

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.63332/joph.v5i2.517>

## Eclecticism of Voter Characteristics and Electoral Choices in Indonesia: Lessons from the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election

Muhammad Iftitah Sulaiman Suryanagara<sup>1</sup>, Mudiwati Rahmatunnisa<sup>2</sup>, Arry Bainus<sup>3</sup>, Ahmad Khoirul Umam<sup>4</sup>

### Abstract

*This study underscores the eclectic nature of voter characteristics in shaping electoral choices in Indonesia's 2024 Presidential Election. By exploring a multidimensional framework encompassing demographic, sociological, psychosocial, and rational factors, it reveals the intricate dynamics influencing voter preferences. Utilizing a survey of 1,800 eligible voters across Indonesia, the study employs cross-tabulation and Chi-square tests to uncover significant associations between voter traits and candidate selection. The findings highlight the pivotal roles of age and income as demographic determinants, with younger voters and higher-income groups showing distinct preferences. Sociologically, religious and ethnic identities are profoundly influential, reflecting the continued salience of these affiliations in Indonesia's political landscape. Psychosocial elements, such as opinion leaders and party affiliations, further underscore their mediating effects on voter behaviour, bridging individual perceptions with broader sociopolitical contexts. Rational evaluations of candidates' competencies and track records emerge as critical drivers of electoral decisions, emphasizing the pragmatic dimensions of voter behaviour. By integrating these diverse elements, the study presents a comprehensive view of voter decision-making processes, offering valuable lessons for tailoring campaign strategies. It enriches the discourse on Indonesian electoral behaviour, advocating for nuanced approaches that address the multifaceted interplay of identity, influence, and rationality in shaping political outcomes.*

**Keywords:** voter characteristics, voter behaviour, 2024 Indonesian presidential election, cross-tabulation.

### Introduction

Understanding voter political behavior has long been a central focus of electoral studies, often anchored in three foundational theoretical frameworks: sociological (Berelson et al., 1954; Lazarsfeld et al., 1948), psychosocial (Campbell et al., 1960), and rational-choice perspectives (Downs, 1957; Fiorina, 1981). These paradigms emphasize the roles of societal structures, psychological influences, and utility-maximizing behavior, respectively, in shaping voter decisions. However, Indonesia's post-Reformation democratic trajectory presents a non-linear evolution, marked by profound structural shifts and dynamic political participation. The democratization wave following the 1998 Reformation movement reconfigured electoral mechanisms, expanded political competition, and enhanced voter engagement. Concurrently, it also introduced a spectrum of challenges that have continuously reshaped voter preferences amidst Indonesia's fluid socio-economic and political landscape.

---

<sup>1</sup> Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Padjajaran University, Bandung, Indonesia. Email: [muhammad21326@mail.unpad.ac.id](mailto:muhammad21326@mail.unpad.ac.id). (Corresponding Author)

<sup>2</sup> Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Padjajaran University, Bandung, Indonesia

<sup>3</sup> Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Padjajaran University, Bandung, Indonesia

<sup>4</sup> Political and International Studies, The University of Paramadina, Jakarta, Indonesia



Recent presidential elections in 2014, 2019, and 2024 illustrate a growing trend toward voter "irrationality," catalyzed by the rise of digital democracy and the pervasive influence of social media. While digital platforms have democratized access to political information, they have also amplified the dissemination of hoaxes, fake news, hate speech, and character assassination, frequently weaponized by political buzzers. This digital maelstrom disproportionately affects voters with limited political literacy, leading to decisions driven more by emotion and personal belief than empirical evidence. The result is an intensification of post-truth politics, wherein misinformation and emotional manipulation eclipse rational deliberation, undermining the integrity of democratic discourse.

The current electoral milieu risks reducing public debate to a contentious spectacle of ridicule, where political narratives pivot away from substantive evaluations of candidates' visions, missions, and platforms, instead centering on character attacks and sensationalism. Such a landscape privileges populist rhetoric, identity politics, racial and religious fundamentalism, ultra-nationalism, and money politics—phenomena extensively documented by scholars (Arifianto, 2020; Muhtadi, 2020; Mujani & Kuipers, 2020; Power & Warburton, 2020). As a result, understanding Indonesia's evolving political dynamics, particularly the interplay between voter characteristics and candidate traits, has become critical for scholars and practitioners seeking to decode the 2024 Presidential Election.

Extant literature on voter behavior in Indonesia and beyond reveals the multifaceted determinants of electoral preferences. These encompass sociological dimensions, such as religious and ethnic affiliations (Berelson et al., 1954; Lazarsfeld et al., 1948); psychosocial factors, including opinion leadership and party identity (Campbell et al., 1960); and rational evaluations based on candidates' competencies and track records (Downs, 1957; Fiorina, 1981). Additional layers, such as media propaganda (Alonso-Magdaleno & García-García, 2024; Aminulloh et al., 2022), money politics (Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2018), ideological polarization (Fossati, 2019), and leadership dynamics (Liddle & Mujani, 2007), further underscore the complexity of voter behavior. These multidimensional influences highlight the necessity of adopting a holistic analytical approach to unravel the nuances of electoral decision-making.

Indonesia's shifting voter behavior patterns further necessitate empirical inquiry, particularly in the context of rapidly changing demographic, social, economic, and technological trends. Analyzing these dynamics through the lens of the 2024 Presidential Election provides an opportunity to illuminate the interconnected roles of sociological, psychosocial, and rational factors in shaping voter preferences. For instance, sociological influences reflect the weight of religious and ethnic identities, while psychosocial dynamics emphasize the roles of opinion leaders, party affiliations, and community networks. Simultaneously, voter rationality remains pivotal, with preferences often shaped by assessments of candidates' competence and leadership track records. Together, these dimensions form a comprehensive framework for understanding the drivers of electoral behavior in Indonesia.

This study aims to critically examine the relationships between demographic, sociological, psychosocial, and rational factors and their influence on voter preferences in the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election. By integrating these dimensions, the research contributes to a more nuanced understanding of Indonesia's political behavior landscape, extending existing literature that often adopts a fragmented or singular focus. Furthermore, this study offers actionable insights for political parties, candidates, and policymakers, underscoring the urgency of informed strategies tailored to the nation's diverse electorate. By capturing the complexity of

voter behavior, this research not only enriches academic discourse but also provides a vital roadmap for navigating Indonesia's evolving democracy.

### **Decoding Voter Dynamics: The Interplay of Social, Psychological, and Rational Forces in Shaping Electoral Behaviour**

The evolution of modern democracy extends far beyond periodic elections, encompassing broader principles such as safeguarding civil liberties, press freedom, and impartial law enforcement (Huntington, 1996). These foundational elements underpin an effective democratic system, which requires robust mechanisms for oversight and a system of checks and balances to ensure accountability. Diamond et al. (1989) posits that active community participation is a cornerstone of a thriving democracy, while Verba et al. (1995) emphasize the indispensable role of citizen capacity and engagement in shaping the selection of leaders. Given these complex and dynamic relationships, understanding voter behaviour necessitates an exploration of the intricate interplay among influencing factors.

Huntington (1996) defines political participation as a spectrum of citizen activities aimed at influencing government policies, ranging from conventional practices like voting and political discourse to non-conventional acts such as protests and strikes. This typology, further developed by Rahman (2007), delineates participation into conventional and non-conventional categories. Verba et al. (1995) assert that active political engagement not only heightens political awareness but also shapes voting behavior. Similarly, Norris (2002) identifies socioeconomic factors, including education and income, as critical determinants of both political participation and voter stability, with higher socioeconomic status correlating with more informed and consistent electoral choices.

Voter behavior represents a complex field that integrates theoretical insights from multiple disciplines, focusing primarily on the underlying motivations and decision-making processes of individuals in political contexts. Seminal works by Campbell et al. (1960), Downs (1957), and Verba & Nie (1972) provide foundational frameworks for understanding the multifaceted drivers of voter preferences. Campbell et al. (1960) emphasize the influence of social and demographic variables, including party affiliation and social milieu, in shaping voter choices. Downs' (1957) rational choice theory, on the other hand, posits that voters operate as rational agents, engaging in cost-benefit analyses to maximize their utility. Verba & Nie (1972) extend this discussion by incorporating psychological dimensions, examining how individual resources, political attitudes, and participation opportunities converge to influence electoral behavior.

The sociological perspective, rooted in the Columbia School's pioneering research, suggests that voter behavior is deeply embedded within social structures, such as cultural norms, religious affiliations, and community networks (Berelson et al., 1954; Lazarsfeld et al., 1948). This approach underscores how individuals often align their voting preferences with the collective values and norms of their social groups. However, this view has been critiqued by the psychosocial approach, famously encapsulated in the "Michigan Model" by Campbell et al. (1960). This model highlights the role of short-term factors, including candidate image, campaign narratives, and party identification, framing voter behavior as a product of psychological and emotional responses rather than purely sociological determinants.

Rational choice theory, introduced by Downs (1957), provides a contrasting lens, portraying voters as pragmatic actors making calculated decisions based on self-interest. By weighing the costs and benefits of available options, voters seek to optimize their outcomes, offering a

systematic yet simplified framework for analyzing electoral behavior. Despite its limitations in capturing the full spectrum of human decision-making, this model remains a cornerstone in understanding voter behavior as a rational process.

Expanding on these frameworks, Kinder & Kiewiet (1981) proposed two key paradigms: the sociotropic model and the egocentric model. The sociotropic model posits that voters prioritize national economic conditions, favoring candidates or parties perceived to enhance economic stability. Conversely, the egocentric model asserts that personal economic circumstances primarily drive voter preferences, with individuals favoring policies and candidates that directly benefit their financial wellbeing. These paradigms provide a nuanced understanding of how economic considerations influence electoral decisions.

Huddy (2001), building on Tajfel & Turner's (2001) concept of social identity, explores how group affiliations evolve into robust political identities. Through processes of categorization, identification, and comparison, individuals internalize the norms, values, and symbols of their political groups, fostering a sense of belonging and mobilizing political participation. This dynamic contributes to political polarization and group bias, highlighting the profound impact of social identity on individual voting behavior.

The sociological, psychosocial, and rational choice theories collectively offer distinct yet interrelated perspectives on the drivers of voter behavior. While the sociological approach emphasizes the influence of social structures and cultural affiliations, the psychosocial framework highlights the psychological and emotional dimensions of political decision-making. Rational choice theory, meanwhile, underscores the utility-maximizing tendencies of voters as they navigate electoral options. Empirical studies across diverse political contexts, including Indonesia, reveal the interplay of these factors, demonstrating how social, psychological, and economic considerations converge to shape voter preferences.

In the Indonesian context, where the political landscape continues to evolve amidst rapid social and economic transformations, the need for a nuanced understanding of voter behavior has never been more critical. Research into the intricate interplay of sociological, psychosocial, and rational factors provides vital insights into the complex dynamics influencing voter preferences. As Indonesia grapples with the challenges and opportunities of its democratic consolidation, such studies are indispensable for unravelling the multifaceted nature of electoral behavior and informing strategies for political engagement in an increasingly diverse and dynamic society.

### **Understanding Voter Behavior in Indonesia's Evolving Political Landscape**

The dynamics of political behavior are in constant flux, driven by the interplay of political, social, economic, and technological transformations. These evolving conditions profoundly influence how voters make decisions, shaping the trajectory of electoral outcomes. As the broader context of political behavior has developed over time, so too have the theoretical frameworks and methodologies employed to understand it. From a theoretical perspective, voter behavior has traditionally been categorized into three foundational models: sociological (Berelson et al., 1954; Lazarsfeld et al., 1948), psychosocial (Campbell et al., 1960), and rational choice (Downs, 1957; Fiorina, 1981). These models have become cornerstones for empirical studies of voter behavior across diverse political systems.

Empirical investigations into Indonesian voter behavior, however, reveal complexities that frequently challenge these traditional frameworks. The sociological, psychosocial, and rational approaches often fail to operate in isolation, underscoring the multifaceted and interdependent

nature of voter decision-making in Indonesia. For instance, while sociological theories emphasize the primacy of social group affiliations in shaping voter preferences, research on regional elections in Indonesia demonstrates that party support only marginally increases a candidate's likelihood of success (Choi, 2009; Tomsa & Setijadi, 2018). This diverges from classical sociological assertions that group identity and affiliations predominantly dictate voter behavior (Berelson et al., 1954; Lazarsfeld et al., 1948).

The weakening of party identification in Indonesia has further exacerbated voter volatility. Since the 1998 Reformation, electoral outcomes have varied significantly, reflecting fluctuating public support for political parties. For instance, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) dominated in 1999 and again in 2014 and 2019, while Golkar prevailed in 2004, and the Democratic Party emerged victorious in 2009. Such variability illustrates the declining salience of party loyalty, with voter preferences increasingly shaped by the personal appeal and charisma of candidates. President Joko Widodo's pivotal role in PDIP's success in 2014 and 2019 exemplifies the growing influence of candidate personalities in Indonesian electoral politics (Warburton, 2016). This trend underscores the rising importance of a psychosocial lens, which prioritizes emotional and psychological connections between voters and candidates.

The psychosocial dimension is further complicated by the nuanced role of party coalitions in Indonesia's multiparty system. As Hanan & Irvani (2022) observe, the coattail effects of presidential and vice-presidential candidates are unevenly distributed within grand coalitions. Voter support is often concentrated on the leading party within the coalition, while other affiliated parties receive minimal benefits. This phenomenon highlights the critical role of prominent political figures over the ideological or organizational strength of parties themselves, as demonstrated in comparative studies of Brazilian and Chilean elections (Borges & Turgeon, 2019). In Indonesia, voter preferences are frequently shaped by the proximity of notable figures to political parties, rather than an intrinsic loyalty to the parties themselves.

Partisanship, however, continues to exert influence in certain contexts. Haryanto (2016) emphasizes that voter alignment with political parties—cultivated through long-standing emotional and ideological ties—remains a determinant of electoral outcomes, especially when reinforced by popular candidates and well-articulated policy agendas. Yet, this finding contrasts with other studies suggesting a limited role for party identification in Indonesian elections, particularly in cases where party dysfunction or candidate networks outweigh organizational allegiance (Buehler, 2009; Choi, 2009).

The decline in party identification, particularly since the Reformation, reflects broader systemic shifts in Indonesia's political landscape. The proliferation of ideologically similar parties has diluted political identities, weakening emotional bonds between voters and parties (Aspinall, 2005; Dagg, 2007; Nakamura, 1999; Ufen, 2008). Simultaneously, direct presidential elections have amplified the role of individual candidates, enabling voters to engage directly with personalities rather than party platforms (Dagg, 2007). The expanding influence of mass media, particularly its critical portrayal of political elites, has further eroded trust in parties, fostering voter apathy toward traditional political institutions (Ufen, 2008).

In this evolving landscape, rational choice theory has gained renewed relevance. Following the Reformation, Indonesian voters increasingly base their decisions on pragmatic assessments of candidates' track records and policy proposals. Elections in 2004 and 2009, for instance, showcased a growing preference for candidates perceived as competent, empathetic, and capable of delivering economic growth, welfare improvements, and enhanced national security

(Aspinall, 2005; Mujani & Liddle, 2009; Shidiq & Vermonte, 2013). This shift toward performance-based voting signals a transition from ideological loyalty to a more pragmatic, outcome-oriented approach.

The intersection of sociological, psychosocial, and rational factors underscores the complexity of voter behavior in Indonesia. As the country navigates its transition to a competitive democracy, voter preferences have become increasingly dynamic, reflecting the interplay of demographic diversity, socio-cultural identities, and evolving political priorities. This multidimensionality highlights the need for ongoing research grounded in contemporary data to unravel the intricacies of electoral decision-making.

Given Indonesia's rich tapestry of ethnic, religious, and social groups, understanding the confluence of demographic, sociological, psychosocial, and rational elements is essential for predicting voter behavior and shaping effective political strategies. By addressing these factors holistically, scholars and practitioners can better navigate the challenges of Indonesia's rapidly evolving democracy, offering insights into both current trends and future electoral dynamics.

## Methods

This study employs primary data gathered through a survey targeting individuals eligible to vote in the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election. The sample size was determined using the Slovin Formula, which calculates the required sample based on the total population size and a predetermined margin of error (Guilford & Fruchter, 1973). According to data from the Indonesian General Election Commission (KPU), the eligible voting population for the 2024 Presidential Election is 204.8 million. With a margin of error set at 3%, the minimum sample size required for the survey is calculated as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2} = \frac{204,800,000}{1 + 204,800,000 * 0.03^2} = \frac{204,800,000}{184,321} = 1,112$$

where  $n$  represents the minimum number of respondents required,  $N$  is the total voting population, and  $e$  is the margin of error. The Slovin Formula calculation determined that a minimum sample size of 1,112 respondents was required, assuming a 3% margin of error. To ensure a more robust and representative analysis, this study expanded the sample size to 1,800 respondents. By exceeding the minimum requirement, the study aims to capture a broader and more accurate reflection of the diverse voter population across Indonesia's provinces.

Furthermore, this study applied the multistage random sampling method for field sampling. This method involves dividing the population into subpopulations and then randomly selecting subclusters to obtain relatively small and homogeneous groups, from which the sample is then randomly selected. This technique describes the accurate representation of a population well (Neuman, 2014). In this study, multistage random sampling was applied by dividing the entire population into strata or groups based on province, with each province considered a separate strata. The next stage was selecting rural and urban areas as primary sampling units in each province. Random sampling was conducted in rural and urban areas from each provincial stratum before households were randomly selected as secondary sampling units.

This study explores factors influencing voter preferences, including demographic, sociological,

and psychosocial factors, as well as voter rationality (see Appendix 1). The demographic factors analyzed include gender, age, education, occupation, and income, representing individual characteristics that can impact voting behaviour in political contexts. Sociological factors, such as religious and ethnic backgrounds, are explored to understand how voters' social contexts affect their political choices, aligning with the frameworks established by Lazarsfeld et al. (1948) and Berelson et al. (1954). Additionally, the study investigates psychosocial factors, including the influence of opinion leaders like community and religious figures, social networks comprising family and colleagues, and other influential entities such as government officials, influencers, legislative candidates, and campaign teams. This approach is grounded in the work of Campbell et al. (1960), highlighting the significance of emotional and psychological ties and party identification in shaping political decisions. By analyzing these multifaceted factors, the study aims to understand the determinants influencing voter preferences comprehensively.

Finally, the rationality factor assumes voters choose candidates to maximize their utility. Rational voters consider a candidate's ability and track record indicators of future performance. In this study, the rationality aspects observed include the candidate's competence or character and the candidate's track record. Candidate competence or character refers to the abilities, expertise, and personal characteristics that make a candidate appear worthy and capable of holding public office. Rational voters tend to choose candidates they consider competent to carry out government duties effectively (Kinsey & Popkin, 1993). The candidate's track record includes past achievements and performance in leadership positions or public office. Rational voters often use information about candidates' track records to predict their future performance (Fiorina, 1981).

This study employed the cross-tabulation method to explore the relationship between demographic, sociological, psychosocial, and rationality factors and voter preferences in the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election. Cross-tabulation was used to display these relationships within a matrix, making observing patterns between voter characteristics and candidate choices easier. The Chi-square test was applied to statistically assess these relationships, which is suitable for examining associations between categorical variables (Agresti, 2012; Field, 2017). The hypothesis tested was whether there is a significant relationship between voter characteristics and their preferences for presidential candidates. If the asymptotic significance (asympt. sig.) value is less than 0.05, the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is rejected, indicating a significant relationship between the observed factors and voter preferences. Conversely, if the value is greater than 0.05,  $H_0$  is accepted, suggesting no significant relationship. This approach allows for a robust analysis of the extent to which voter characteristics influence their political choices, providing deeper insights into the factors shaping voter behaviour in the upcoming election.

## Results

The analysis reveals significant correlations between various voter characteristics—demographic, sociological, psychosocial, and rational—and their candidate preferences in the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election. From a demographic perspective, the Chi-square test results indicate that age and income are notably linked to voter preferences, with other demographic factors such as gender, education, and occupation not showing significant correlations. The results indicate that Prabowo Subianto (Prabowo) dominates across all age groups, especially among young voters aged 17–20, with 52% supporting him. Anies Baswedan (Anies) receives the most support from the 21–30 age group, while Ganjar Pranowo (Ganjar) garners the most support from the 41–50 age group. The findings suggest that Prabowo's

campaign effectively resonates with younger voters, a critical demographic in the election.

Income levels also play a critical role in voter preferences. The analysis reveals that voters with monthly incomes below IDR 10 million exhibit more evenly distributed preferences, indicating that non-economic issues may influence these voters. Conversely, higher-income voters earning above IDR 10 million per month show a marked preference for Prabowo (56%), with support for Anies and Ganjar more evenly distributed at around 23% and 21%, respectively. This suggests that Prabowo's economic policies and promises resonate more strongly with higher-income voters, who may prioritize economic stability and growth.

Although gender, education, and occupation were not statistically significant in influencing political choices, they still offer valuable insights. Both male and female voters demonstrate equal support for Prabowo at 44%, indicating a balanced gender distribution in voter preferences. Education-wise, Prabowo enjoys solid backing across all levels, especially those without formal schooling. Anies, however, gains more support among college-educated voters, which may indicate that his message resonates more with the educated demographic. Regarding occupation, Prabowo's appeal is widespread, particularly among civil servants, teachers, and military/national police members, suggesting that his policies or leadership style may align with the interests and values of these groups.

In the sociological aspect, the study finds a significant relationship between voters' religious backgrounds and candidate preferences, with a contingency coefficient of 0.478. Prabowo leads among Hindu, Buddhist, and other religious groups, while Christian and Catholic voters and Anies Islamic voters prefer Ganjar. This highlights the importance of religious identity in shaping voter preferences in Indonesia, where religious affiliation plays a critical role in political campaigns and voter mobilization strategies. Ethnic background also emerges as a significant factor, with Prabowo being the preferred candidate among Batak and Dayak voters. In contrast, other ethnic groups show more evenly distributed preferences, indicating that ethnic identity continues to be a potent force in Indonesian politics.

The psychosocial aspect reveals that the influence of opinion leaders and other parties significantly affects voter preferences. Prabowo is favoured by those influenced by legislative candidates, campaign teams, influencers, government officials, family, and community leaders, indicating a broad appeal across various influential groups. Ganjar, on the other hand, receives strong support from community leaders and family or colleagues, while voters guided by religious figures predominantly favour Anies. This underscores the importance of opinion leaders in shaping voter preferences, aligning with the theory that they mediate the influence of mass media and political information on voters.

The study also shows a strong relationship between religious affiliation and voter choices, with Prabowo receiving substantial support from affiliates of Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah, as well as Hindu sympathizers. Ganjar gains notable backing from Protestant-Catholic organizations, while Muhammadiyah and other Islamic organizations primarily support Anies. These findings emphasize the significant role of religious identity in shaping political support in Indonesia. Additionally, the study revealed a strong relationship between party identity and presidential candidate preference, with a contingency coefficient of 0.771, indicating a robust connection. Voters tend to support candidates aligned with the political parties they identify with, as seen in Prabowo's backing by Gerindra, Demokrat, and PAN affiliates and Anies's support from PKB, Nasdem, and PKS affiliates. Ganjar received the most support from PDIP, PPP, and other party voters, demonstrating party identity's critical role in



voter decision-making during elections.

In terms of rationality, where voters assess the candidate's competence, character, and track record, the Chi-square test results indicate significant relationships in all cases observed. The analysis of competence attributes shows that while Prabowo does not secure a majority in any single attribute, he consistently leads across vital traits such as charisma, decisiveness, courage, integrity, intelligence, and experience. His steady performance, with support ranging between 40-50%, underscores his broad appeal across multiple competence areas. Ganjar's supporters mainly value intelligence and experience, while Anies garners more evenly distributed support, particularly for intelligence and integrity. This analysis indicates that Prabowo has successfully positioned himself as a strong contender across multiple competencies, while Ganjar and Anies attract voters with more targeted priorities.

The analysis of the track record aspect reveals that Prabowo maintains strong support despite negative perceptions associated with him, such as alleged human rights violations, corruption, political dynasties, and identity politics. This support remains consistent among voters who consider these issues significant and those who do not. Similarly, support for Ganjar and Anies remains stable at around 30% and 27%, respectively. This suggests that a candidate's track record, especially when linked to damaging allegations, is limited to voter preferences. It indicates that while negative perceptions exist, they do not significantly shift voter support, with other factors like candidate competence playing a more crucial role in shaping voter choices.

Overall, the findings from this study reveal that age and income remain significant demographic factors in shaping voter preferences in Indonesia, while gender, education, and occupation are less associated. Sociological factors such as religious and ethnic backgrounds are critical in influencing voter choices, reflecting the country's diverse and complex social fabric. The psychosocial influences of opinion leaders, religious affiliation, and party identity are also pivotal in guiding voter preferences, underscoring the importance of these factors in political campaigns. Finally, the rational assessment of candidate competence and track record plays a vital role in determining voter support, highlighting the multifaceted nature of voter behaviour in Indonesia's 2024 Presidential Election.

### **Eclecticism in Voter Behavior: Insights from the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election**

The findings from Indonesia's 2024 Presidential Election affirm that voter behavior is shaped by an intricate interplay of demographic, sociological, psychosocial, and rational factors. These results not only highlight the multifaceted nature of voter decision-making but also reveal a fluidity in behavioral trends, underscoring the eclectic characteristics of Indonesian voters. Unlike systems where specific variables dominate voter preferences, Indonesia's electorate demonstrates a dynamic responsiveness to political context, public sentiment, and shifting power structures. This eclecticism renders the electoral landscape highly adaptive, reflecting both continuities and departures from previous elections.

The 2024 election underscores the critical role of age and income in shaping voter preferences, signaling both continuities and shifts in Indonesia's political behavior. Younger voters, especially those aged 17–20, exhibited a pronounced preference for Prabowo Subianto, who garnered 52% of their support. This trend is particularly significant, given that younger voters have historically been seen as challenging to mobilize due to their fluid allegiances and often limited political engagement. Prabowo's appeal to this demographic reflects his strategic focus on education, technological advancement, and employment—issues that resonate strongly with

Indonesia's burgeoning youth population. These findings align with Aspinall & Sukmajati's (2018) observations that younger voters are drawn to candidates who promise innovation and progressive change.

Income levels also emerged as a significant determinant, with higher-income voters (earning above IDR 10 million monthly) showing a marked preference for Prabowo (56%). This suggests a prioritization of economic stability and growth-oriented policies among wealthier demographics, a pattern consistent with earlier studies (Mujani et al., 2011; Aspinall & Mietzner, 2010). Conversely, preferences among lower-income voters were more evenly distributed, indicating a broader range of considerations beyond economic issues. This divergence highlights the growing stratification within Indonesia's electorate, where economic disparities shape divergent political priorities.

Interestingly, other demographic markers such as gender, education, and occupation were less significant in determining voter behavior. Prabowo's balanced support among male and female voters (44%) suggests a cross-gender appeal, while his strong backing across all educational levels underscores his ability to transcend socio-economic boundaries. In contrast, Anies Baswedan's greater support among college-educated voters signals his alignment with more educated demographics, reflecting targeted campaign messaging.

This research also finds that sociological factors such as religion and ethnicity continue to wield significant influence in shaping voter preferences, reaffirming their persistent role in Indonesian electoral dynamics. Prabowo's dominance among Hindu, Buddhist, and minority religious groups contrasts sharply with Anies's robust support from Islamic voters, underscoring the deep-seated interplay between religious identity and political allegiance. This pattern echoes findings by Aspinall et al. (2011) and Assyaukanie (2019), which emphasize the enduring salience of religious affiliation in Indonesia's political landscape.

Ethnicity also remains a critical determinant, with Prabowo receiving strong support from Batak and Dayak voters. This highlights the intersectionality of ethnic identity and political alignment, where candidates who engage with specific cultural or regional aspirations can secure substantial backing. However, the more balanced preferences among other ethnic groups suggest a subtle shift toward broader electoral considerations, signaling the potential for reduced ethnocentric politics in certain constituencies. This finding echoes the research by Aspinall & Fealy (2010) and Suryadinata et al. (2003), which found that ethnic identity, religion, and political affiliation are intertwined in local and national politics in Indonesia.

Meanwhile, the psychosocial aspect reveals that opinion leaders and other influential figures play a significant role in shaping voter preferences. Prabowo is favoured by voters influenced by legislative candidates, campaign teams, influencers, government officials, family members, and community leaders. This broad appeal across various influential groups underscores the importance of opinion leaders in mediating the influence of mass media and political information on voters, a concept supported by Katz & Lazarsfeld's (1956) theory. The significant role of religious figures in swaying voters towards Anies highlights the deep intertwining of religion and politics in Indonesia, suggesting that Anies's association with religious values effectively bolstered his support. Local community leaders' support for Prabowo and Ganjar further suggests that voters favour candidates who align with their community's interests and values.

Religious organization affiliation and party identity also emerge as significant psychosocial factors in voter preferences. Prabowo's substantial support from affiliates of Islamic

organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah, as well as Hindu sympathizers, indicates the importance of religious identity in shaping political support. Ganjar's backing from Protestant-Catholic organizations and Anies's support from Muhammadiyah and other Islamic organizations reflect the significant role of religious affiliation in voter choices, as noted in studies by Liddle & Mujani (2007) and Bush (2009). The strong relationship between party identity and presidential candidate preference, with a contingency coefficient of 0.771, underscores the critical role of party loyalty in voter decision-making.

The study also confirms the critical role of party identity in voter decision-making. Political parties that effectively consolidate their voter base and build strong coalitions can direct voter support toward their endorsed candidates. This indicates that voters are loyal to their party and its candidates. The results align with empirical studies demonstrating the importance of party identity in Indonesia's voter preferences. Liddle & Mujani (2007) highlight that party identity significantly influences voter choices, particularly in national elections, as voters often choose candidates affiliated with the party they identify with, showcasing strong party loyalty. Similarly, Aspinall & Sukmajati (2018) emphasize the role of party identity in political mobilization in Indonesia, showing that parties with solid identities and voter loyalty can garner support for their candidates more effectively. Furthermore, Tomsa (2008) reveals that a party's history, ideology, and performance significantly shape party identity, making it a critical factor in political decision-making.

On the other hand, rational assessments of candidates' competence and track records also become influential factors in shaping voter preferences. Prabowo's consistent performance across attributes such as charisma, decisiveness, and integrity highlight his ability to project broad-based competence. While Ganjar's supporters valued intelligence and experience, and Anies' base emphasized integrity, Prabowo's multifaceted appeal reflects a calculated positioning to capture diverse voter priorities.

Notably, allegations of human rights violations and corruption had limited impact on Prabowo's support, suggesting a pragmatic orientation among voters. This marks a departure from earlier elections, where negative perceptions often undermined candidates' credibility. Instead, voters appear to prioritize perceived leadership potential over historical controversies, signaling a shift toward performance-based evaluations. This trend aligns with broader observations of Indonesia's electorate, where rational considerations increasingly supplant ideological or moralistic decision-making (Mujani et al., 2018; Tomsa, 2008).

Overall, the 2024 election illustrates the eclectic nature of Indonesian voter behavior, where no single factor consistently dominates. Instead, voter preferences are shaped by a dynamic interplay of demographic, sociological, psychosocial, and rational considerations, reflecting the fluidity of Indonesia's political landscape. This adaptability is influenced by the broader political context, public sentiment, and shifting power dynamics, underscoring the need for nuanced electoral strategies.

Compared to previous elections, the 2024 results reveal both continuity and change. The persistent role of religion and party identity reflects long-standing sociopolitical structures, while the growing influence of younger voters, the rise of economic stratification, and the emphasis on competence and pragmatism signal evolving priorities. This eclecticism highlights the importance of tailoring campaign strategies to address Indonesia's diverse and adaptive electorate.

## **Conclusion and Lessons for Newly Democratized Societies**

This study's findings based on the 2024 Indonesia's presidential election underscore the complexities of navigating democracy in a diverse and evolving society, offering valuable lessons for both Indonesia and newly democratized nations worldwide. The eclectic nature of voter behavior in Indonesia—characterized by a dynamic interplay of demographic, sociological, psychosocial, and rational factors—reflects the intricate realities of democratic systems where no single determinant consistently drives voter preferences. Instead, electoral outcomes are shaped by the confluence of shifting political dynamics, public sentiment, and power relations, highlighting the adaptability of voters to their socio-political context.

This election reveals both enduring continuities and significant shifts. Long-standing influences such as religious affiliation, ethnic identity, and party loyalty remain critical in shaping political preferences, reflecting deep-rooted sociological factors in Indonesia's democracy. At the same time, emerging trends, including the growing prominence of youth engagement, economic pragmatism, and performance-based evaluations of candidates, illustrate the electorate's evolving priorities. These shifts suggest a transition toward a more pragmatic and issue-focused political culture, signaling opportunities for democratic deepening and challenges in managing polarization and sustaining inclusivity.

For newly democratized societies, Indonesia's experience offers a compelling case study in the complexities of electoral behavior. The coexistence of continuity and change demonstrates that democratic systems must remain flexible and responsive to shifting societal dynamics. The ability to balance these factors while fostering inclusive political narratives and mitigating polarization is critical for democratic stability. Indonesia's rise in personality-driven campaigns, while reflective of global trends, also highlights the need for institutional safeguards to ensure that individual charisma is complemented by robust party platforms and substantive policy debates.

Looking ahead, the future of Indonesian democracy depends on addressing several key challenges. Enhancing political literacy among voters is paramount, particularly in combating the spread of misinformation and fostering informed decision-making. Institutional reforms are equally crucial to strengthen accountability and transparency, ensuring that political parties, electoral commissions, and civil society organizations work collaboratively to uphold democratic principles. Research must also continue to explore the nuanced drivers of voter behavior, with a focus on understanding the interplay of demographic shifts, digital platforms, and socio-political dynamics.

This moment calls for collective action from all political stakeholders. Political parties must move beyond transactional and personality-driven approaches to prioritize meaningful engagement with voters. Civil society organizations and educational institutions must redouble efforts to build a politically literate electorate capable of critically assessing political narratives. Policymakers and electoral bodies must ensure that democratic institutions are transparent, inclusive, and resilient against emerging challenges.

Indonesia's journey offers a vital lesson for all democratizing nations: the strength of a democracy lies in its ability to adapt to change while upholding the principles of justice, inclusivity, and accountability. By embracing the opportunities and addressing the challenges of eclectic voter behavior, Indonesia can continue to evolve as a model for democratic resilience.

This shared commitment to a more informed, inclusive, and accountable political culture will not only fortify Indonesia's democracy but also inspire other nations seeking to navigate the complexities of modern governance.

## References

- Adjei, J. K. (2013). Ethnicity and Voting Behavior in the Ashanti and Volta Regions of Ghana: A Cramp in the Wheel of a Fledgling Democracy? *Journal of Global Initiatives: Policy, Pedagogy, Perspective*, 7, 1. <https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:663468>
- Agresti, A. (2012). *Categorical Data Analysis, 3rd Edition Extra Exercises*. <https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:8362643>
- Alonso-Magdalenó, M. I., & García-García, J. (2024). Tweeting for office: decoding digital relevance in Spanish general elections 2011–2023. *Aslib Journal of Information Management*. <https://doi.org/10.1108/AJIM-01-2024-0029>
- Aminulloh, A., Qorib, F., Fianto, L., & Setiamandani, E. D. (2022). Propaganda and Political Memes on Social Media in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. *Journal of Islamic World and Politics*, 6(2), 342–365. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jiwp.v6i2.16115>
- Andersen, R., & Heath, A. (2000). *Social Cleavages, Attitudes and Voting Patterns: A Comparison of Canada and Great Britain*.
- Anson Boateng, K. J., & Buatsi, R. (2023). Analysis of Facebook and Twitter Usage in Ghana's 2020 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. In *Digitisation, AI and Algorithms in African Journalism and Media Contexts* (pp. 103–124). Emerald Publishing Limited. <https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-80455-135-620231007>
- Arifianto, A. R. (2020). Rising Islamism and the Struggle for Islamic Authority in Post- Reformasi Indonesia. *TRaNS: Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia*, 8(1), 37–50. <https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2019.10>
- Aspinall, E. (2005). *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*. Stanford University Press. <http://www.sup.org/books/title/?id=5947>
- Aspinall, E., Dettman, S., & Warburton, E. (2011). When Religion Trumps Ethnicity: A Regional Election Case Study from Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 19, 27–58. <https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2011.0034>
- Aspinall, E., & Fealy, G. (2010). Soeharto's New Order and Its Legacy: Essays in honour of Harold Crouch (E. Aspinall & G. Fealy, Eds.). ANU Press. <https://doi.org/10.22459/SNOL.08.2010>
- Aspinall, E., & Mietzner, M. (2010). *Problems of democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, institutions and society*.
- Aspinall, E., & Sukmajati, M. (2018). *Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia* (E. Aspinall & M. Sukmajati, Eds.). NUS Press Pte Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1xxzz2>
- Assyaukanie, L. (2019). Religion as a Political Tool: Secular and Islamist Roles in Indonesian Elections. *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM*, 13(2), 454. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2019.13.2.454-479>
- Berelson, B. R., Lazarsfeld, P. F., & McPhee, W. N. (1954). *Voting: a study of opinion formation in a presidential campaign*. University of Chicago Press.
- Borges, A., & Turgeon, M. (2019). Presidential coattails in coalitional presidentialism. *Party Politics*, 25(2), 192–202. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068817702283>
- Buehler, M. (2009). The Rising Importance of Personal Networks In Indonesian Local Politics: An Analysis of District Government Head Elections in South Sulawesi in 2005. In *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia?* (pp. 101–124). ISEAS Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789812308429-010>
- Bush, R. (2009). Nahdlatul Ulama and the Struggle for Power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia. In *Nahdlatul Ulama and the Struggle for Power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*.

- Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E., & Stokes, D. E. (1960). *The American voter*. In *The American voter*. John Wiley.
- Choi, N. (2009). Batam's 2006 Mayoral Election: Weakened Political Parties and Intensified Power Struggle in Local Indonesia. In *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia?: Direct Elections for Local Leaders (Pilkada)* (pp. 74–100). ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/B6A923508B3D12E794BCAE2BB81E453B>
- Dagg, C. J. (2007). The 2004 elections in Indonesia: Political reform and democratisation. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 48(1), 47–59. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8373.2007.00329.x>
- Diamond, L., Linz, J., & Lipset, S. M. (1989). *Democracy in Developing Countries* (L. Diamond, J. Linz, & S. Martin Lipset, Eds.). Lynne Rienner Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781685853051>
- Downs, A. (1957). *An economic theory of democracy*. HarperCollins Publishers.
- Duile, T., & Tamma, S. (2021). Political language and fake news. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 49(143), 82–105. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2021.1862496>
- Field, A. P. (2017). *Discovering statistics using IBM SPSS statistics*, 5th edition. <https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:69843782>
- Fiorina, M. P. (1981). *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*, New Haven-London. Yale University Press.
- Fossati, D. (2019). The Resurgence of Ideology in Indonesia: Political Islam, Aliran and Political Behaviour. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 38(2), 119–148. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103419868400>
- Guilford, J. P., & Fruchter, B. (1973). *Fundamental statistics in psychology and education*, 5th ed. In *Fundamental statistics in psychology and education*, 5th ed. McGraw-Hill.
- Hanan, D., & Irvani, D. (2022). The Coattail Effect in Multiparty Presidential Elections. *Asian Survey*, 62, 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2022.1501924>
- Hannan, J. (2018). Trolling ourselves to death? Social media and post-truth politics. *European Journal of Communication*, 33(2), 214–226. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118760323>
- Haryanto, H. (2016). Kebangkitan Party ID: Analisis Perilaku Memilih dalam Politik Lokal di Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 17(3), 291. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.13082>
- Huddy, L. (2001). From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory. *Political Psychology*, 22(1), 127–156. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0162-895X.00230>
- Huntington, S. P. (1996). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. Yale University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1cc2m34>
- Ikenberry, G. J., Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2004). Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide. *Foreign Affairs*, 83(6), 143. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20034150>
- Katz, E., & Lazarsfeld, P. F. (1956). *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*. <https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:143067321>
- Kinder, D. R., & Kiewiet, D. R. (1981). Sociotropic Politics: The American Case. *British Journal of Political Science*, 11(2), 129–161. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/193580>
- King, D. (2003). *Half-Hearted Reform: Electoral Institutions and the Struggle for Democracy in Indonesia*. Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9798400660986>
- Kinsey, D. F., & Popkin, S. L. (1993). The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns. *Political Psychology*, 14, 569. <https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:147627743>
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B. R., & Gaudet, H. (1948). *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. <https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:142607601>
- Liddle, R. W., & Mujani, S. (2007). *Leadership, Party, and Religion: Explaining Voting Behavior in*

- Indonesia. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(7), 832–857. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414006292113>
- Mietzner, M., & Muhtadi, B. (2018). Explaining the 2016 Islamist Mobilisation in Indonesia: Religious Intolerance, Militant Groups and the Politics of Accommodation. *Asian Studies Review*, 42(3), 479–497. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2018.1473335>
- Muhtadi, B. (2020). *Kuasa Uang: Politik Uang dalam Pemilu Pasca Orde Baru*. PT. Gramedia Jakarta.
- Mujani, S., & Kuipers, N. (2020). Who Believed Misinformation during the 2019 Indonesian Election? *Asian Survey*, 60(6), 1029–1043. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48735720>
- Mujani, S., Liddle, R., & Ambardi, K. (2011). *Kuasa Rakyat: Analisis tentang Perilaku Memilih dalam Pemilihan Legislatif dan Presiden Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*. Mizan.
- Mujani, S., & Liddle, R. W. (2009). Muslim Indonesia's Secular Democracy. *Asian Survey*, 49(4), 575–590. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2009.49.4.575>
- Mujani, S., Liddle, R. W., & Ambardi, K. (2018). *Voting Behavior in Indonesia since Democratization*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108377836>
- Nakamura, M. (1999). Prospects for Islam in post-Soeharto Indonesia\*. *Asia-Pacific Review*, 6(1), 89–108. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13439009908720008>
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (ed. 7th). Pearson Education Limited.
- Norris, P. (2002). *Democratic Phoenix: New Social Movements, Protest Politics, and the Internet*. <https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:261954394>
- Power, T., & Warburton, E. (2020). The decline of Indonesian Democracy. In T. Power & E. Warburton (Eds.), *Democracy in Indonesia: From Stagnation to Regression?* (pp. 1–20). ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/OB0ED35DBA70167AD948258981AFAAEF>
- Rahman, H. I. (2007). *Sistem Politik Indonesia*. Graha Ilmu.
- Shidiq, A. R., & Vermonte, P. J. (2013). What Happened in the Early Years of Democracy: Indonesia's Experience. *Middle East Development Journal*, 05(01), 1350008. <https://doi.org/10.1142/S1793812013500089>
- Suryadinata, L., Ananta, A., & Arifin, E. N. (2003). Indonesia's population : ethnicity and religion in a changing political landscape / Leo Suryadinata, Evi Nurvidya Arifin, Aris Ananta. *Institute of Southeast Asian Studies*.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (2001). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In *Intergroup relations: Essential readings*. (pp. 94–109). Psychology Press.
- Tomsa, D. (2008). Party Politics and Democratization in Indonesia: Golkar in the post-Suharto era. 1–260. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203892749>
- Tomsa, D., & Setijadi, C. (2018). New Forms of Political Activism in Indonesia. *Asian Survey*, 58(3), 557–581. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2018.58.3.557>
- Ufen, A. (2008). Political party and party system institutionalization in Southeast Asia: lessons for democratic consolidation in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand. *The Pacific Review*, 21(3), 327–350. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512740802134174>
- Verba, S., Scholzman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and Equality*. Harvard University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1pnc1k7>
- Verba, Sidney., & Nie, N. H. (1972). *Participation in America: political democracy and social equality*. Harper & Row.
- Warburton, E. (2016). Jokowi and the New Developmentalism. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 52, 297–320. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2016.1249262>
- Widyaningsih, Y., & Nasution, C. (2022). Klasifikasi Pemilih dalam Pemilu 2019 di Indonesia Menggunakan Regresi Logistik Multinomial dan Chi-Square Automatic Decision Tree (CHAID).

1432 *Eclecticism of Voter Characteristics and Electoral Choices in*  
Jurnal Statistika Dan Aplikasinya, 6, 148–159. <https://doi.org/10.21009/JSA.06201>.



## Appendix

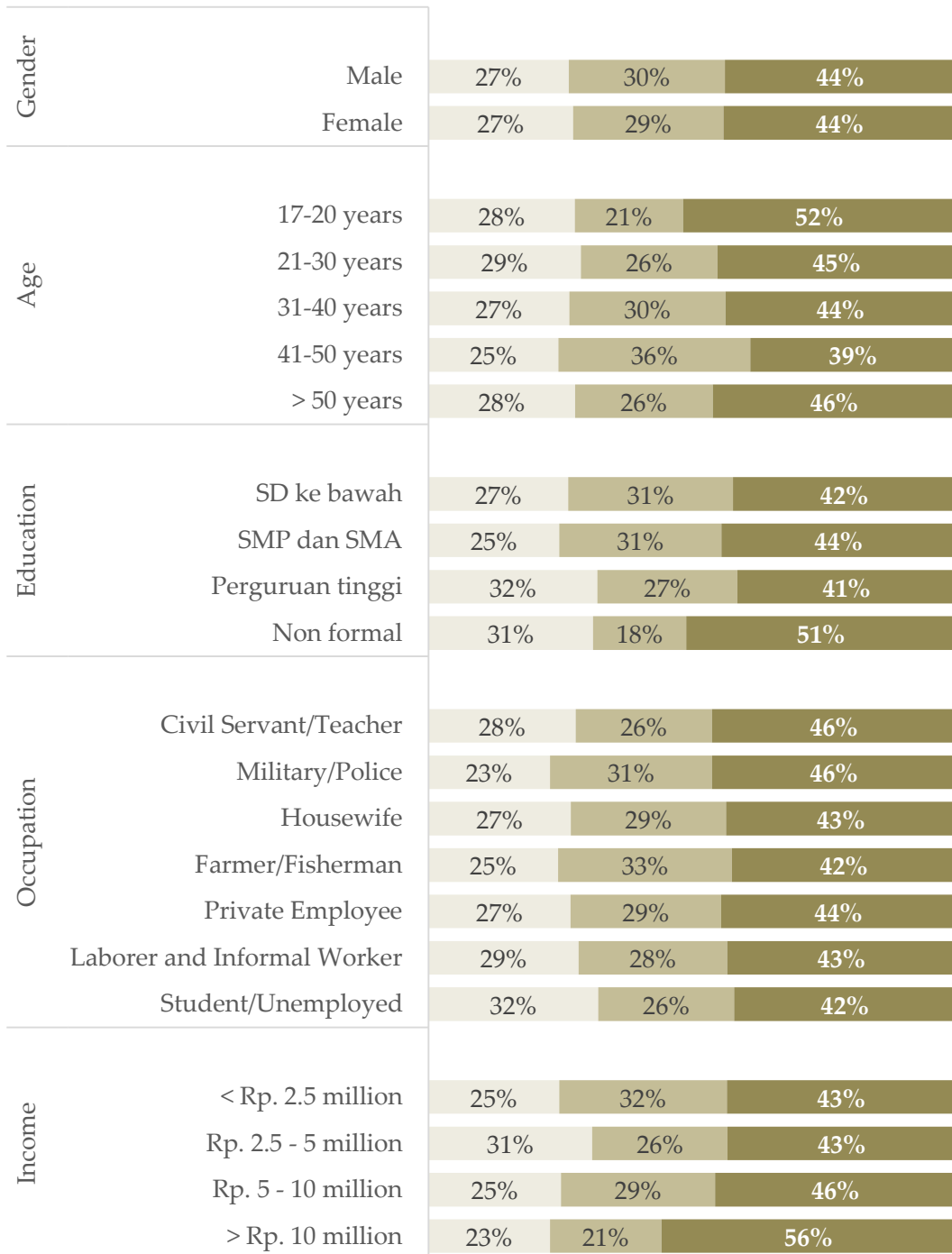
Appendix 1. Summary of Voter Characteristics

| No. | Characteristic       | Variable               | Unit            | Description/category  |
|-----|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---|
| 1   | Demographic factors  | Gender                 | Nominal         | Male, Female  |
|     |                      | Age                    | Years           | 17–20, 21–30, 31–40, 41–50, >50   |
|     |                      | Education              | Nominal         | Uneducated/Informal Education, Primary School, Middle/High School, Higher Education   |
|     |                      | Profession             | nominal         | Civil Servant/Teacher, Military/National Police, Private Sector, Farmer/Fisher/Small Trader, Homemaker, Laborer/Informal Worker, Student/Unemployed |
|     |                      | Monthly income         | Millions Rupiah | <2.5, 2.5–5, 5–10, >10  |
|     |                      | Religion               | Nominal         | Muslim, Christian/Catholic, Hindu/Buddhist/others   |
|     |                      | Ethnicity              | Nominal         | Javanese/Betawi/Madurese, Sundanese, Minang, Melayu, Batak, Dayak, Bugis, Others  |
| 2   | Sociological factors | Affiliation            | Nominal         | NU, Muhammadiyah, Other mass Islamic organizations, Protestant-Catholic organizations, Mass Hindu organizations, No affiliation                     |
|     |                      | Political choice party | Nominal         | PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, Demokrat, PAN, PSI, PPP, Other political parties, Do not know   |
| 3   | Psychosocial factors | Certainty choice of    | Nominal         | Already certain, Not yet certain, Do not know   |
|     |                      | Influencing factors    | Nominal         | Instructions from religious/community figures, Work program is unclear, Issues are unclear, Do not like any presidential                            |

| No. | Characteristic   | Variable  | Unit         | Description/category  |
|-----|------------------|---|--------------|---|
|     |                  |   |              | and vice presidential candidate pairs, Misaligned with party coalition, Do not dare to choose according to their wishes, Others/do not know |
|     |                  | Political party choice in 2019                      | Nominal      | PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, PPP, PSI, PAN, Demokrat, Other political party, Do not know                                       |
|     |                  | Choice of political party if the election was today | -            | PKB, Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, PPP, PSI, PAN, Demokrat, Other political party, Do not know                                       |
| 4   | Rational factors | Policies  | Nominal      | Continuing existing policies, Implementing new policies, Do not know  |
|     |                  | Track record  | Nominal      | Has a track record of public office, Has a civil servant background, Has a track record in the world of politics, Do not know               |
|     |                  | Authoritative-charismatic character                 | Likert Scale | Important, Unimportant, Do not know   |
|     |                  | Firm-brave character                                | Likert Scale | Important, Unimportant, Do not know   |
|     |                  | Honest-corruption free character                    | Likert Scale | Important, Unimportant, Do not know   |
|     |                  | Intelligent-provides solutions character            | Likert Scale | Important, Unimportant, Do not know   |
|     |                  | Experienced-pro-people character                    | Likert Scale | Important, Unimportant, Do not know   |

Source: Author's summary

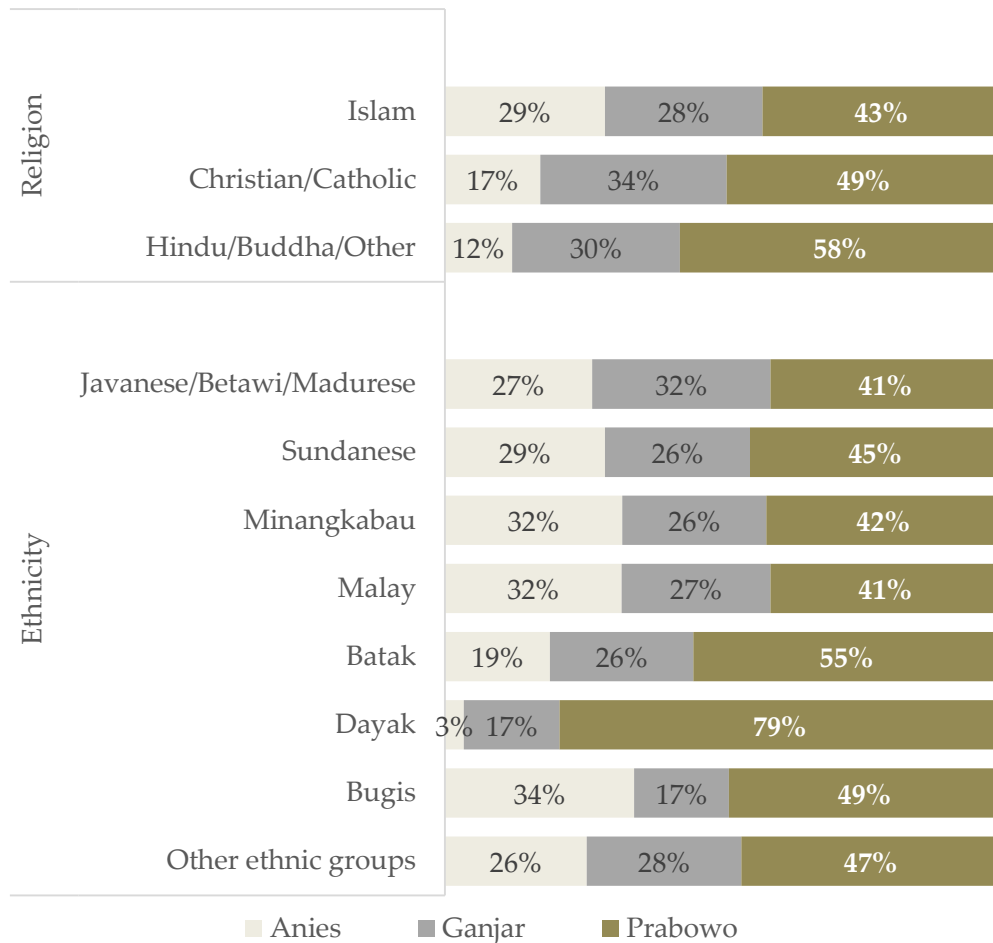
## Appendix 2. Distribution of voter choices by demographic factors



■ Anies   ■ Ganjar   ■ Prabowo

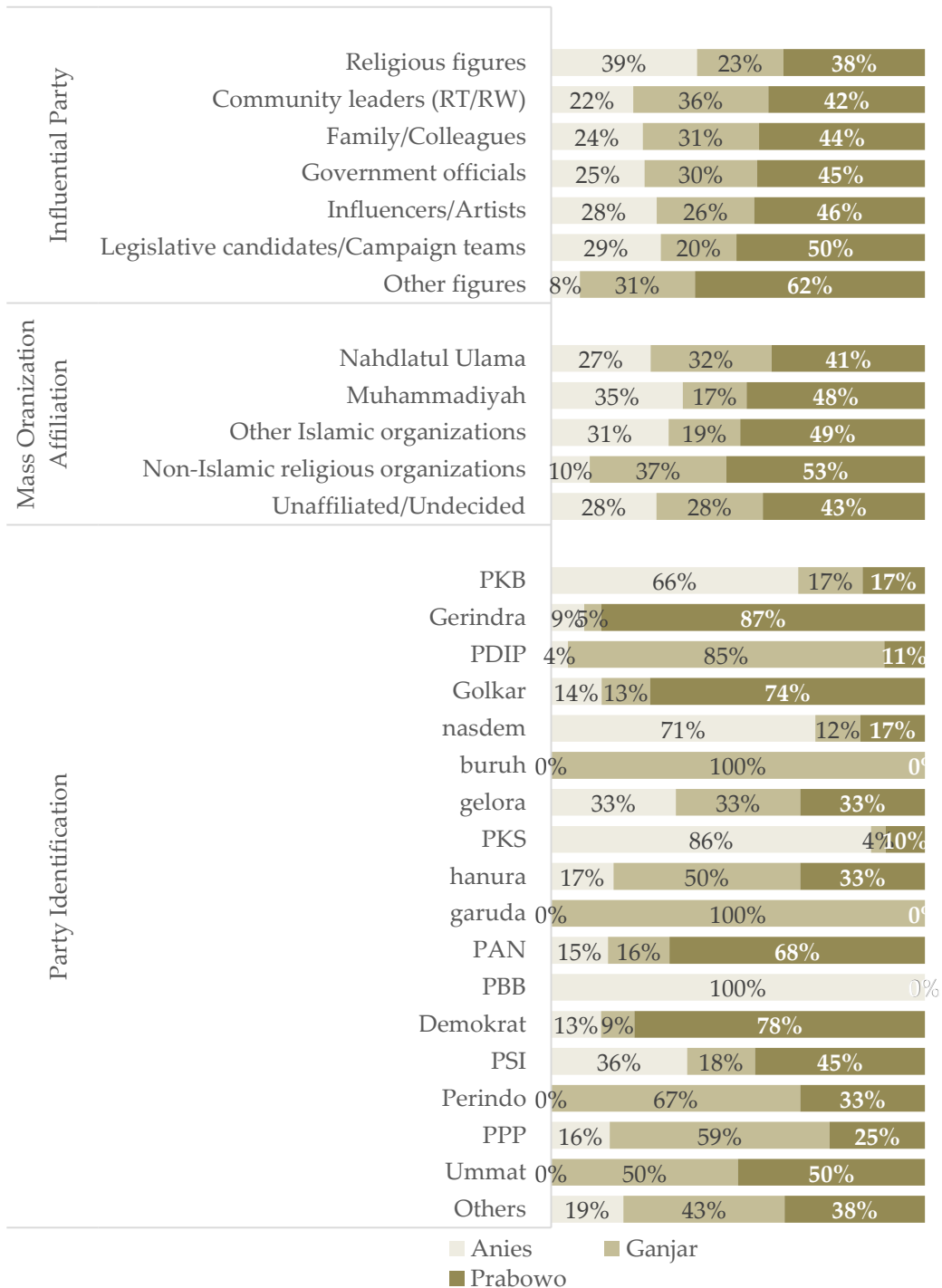
Source: Author's calculation

**Appendix 3. Distribution of voter choices by sociological factors**



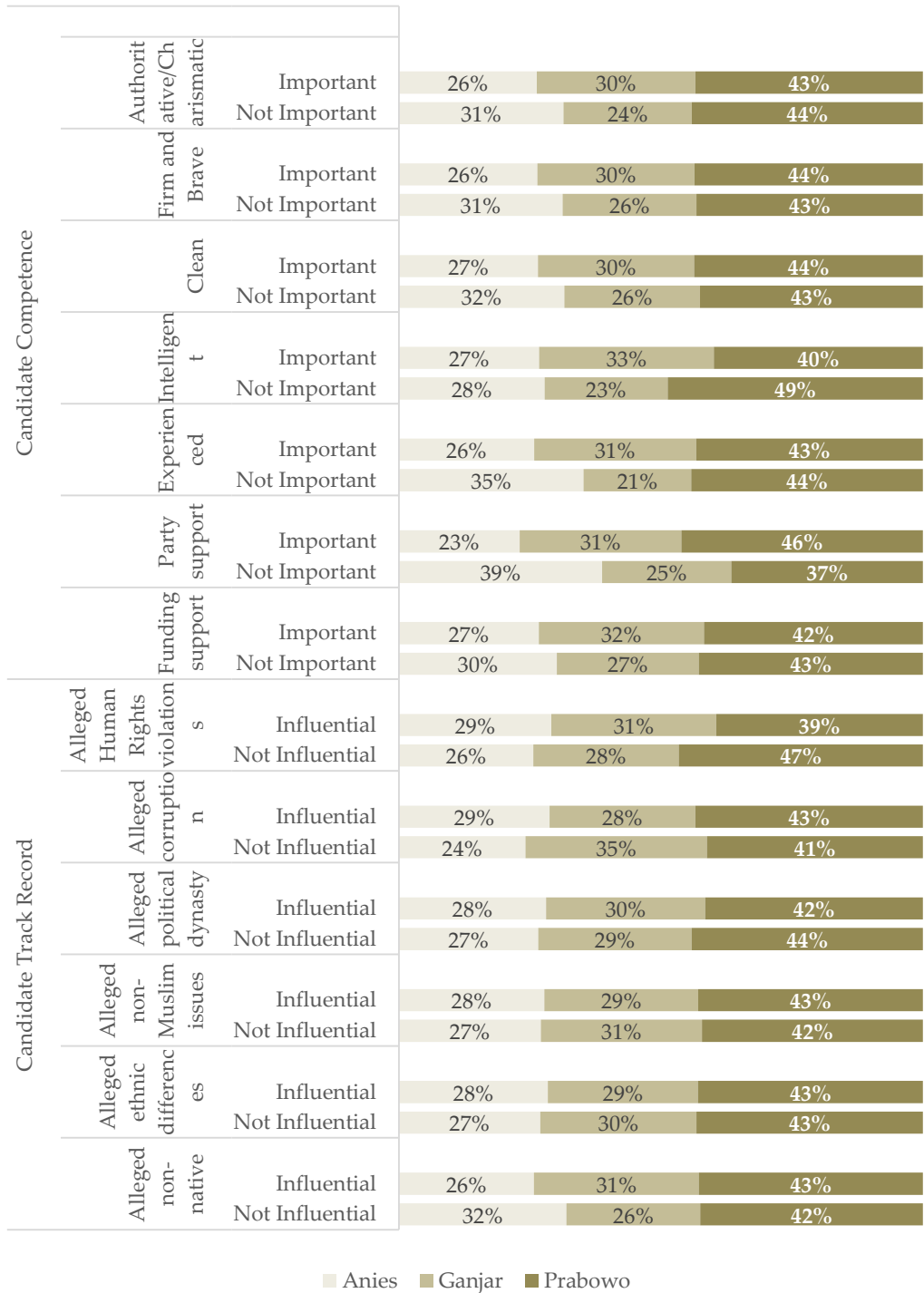
Source: Author's calculation

**Appendix 4. Distribution of voter choices by psychosocial factors**



Source: Author's calculation

**Appendix 5. Distribution of voter choices by demographic factors by rationality factors**



Source: Author's calculation

## Appendix 6. Chi-square test results

| No | Characteristic       | Variable   | Contingency coefficient | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |    |
|----|----------------------|--|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|----|
| 1  | Demographic factors  | Gender   | 0.129                   | 0.872                             |    |
|    |                      | Age  | 0.363                   | 0.011                             | *  |
|    |                      | Education  | 0.446                   | 0.083                             |    |
|    |                      | Occupation                                       | 0.571                   | 0.787                             |    |
|    |                      | Income   | 0.505                   | 0.039                             | ** |
| 2  | Sociological factors | Religion   | 0.478                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Ethnicity  | 0.740                   | 0.000                             | ** |
| 3  | Psychosocial factors | Influence of figures                             | 0.573                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Mass organization affiliation                    | 0.589                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Political party affiliation                      | 0.771                   | 0.000                             | ** |
| 4  | Rational factors     | Candidate competency: Authoritative/charismatic  | 0.398                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Candidate competency: Firm and brave             | 0.466                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Candidate competency: Corruption-free            | 0.447                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Candidate competency: Intelligent                | 0.441                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Candidate competency: Experienced                | 0.475                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Candidate competency: Political party support    | 0.502                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Candidate competency: Funding support            | 0.489                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Track record: human rights violation allegations | 0.530                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Track record: Corruption allegations             | 0.614                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Track record: Political dynastic allegations     | 0.514                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Track record: Non-Muslim issue allegations       | 0.540                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Track record: Different ethnicity allegations    | 0.551                   | 0.000                             | ** |
|    |                      | Track record: Non-indigeneity allegations        | 0.582                   | 0.000                             | ** |

Source: Author's calculation

Note

\*: 5% Significance level

\*\*: 1% Significance level