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Cover Page Footnote

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THE EFFECT OF ISLAM, MILLENNIALS, AND EDUCATED VOTERS TO ANIES-SANDI VICTORY OF 2ND ROUND DKI JAKARTA GOVERNOR ELECTION IN 2017

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to recognize the factors of voters that have impact to Anies-Sandi victory of 2nd round DKI Jakarta governor election in 2017. The factors that being tested are Islam voters, Millennials voters with the range of age around 21 to 40 and educated voters which voters with minimum education are senior high school in 2017. This research is quantitative research with secondary data using multiple linear regression analysis to get the empirical result. The result of this research shows that Islam, Millennials and Educated voters are simultaneously significantly impact to Anies-Sandi victory. While Islam and Millennials voters are partially significantly impact to Anies-Sandi victory but the educated voters is not significantly impact because they are considered able to think critically. Political of identity as a political marketing strategy can be used to any kind of election with the Islam, millennials, voters' consideration but has a relatively low level of education.

Keywords: Political of Identity, Islam Voters, Millennials Voters, Educated Voters , DKI Jakarta Governor Election, Anies-Sandi

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1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country that implements democracy as its political system. Democracy is a Greek word of '*demos*' and '*kratos*' which means people and governing. Thus, democracy can be interpreted as the right of the people to make political decisions carried out directly by all people or citizens (Kristeva, 2015).

As a country that has a democratic political system, citizens have the right to participate in the political process. The right to participate is channeled directly through general elections to elect its leaders. Undang-undang No. 32/2004 concerning Regional Government has regulated the filling of regional head positions by a general election directly elected by the people or often referred to as a local election (Pilkada).

Election of Regional Head (Pilkada) is one of the important events for the people of an area to elect their regional leaders in the next five years. Local elections are held to elect prospective regional leaders such as Regents, Mayors or Governors. In 2017, the General Election Commission (KPU) as the election management body held simultaneous local elections in all regions in Indonesia. The elections were held in 101 regions consisting of 76 districts in 18 cities in 7 provinces. DKI Jakarta as the capital of the country conducts elections to elect its Governor. As the nation's capital, the Election of Governors (Pilgub) in DKI Jakarta will become a measure of national politics. Therefore, the implementation will be seen by all regional communities in Indonesia. In the 2017 gubernatorial election, DKI Jakarta had three candidates who would later be elected by the people of DKI Jakarta, namely (1) Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono - Silvyana Murni, (2) Basuki Tjahaja Purnama - Djarot Saiful Hidayat, (3) Anies Baswedan - Sandiaga Uno.

To become the Governor for the next 5 years, candidates must win the election on condition that they get more than 50% of the votes. However, intense competition requires that the 2017 governor election be conducted through 2 rounds because none of the candidates managed to get more than 50% of the votes in the first round. The Ahok - Djarot pair got the highest votes with 42.99% or equivalent to 2.36 million votes in the first round. However, these results are not enough to deliver Ahok - Djarot to win the 2017 Gubernatorial Election.

Table 1. Voting Results of the 2017 Gubernatorial Election in Round 1 (KPU)

Candidates	Round 1		Round 2	
	% Vote	Total Vote	% Vote	Total Vote
Agus - Sylvi	17.05%	937,955		
Ahok - Djarot	42.99%	2,364,577	42.04%	2,350,366
Anies - Sandi	39.95%	2,197,333	57.96%	3,240,987

Source : kpu.go.id

From the results of the Round 1 Pilgub, it was found that Anies - Sandi was ranked second with a total vote of 39.95% or equivalent to 2.2 million votes. So the couple Ahok - Djarot and Anies - Sandi has the right to compete in the second round to compete for the seats of the Governor and Deputy Governor for the 2017 - 2022 period.

Each candidate applies a strategy to get the votes of the people of DKI Jakarta. Ahok - Djarot used a performance strategy that had been carried out in the previous period that had seen results. Meanwhile, Anies - Sandi conducted a strategy with an identity politics approach. Anies - Sandi candidate pair uses the identity of other candidates to strengthen Anies Sandi's identity. Another couple, Ahok Djarot, is considered to have the identity of Ahok's leadership style, which tends to be arrogant and rude during his time as Governor of DKI Jakarta. Besides, Ahok also has a Christian religious identity. Ahok's two identities were used as Anies Sandi's political strategy to win the Jakarta gubernatorial election at that time where Anies's identity had a friendly and polite leadership style and Anies's religious identity was Islamic. The identity is used by the Anies-Sandi couple as social conformity to get votes. The population of Muslims in DKI Jakarta in 2016 reached 83.4 percent or 8.6 million people. This further supports Anies - Sandi's strategy to win the second round of DKI Jakarta Pilgub in 2017.

Table 2. Voting Results for the 2017 Gubernatorial Election in Round 2 (KPU)

Candidates	% Vote	Total Vote
Jokowi - Amin	55.50%	85,607,362
Prabowo - Sandi	44.50%	68,650,239
Total	100.00%	154,257,601

Source : kpu.go.id

Based on table 2 it can be seen that Anies-Sandi's victory was quite effective by using an identity politics strategy. One of Anies's political strategies was declared successful in buying voting rights of the people of DKI Jakarta in the second round because in the first round Ahok still got the most votes before there was an issue of religious identity which was then used by the Anies-Sandi couple. After this strategy is carried out Anies Sandi can win the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor election in the second round. 19 surveys were conducted before the election, as many as 11 surveys said Ahok would win, and only 3 surveys stated Anies won, the rest stated Agus would win. This identity politics is increasingly easy to use as a winning strategy for Anies - Sandi in the 2017 Gubernatorial Election with the presence of social media and millennial targets which are the targets of their political products. Ardipandanto (2017) said Anies-Sandi's political strategy was introduced under the name of ground attacks, airstrikes, and political operations. One strategy is airstrikes through social media. Social media is seen as an effective medium to become a campaign tool because according to APJII in 2017, more than 50% of the most internet users are in the age range of 19-54 years wherein that age range is millennials.

Table 3. Penetration of Internet Users according to APJII

Age	Total Remain Voters	% Remain Voters'
17-20	17,501,278	9.17%
21-30	42,843,792	22.46%
31-40	43,407,156	22.75%
41-50	37,525,537	19.67%
51-60	26,890,997	14.10%
>60	22,601,569	11.85%
Grand Total	190,770,329	100%

Source : APJII Survey, 2017

The thing to note is the "war" campaign with nuances SARA that occurred on social media, such as Facebook (FB), Twitter, and so on, conducted by each candidate sympathizer. Like the results of an interview conducted by Deni Hidayat to Radit, the Head of the Anies-Sandi Media Center Team (2017) who said that "Social Media Instagram is chosen because we see the results of our team survey that the swing voters at the time of this election were the majority of young people. and novice voters, and from most social media that is often used is Instagram. So that social media Instagram is more maximized by the media team to pick up the voices of young people ". Social media is understood not only as a means of social interaction in general, but also a source of political news.

Political actors freely produce political discourse on social media. There are around 300 social media accounts that have been blocked by the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo) because they have been identified as having political motives for spreading hoax and race issues aimed at getting the voice of the public (Yovita, 2017).

Nasrudin (2018) said that DKI voters are more rational, educated, and more critical voters. In terms of education, Jakarta voters around 45-50% have a high school education and around 20-25% have a tertiary education. This education profile is far better than the average in other regions. The general perception is that rational, educated, and critical voters tend to vote for reasons that are not related to identity.

The politics of Islamic identity succeeded in bringing Anies - Sandi to win the 2017 DKI Pilgub. Therefore this research will empirically confirm the effectiveness of identity politics carried out by Anies - Sandi couples in winning the DKI Pilgub.

2. Literature Review

General Election

Elections are an instrument for realizing people's sovereignty, forming a legitimate government and as a means of articulating people's aspirations and interests. Elections are a minimum requirement for democracy which aims to elect representatives of the people, regional representatives and the president to form a democratic government. According to Jimly Asshidiquie (2006) the importance of holding regular elections is due to several reasons including the following: (a) People's opinions or aspirations tend to change from time to time. (b) Conditions of community life that can also change. (c) Increase in population and adult people who can exercise their right to vote. (d) To ensure leadership regulation both in executive and legislative caving.

Politics of Identity

There are various points of view looking at the phenomenon of identity politics. Bergh (1991) and Abdilah (2002) describe three theoretical perspectives in the study of identity politics, namely: primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism. The first approach, arguments primordialism which sees the phenomenon of identity in the socio-biological category. This view holds that social groups are characterized by images of territory, religion, culture, language, and social organization as 'given' and cannot be refuted.

The second approach is constructive developed by Frederik Barth. This theory views religious and cultural identities, as a result of complex processes, when symbolic boundaries continue to be built and built, by the benefits of mythology that take place through language and experience. At a later stage, this identity construction is then used as a process of instrumentalism. The aim is as a tool for manipulation and social mobilization to strengthen the identity attributes as a tool of power as explained by David Brown and Donald Horowitz's opinion.

Decision to Choose

General theory states that decision making is influenced by the environment in which decisions are made by the personal relevance of various evaluative criteria (Prothro et al., 1988). Consistent with this theory, empirical evidence shows that past experiences relevant to candidates or parties, political campaigns, and direct support by interest groups were found to influence voting decisions. For example, some previous studies have shown that people's beliefs and attitudes are influenced by socialization, develop inactiveness by time and therefore they are not very responsive to contemporary information from the political environment (Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes 1960; Niemi and Jennings 1991). Other studies show that citizens' attitudes and beliefs about political candidates are basically responsive to contemporary information and therefore continue to change through time in response to changes in the political environment (Page and Shapiro 1992).

Prior Research

Related research has been conducted by several previous studies, namely: Research conducted by Ardipandanto (2017) with the title *Pemilihan Gubernur DKI Jakarta 2017: Strategi Politik Kandidat*. The study said that Anies-Sandi used a political strategy of air strikes through social media such as FB, Twitter, and so on. Political messages on social media are predominantly dominated by messages that are toppling opponents using a strategy of primordialism.

Further research conducted by Nasrudin (2018) with the title *Political Identity and Representation (Case Study in the 2018-2022 DKI Election Period)*. In this research, it is said that DKI voters are more rational, educated, and more critical voters. In terms of education, Jakarta voters around 45-50% have a high school education and around 20-25% have a tertiary education. This education profile is far better than the average in other regions. The general perception is that rational, educated, and critical voters tend to vote for reasons that

are not related to identity. Besides, Noviandari (in Triantoro, 2019) in a study entitled *The Practice of Identity Politics in Anies-Sandi Social Media Accounts* showed that the use of social media in Indonesia increased significantly. Social media is understood not only as a means of social interaction in general, but also a source of political news. Political actors freely produce political discourse on social media. Yovita (in Triantoro, 2019) said there were even around 300 social media accounts that were blocked by the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo) because they were identified as having political motives for spreading hoax and SARA issues aimed at getting the voice of the people.

From the three previous studies, the author will re-examine the qualitative research using quantitative data obtained from the Jakarta Open Data on the official website data.jakarta.go.id. This quantitative research will examine the relationship of the influence of the percentage of the population of Islam as indicator 1, the number of millennials who are defined as residents aged 21-40 years as indicators 2, and the number of educated population that is defined as residents with a minimum educational background of high school/equivalent as indicators 3, on the results of Anies-Sandi's vote in the second round of the 2017 Jakarta Governor Election.

3. Research Methodology

This type of research is quantitative research using multiple linear regression analysis. Multiple linear regression aims to see the relationship between the dependent variable (Y) with the independent variable (X) wherein this study there are two independent variables, namely the percentage of the Muslim population in each urban village (X1), the percentage of the millennial population in each urban village with the age of 21-40 years (X2) and the percentage of the population with a minimum of high school education background / equivalent in each urban village (X3) and the dependent variable is the percentage of the results of the second round of DKI Pilgub votes obtained by Anies-Sandi (Y) pair. The data used in this study are secondary data obtained from data on the number of residents based on religion, age, and educational background per village in 2016 and also the results of voting results for the second round of the 2017 Gubernatorial Election. The Linear Regression Equation Model is as follows:

$$Y = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + e$$

where Y is the dependent variable, X1, X2, and X3 are independent variables, α is a constant, and β is the regression coefficient (slope) or the magnitude of the response caused by the predictor.

Hypothesis

Based on the theoretical basis and previous research that has been described, the hypotheses of this study are:

H0 = Percentage of the Muslim population, millennial population, and educational background of at least senior high school residents in an area has no significant effect on the results of votes obtained by Anies - Sandi in the second round of the Jakarta governor election in 2017.

H1 = The percentage of Muslim population in an area has a significant effect on the results of Anies - Sandi's vote in the second round of the 2017 Pilgub DKI.

H2 = The percentage of the millennial population in an area has a significant effect on the results of Anies - Sandi's vote in the second round of the 2017 Gubernatorial Election.

H3 = The percentage of the population with a minimum high school education background in an area has a significant effect on the vote results obtained by Anies - Sandi in the Second Round of the 2017 Gubernatorial Election.

Whereas for hypothesis testing tools are:

- a. Uji t (Partial Test). This test is intended to determine the statistical significance of the partial regression coefficients. If $t_{\text{arithmatic}} > t_{\text{table}}$ then H_0 is rejected and H_1 is accepted..
- b. Uji F (Overall Test). Pengujian ini digunakan untuk mengetahui signifikansi statistik koefisien regresi secara serempak atau bersama-sama. Jika $F_{\text{hitung}} > F_{\text{tabel}}$ maka H_0 ditolak dan H_1 diterima.
- c. R2 Test (Coefficient of Determination).

This test is used to see the strength of the independent variable explaining the dependent variable.

4. Results and Discussion

- Model Feasibility Test

Table 4. Model Test Results

Model	Sig.	Std Coef (Beta)	Std Error	R	R Square
Anova	.000 ^b				
Coefficients:					
(Constant)	0.095		0.074		
Islam (X1)	0.000	0.877	0.022		
Millennials (X2)	0.009	0.081	0.166		
Educated (X3)	0.264	-0.035	0.044		
Model Summary			0.051	0.901 ^a	0.812

Source : Data processed with SPSS software

Based on the table above can be known:

1. Prob value. The calculated F (sig.) In table 3 is 0.000 less than the 0.05 significance level so that it can be concluded that the multiple linear regression model is estimated to be used to explain this research.
2. Prob value. T arithmetic (sig.) X1 (Islamic population) of 0,000 which is smaller than 0.05 so that the variable X1 has a significant effect on the dependent variable Y. Prob value T arithmetic (sig.) X2 (Millennials) of 0.009 which is smaller than 0.05 so that the variable X2 has a significant effect on the dependent variable Y.
3. 3. Prob value. T arithmetic (sig.) X3 (educated population) of 0.264, which means greater than 0.05 so that the X3 variable does not have a significant effect on Y dependent variables.
4. 4. R Square value of 0.812 which means 81.2% of the variation of the second round of Anies-Cipher Sound Results can be explained by the percentage of the Muslim population, millennials population and educated population while the remaining 18.8% can be explained by other factors not included in this research model.

From the results of the overall test, factors of the Islamic population, millennials, and educated population were able to explain the voters who were targeted by Anies - Sandi as a political marketing strategy to get high votes in the second round of DKI Jakarta governor election in 2017. The Muslim population became the most influential factor among these

three factors are following the phenomenon that can be seen in media, both TV and social media or other media. Strengthened by the research conducted by Ardipandanto (2017) that the campaign's "war" campaign was very strongly felt in the second round of the DKI Pilgub in 2017. The population of millennials marked by residents aged 20-39 years became a significant voter influential factor after the Islamic population. Millennials are quite effective targets because millennials are a group of people who are considered to be quite active in social media, with the most social media users coming from the millennials group as shown in table 3. Educated residents are not considered as suitable targets for Anies- political marketing strategy. This time the code is following by research conducted by Nasrudin (2018) that rational, educated, and critical voters have a tendency to vote for reasons that are not related to identity. Nasrudin's research was proven empirically in this study.

5. Conclusion

So it can be concluded that the political marketing strategy that uses identity politics used by Anies-Sandi has proven to be empirically quite effective in the people of DKI Jakarta who have Islamic characteristics, exist in the age range of millennials. But it has not been proven effective in people who have a fairly good educational background marked by a minimum high school education. Educated people have more critical thinking so that they can sort out the news that is spread on social media effectively to find out the leader they choose is not only based on religious identity but also based on other factors such as experience, work programs, leadership style or other things. Marketing of identity politics does not affect linearly by educated people but it does have a significant linear effect on Islamic societies and millennials.

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