voters depending on the level of welfare of a country. The country with low medium levels of welfare, the economy condition has a very high impact on the behavior of voters.

The effect of the worst economic performance on the economic voting has implications directly. So, good economic performance will be greatly appreciated and bad economic performance will be given the sanction (Lewis-Beck and Nadeau, 2012). Bouvet and King (2016), focused on the relevance of the imbalance of income that emerged into the public debate since the decline in the global economy. In addition, researchers find that when the normal economic conditions, voters more likely to select

the opposition officials if the imbalance of income and the unemployment rate rose during the recession. But the results of other empirical shows several voters prefer abstained as the reaction of bad economic condition (Weschle, 2013).

Lewis-Beck and Nadeau (2012), stated that the economic voting have greater force on the PIGS countries (Portugal, Italy, Greece, Spain) when compared with non-PIGS. The fact that this impact on the election of more than 60%. The coalition of the ruling government usually less complex coalition, often domination by one party. The influence of the bad economic condition has strong implications. The condition of the economy will get the award, but the bad economic condition will get sanctions.

Mahbub ul Haq, in Tirtosudarmo (2007), proposed, "*Human development* is an environment where people or inhabitants can develop potential that possesses in full and make their lives to be productive and creative in accordance with the needs and desires." the important results of fundamental from "human development" is a long life and healthy, something that need resources in order to live worthy and able to participate in the life of the community.

Drewnowski (1974) who proposed the concept of 'standard living' (*The level of living*) and Ellis about 'welfare levels' (*state of welfare*). Drewnowski (1974) develops the concept of thought and method of measuring the "*quality of life*" as noted in his book "*On Measuring and Planning the quality of life.*" this concept proposes two table calculation of the index for '*the level of Living Index*' and '*State of Welfare Index.*'

In addition to the concept of the above, Herbison and Myers (1964) proposed a different concept. According to them, the development of human resources contain the understanding that there is a need to increase the knowledge, skills and the ability all of the people in build a community. It is also strengthened by the opinion of Ananta and Hatmadji (1985) which also mention that education is associated with investment in human capital (*human capital*). The Education referred as the foremost investment education to sacrifice in the present for the benefit in the future. Education itself using as a part time, of course reduce the opportunity to produce something else outside of education. As an investment to pursue profit in the future, so it is not excessive force when it says that education must be placed as the main objectives in development.

Related to education as development capital of human resources, Tjiptoherijanto (1993) highlights the link between health and education. He said that the degree of the influence of health education. The degree of good health allows people to receive a good

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education. Thus in the management of the health of a person is influenced by the level of education. Take the issue of breastfeeding and age marry first as an example. This variable is used because, according to Berg (1986), breast milk to meet the needs of the baby metabolism, role in infant growth and protects the baby from malaria and infection caused by bacteria and viruses. So that breast feeding is considered as a healthy role in shaping the quality of human resources. In this case, the role of the knowledge of the mother related to the importance of breastfeeding is the capital form of the development of human resources that would come from education and knowledge.

As revealed by the Tjiptoherijanto (1993), Thabrany (1996) also proposed that health has a strong correlation with the quality of human resources, although in Indonesia relationship between health, quality of human beings and the new economy began to get the attention of the onslaught on the end of the 1980s.

To analyze the human resources quality indicator, environmental indicator is also important things along the ecosystem changes in Indonesia. Awareness about the importance of better environment must be constantly encouraged to become the habit of daily life in the Indonesian society (Ananta and Hatmadji, 1985). During the environmental improvement is often done because the government suggestions, it means that the community has not yet been fully aware that the preservation of the environment is an investment toward a better life and healthy in the latter days.

The awareness about the environment is usually started from the household environmental conditions. The education is one of factors that affect the awareness of the condition of healthy environment. So the low quality of the environment can be considered as a mirror of the low quality of human resources. Environmental problems created big problem in Indonesia, because the awareness to have a good environment has not yet become the attitude and the demands of daily needs of the community (Ananta, et.al. 1985). Yet awareness about healthy environment will become a separate capital to create a better community life and become characteristics of a community the inhabitants of civilised people.

Data and Method

This research using primary and secondary data where the object of the research is the voters on the election in Cilacap, Central Java. The age of voters (respondents) determined at the age of 17 or already married in accordance with the provisions of the rules of the General Election Commission. Research samples taken using the technique
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of *purposive sampling*. Samples taken as much as 300 respondents from 24 sub-districts. Besides, this study also equipped with secondary data. The Data used is the macroeconomic data obtained from the Board of Statistics on the Cilacap Regency. The macroeconomic data used are the availability of health facilities, participation numbers of school age, road infrastructure and poverty levels.

Data Analysis

The Characteristics of Respondents

The technique of data collection in this research done by collected the questionnaire on the voters in the election 2014 to assess the performance of the mayor from 2009 until 2014. The number of respondents is as much as 300 respondents from all the 24 sub-districts in Cilacap Regency. Now the characteristics of the respondents are as follows :

Table 1. The characteristics of respondents based on age

Observational Age	The number of	The percentage of (%)
17-24	19	6.3
25-34	41	13.7
35-44	76	25.3
45-54	96	32.0
55-59	35	11.7
60+	33	11.1
The Total	300	100.0

Source : Primary Data, 2016

The research aims to discover the behavior of voters in the election in Cilacap District, so the target of this research at least 17 year old who already has the right to vote. The most respondents is respondents who are at the age of 45 - 54 which reached 32 percent or 96 respondents, while the lowest is 6.3 percent namely respondents aged 17 - 24. Based on the results of the above can be seen that the majority of voters have more than one time to execute the right to select the desired leader.

Based on the level of education, find out that the majority of respondents are high school graduates as much as 110 people or 36,7 percent. While the respondents who are finished their undergraduate level only as much as 30 people or ten per cent of the total number of respondents. Meanwhile, the type of work of the respondents varied from farmers to private sector employees with a number of very variable on each type of work.

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The majority of respondents is a housewife (59 respondents) and workers who work in the field of agriculture, industry and trade amounted to 52 people.

Table 2. The characteristics of respondents based on the level of education

The level of Education	The number of	The percentage of (%)
Never schools	12	4.0
SD/SR	80	26.7
SLTP	56	18.7
Senior High School	110	36.7
A Diploma/Academy	12	4.0
Bachelor degree (S1)	28	9.3
Master (S2)	2	0.7
The Total	300	100.0

Source : Primary Data, 2016

Table 3. The characteristics of respondents based on the type of work

Type of Work	The number of	The percentage of (%)
PNS	27	9.0
Retired	7	2.3
Self-employed/own Businesses	38	12.7
Private sector employees	29	9.7
Soe employees/D	1	.3
Labor: tani, industry, trade, etc.	52	17.3
Farmers	40	13.3
The fishermen	4	1.3
Unemployment Benefits	4	1.3
Housewife	59	19.7
Indonesian Students	5	1.7
Others	29	9.7
No Answer	5	1.7
The Total	300	100.0

Source : Primary Data, 2016

The issue which crucial and became an important factor is to what extent the selected leaders can bring the people become more prosperous by considering various aspects of the economy, social, culture and security. Economic aspects became one of the assessment indicator in select leaders candidates. Leaders candidates are expected to complete development issues especially reduce unemployment, as seen in table 4. Poverty is also become two of the biggest problem that is expected to be completed by the elected leaders.

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Table 4. The Problem of development in Cilacap Regency

The Problem of Development	The number of	Percentage of (%)
Poverty	64	21.3
The economy/unemployment benefits	124	41.3
Health	17	5.7
Equipment and Infrastructure	23	7.7
Security and order	9	3.0
Law enforcement	5	1.7
Education	15	5.0
Other, mention.....	21	7.0
Do not know / No Answer	22	7.3
The Total	300	100.0

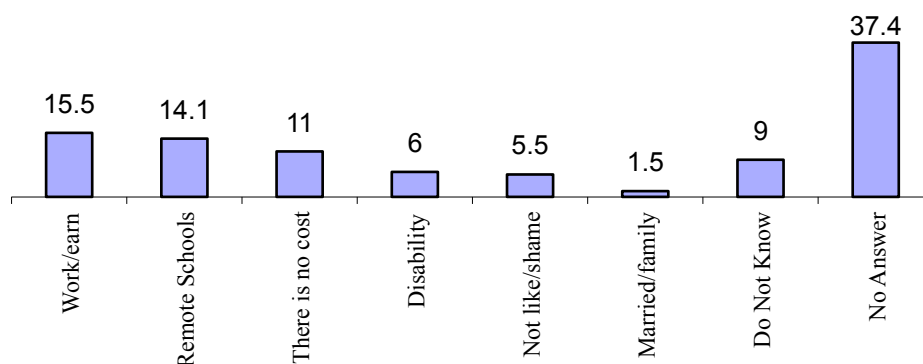
Source : Primary Data, 2016

The Indicator of Education

Build an established economy acquired the availability of qualified human capital. The education aspect is the key in order to achieve these aims. Education is one of the most important indicator in a way to build the welfare of the people. The field research conditions provide the fact that 93,9% community are had education or being studied. Thus, the result showed that the people of Cilacap district are concern with their education.

Diagram 1.

The reason for school age children do not participate in Education

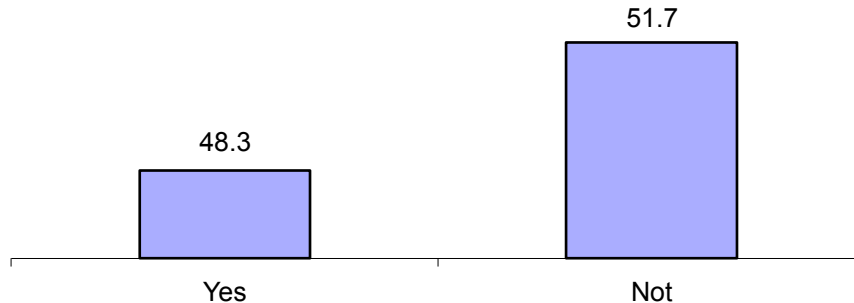


It is very interesting to revealed the data about the reason for the family that his children did not participate in the education, this fact due to the age of the learners used to work (15.5%). Besides, the conditions and the distance of the school (14.1%) is also one of the reason. In addition, the fact that poverty also cause they could not go to the schools (11.1%). However, almost half (46,4%) of them in this category did not give the reason. Relevant to the facts above that the distance between the location of the school

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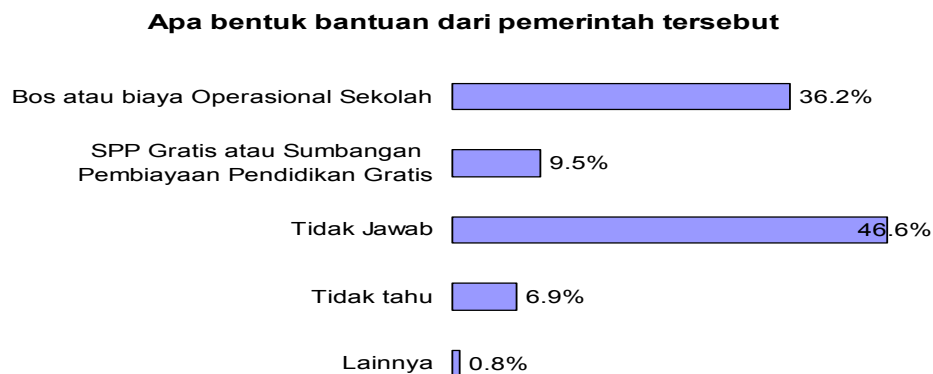
with their house become one of the constraint. In fact the distance school is reachable by the majority of the family of this category, but 12% of respondents confessed that had difficulties to reach the location of the school.

Diagram 2. The number of families that received government assistance



One of the efforts of the government to improve the quality of human resources is to provide free educational facilities to the community as has been announced by ministry of education program with the 9-year compulsory. The form of education assistance vary as revealed by the respondents. The fact shows 48.3 percent of respondents had to get education assistance from the government while as much as 51.7% did not get the education assistance. As much as 36,2 percent of respondents obtain assistance in the form of school operational expenses and 9.5% be free of tuition and 46.6% did not answer.

Diagram 3. The government assistance form in the field of education

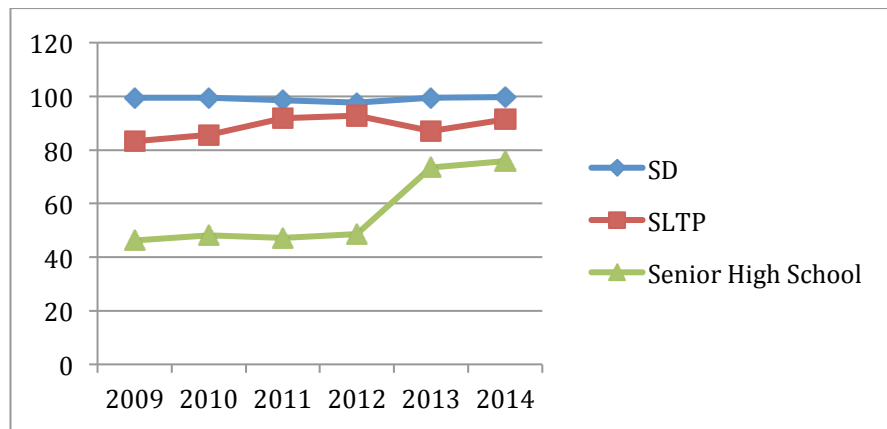


When viewed the data of school participation number in Cilacap Regency year 2009-2014 issued by the Central Statistics Agency Cilacap Regency, indicated that there is a significant improvement to the senior high school level where from 2009 until 2012 school participation number in Senior High School only around 46,12 until 48,64% become 73,46% in 2013 there is an increase of approximately 25 %. In the junior secondary school level, participation number shows improvement stable range between 83,26% in 2009 to

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become 91,41% in the year 2014. Similarly to the participation of schools in elementary is always above 98% .

Diagram 4. School participation number Cilacap Regency



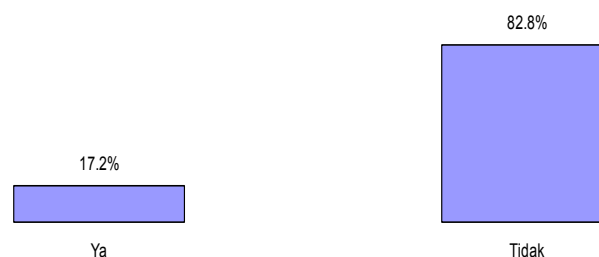
Source : BPS Cilacap Regency, 2015

Health Quality Indicator

In order to get qualified human resources, would need to be supported with a good health service facility with prima service so that they can create a healthy environment. With the healthy environment, human productivity will increase, which in turn brought to the regional development so that welfare will achieved (Tjiptoherijanto,1993; Thabrany, 1996).

Diagram 5. Family that difficulty getting Medical Health Services

Apakah anggota rumah ini pernah mengalami kesulitan dalam memperoleh pelayanan kesehatan medis

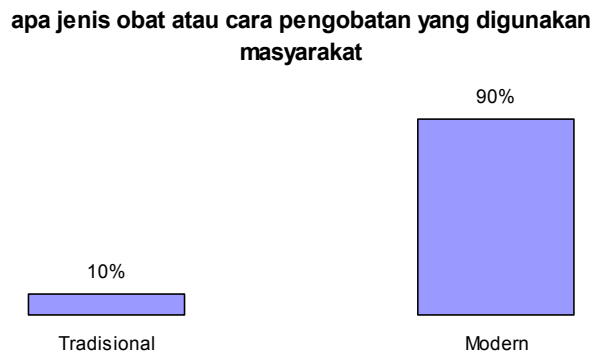


The easiness to obtain medical health services will accelerate the improvement of the quality of human resources. In Cilacap Regency, communities have no difficulty in obtaining health services (82,8%). This can be seen also that 50.6 percent of respondents prefer to the paramedics (mantri) when family members are ill. But there are still members of the community who went to the untrained to cure disease (1.4%). This results in line with another fact that 90 percent of respondents chose the modern treatment. Meanwhile,

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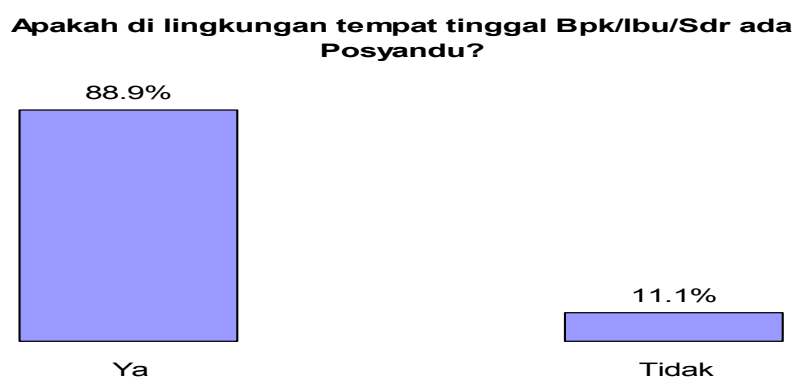
67,1% the birth process in Cilacap assisted by midwives and only 2.8 percent who use the services of doctors in the birth process.

Diagram 6. The orientation of Community Treatment Cilacap



The health of infant also become the government concern such as the availability of '*the posyandu*' and nutrition of infants who became one of the priority in health program. The Existence of '*the posyandu*' close to the environment is necessary to control the immunization and nutrition should be given to infants. The source of protein that given to the infants in almost all the household is eggs (54,3%), followed by nuts (18%) and meats (9.7%). For the immunization program, 62.5 % respondents brought her baby to '*the Posyandu*' for immunized three times, and 21.6 percent of respondents do immunization only one time. For immunization, many polio immunization is done as much as 34.5%, BCG as much as 19,1% and measles (by 13.9%).

Diagram 7. The existence of the Posyandu



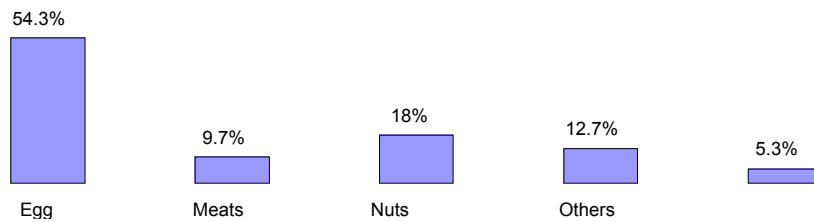
In addition to give immunization, giving breast milk is also very important for the health of infants. The majority of respondents in Cilacap Regency conscious the importance of providing breast milk for infants, yet 6.2 percent of respondents did not give breast milk. Relevant to the facts above, there are 42.2 percent of respondents give breast

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milk during 14 months and only 4.6 percent of respondents give breast milk to 20 months. To know the early childhood development, posyandu also provides the card toward healthy (KMS) and obtained 60,9 percent of respondents using KMS.

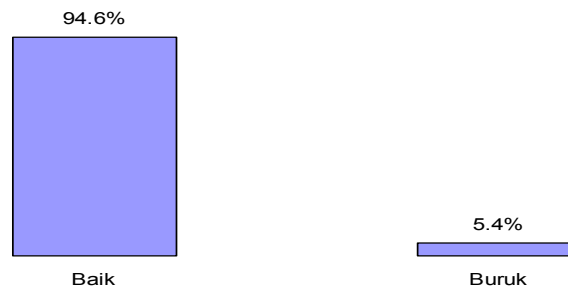
Diagram 8. The source of protein infants

What is the source of protein for nutrition



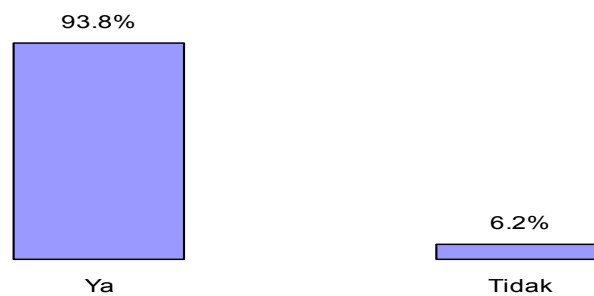
The diagram 9. The condition of Nutrition for Children Under Five

Termasuk apa gizi balita anda



The diagram 10. Breast Feeding

Apakah balita anda diberikan air susu ibu

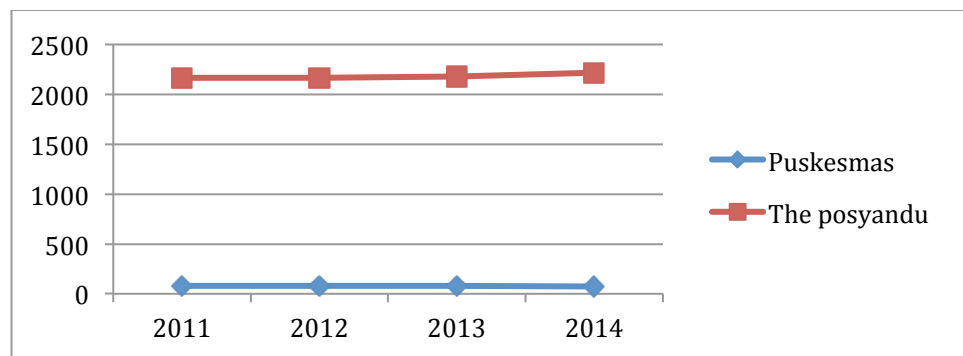
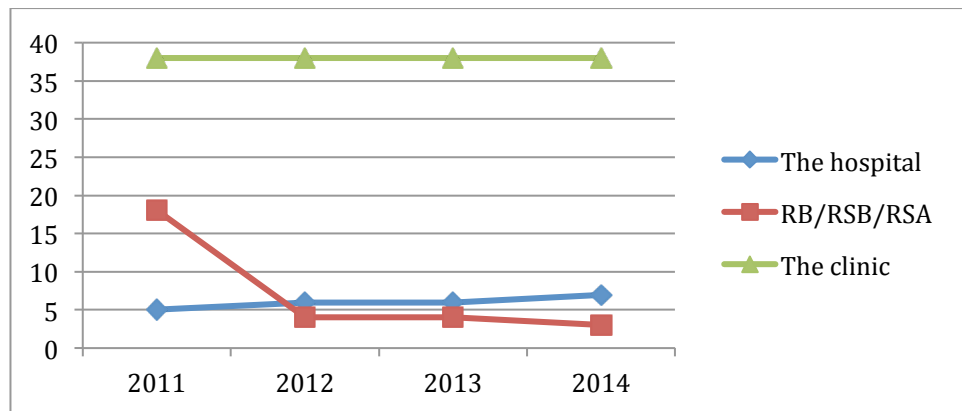


The development of health facilities in Cilacap is also in line with the facts above, where the number of hospitals increased significantly. In 2011, Cilacap have only five (5) the hospital and continued to increase to seven (7) hospital in the year 2014. So the number of posyandu experienced a significant development where originally only 2167 in 2011 to 2217 in the year 2014. While the number of the clinic is relatively stable for 4

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years. Interestingly, decrease the amount of RB/RSB/RSA from 18 in 2011 to 3 in the year 2014.

Diagram 11. The development of health facilities in Cilacap Regency



Source : BPS Cilacap Regency, 2015

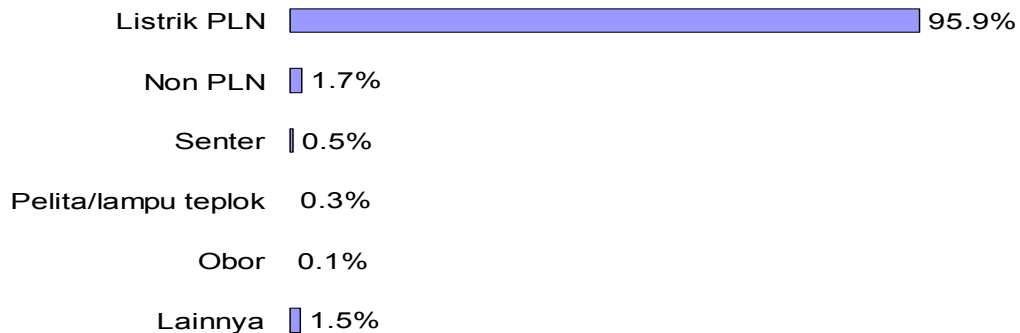
Infrastructure quality indicator

The development of infrastructure is the essential key in economic development. The condition of the infrastructure will support the establishment of the regional economy to become good and developed. This will affect the welfare of the people. In order to encourage the economic sector and infrastructure development not only involves the development of the road only but also the availability of light and energy. The availability of electricity PLN also an important element for economic activity and the majority of respondents in Cilacap already use electricity PLN in household unit (95,9%). In addition to the availability of electricity, necessary to noted the stability of the voltage from the mains. Generally, 76.7 percent of respondents stated that the condition of the mains supply in stable condition (not often black out).

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Diagram 12. The Main Lighting Source

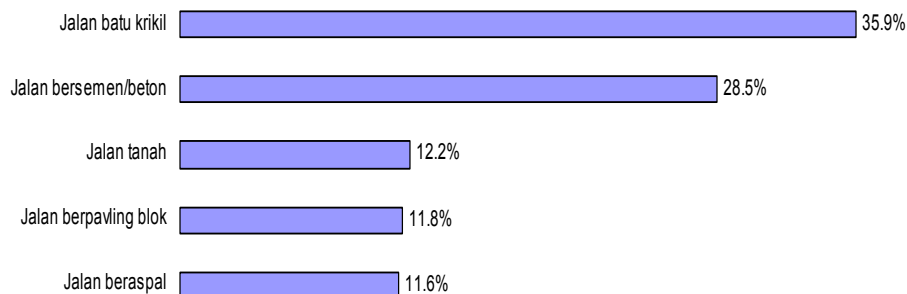
Sumber Penerangan Utama Rumah Tangga



The infrastructure in the form of the road construction had been concerned of the regional government. In this research found that 35.9% the road of the environment around the place of living is the pebbles, while 28.5% road with moss growing concrete. But the road that has been paved only 11.6%. However, 70,5% condition of the road is not flooded when its rain.

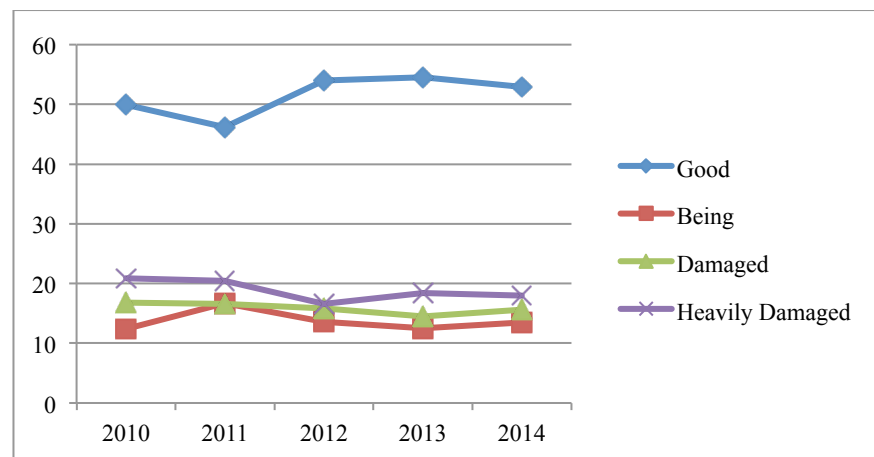
Diagram 13. Environmental road conditions

keadaan jalan lingkungan disekitar tempat tinggal



Based on the data obtained from the Central Statistics Agency Cilacap Regency seen that the majority of the average road conditions good (50%). Meanwhile the damaged road conditions in the percentage of the average tumbled 13.5 percent and badly damaged condition experience improvement every year so that declining from see how 25.57% in 2010, improved in the year 2014 to 18%.

Diagram 14. The condition of the road in Cilacap Regency



Leaders Criteria indicator

Select candidates for the leader who has the vision and mission of the program which mature and good is not an easy job. Many determining factors that are considered by the voters can be inputs for candidates, so that potential candidates can make a program which is adjusted with the needs of the people. The figure of the candidates, becomes the main factor from the criteria required in Cilacap Regency. As much as 30,33% of respondents choose truthful is the second best candidate criteria after the populist is selected as much as 46,67%. While the figure that emphasized, generous and nationalist is the less important criteria for respondents with the number of percentage of as much as 2 percent; 2.33 and 2.67%.

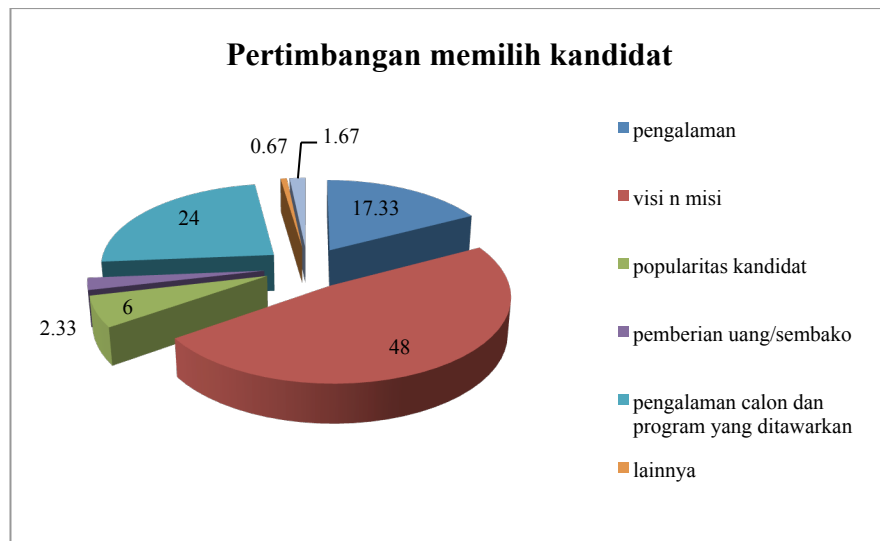
Relevant to the above facts as much as 42.33 percent of respondents also choose truthful as the main features that must be owned by the candidates. Interestingly, only 1.67 percent of respondents choose the firm as category characteristics that must be owned by the candidates. Will remain, there are 29 percent of respondents answered that the nature of honest, thoughtfulness to the people, clean from corruption, collusion and nepotism, led with firm and smart as well as wise are attributes that should be owned by the candidates

The majority of respondents (48%) enact the candidates who have a vision and mission in accordance with the wishes of the people as consideration in selecting potential leader, but the qualified experience also a consideration in selecting the candidates. Meanwhile, the gift of money or groceries to society does not guarantee the community to select the candidates. This is shown by the results of research only 2.33 percent of

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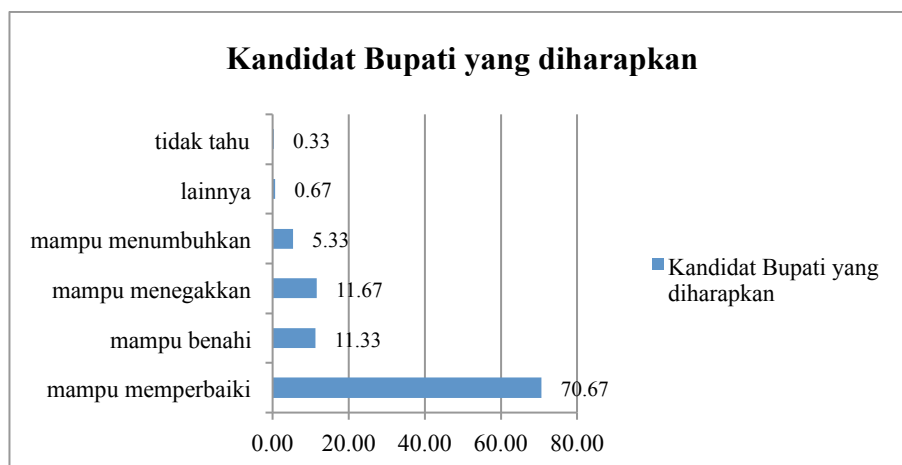
respondents chose. It can be concluded that the community Cilacap Regency already have a good knowledge of how to be a good selector

Diagram 15. Consideration in Choosing Candidate



The wishes of the people to have a better life can be fulfilled when have regional leaders who are able to improve the level of community welfare. This is shown with 70,67% of respondents expressed that the Regent candidate is expected to be able to improve the situation of the socio-economic community. Meanwhile, law enforcement and security elect as the second (11,67%) after the economic conditions social communities can be resolved.

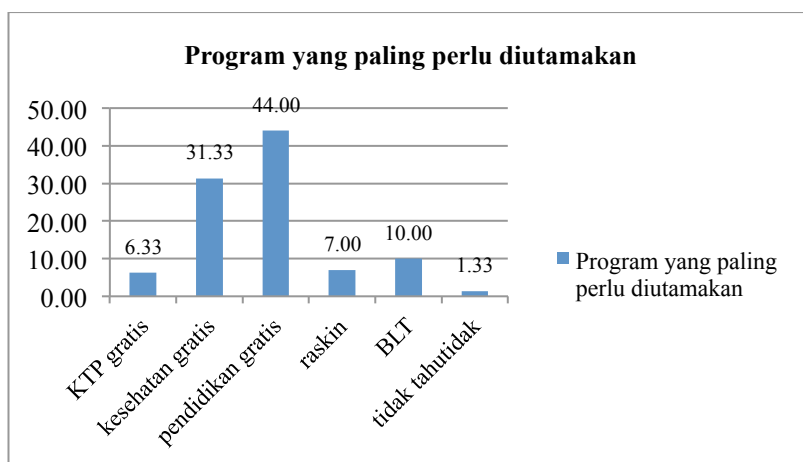
Diagram 16. Regent Candidates Expected



To get the support of the community that is the most needed to be done by the candidates are often interact with communities (32%). This fact is very relevant and correlates when referring back to the criteria of the candidates is expected from society is populist. So, a good candidates need to be close to the community. In addition to visiting the community, have programs in favor of the people (27,67%) also will facilitate the *) Lecturers in State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta, at Department of Economic and Development Studies.

public support. The program that indicate to the people will get the sympathy of the people.

Diagram 17. The Programs Need to Preferred



The most programs need to be preferred, 44 percent of respondents considered the free education program is one of the most selected by the community. In addition to the free education, free health program also necessary to preferred. Meanwhile, the cash direct assistance program (BLT) who had ever done a few years ago, only selected 10 percent of respondents, as well as the program of rice to poor people only select by 7 percent of respondents.

Conclusion

Rational choice clearly illustrated in this research, causing incumbents regional heads can be selected back when the work program of the scope of the economy can be run with a maximum pace. Cilacap communities has tended to assess the performance of local government as the performance of the Regent. The merit of the success of the regional heads that have a vision and mission to build the village.

The economic performance had direct impact to the community are education, health, and infrastructure. The Improvements of Performance in these areas cause the macro economic indicators looks forward or increased each year. Along with the improvement of the quality of human resources also growing rapidly. *Feed back* from all that, then arose the massive trust of the community in Cilacap Regency to expect incumbent figure to lead back.

The work program crystallisation of the economy very correlates directly with the creation of the human development in Cilacap Regency. This impact to increased public understanding about the political choices and political behavior. An overview of the theory

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of rational choice that became the basis of thought of this research proved to be explained that the economic and political factors can be used as the basis of a regional heads to improve their electability. Correlational which happens on the political choices of society with the performance of the development done by the local government to have a positive voting behavior toward the figure of regional heads in the election. Can be interpreted this research shows that the behavior of the voters society of Cilacap more considering the rational choice in comparative study psychological choice. This rational choice that encourage Cilacap voters do mobilisation efforts to support the political choices to the incumbent in a massive way or it is said to be the public choice.

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