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by Fajar Muharram, S.sos., M.ip.

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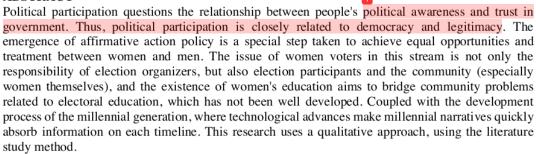
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Democracy and Political Participation of Citizens: Study of Women & Millennial Participation in the 2019 Election in Sidoarjo Regency

Fajar Muharram¹

Universitas Muhammadiyah Sidoarjo

ABSTRACT



KEY WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS: Women Political Participation, Millenial Participation, 2019 Election For Sidoarjo Regency

INTRODUCTION

The basic principles of democracy include equality, respect for noble human values, respect for civil rights and liberty, as well as fair play. The meaning of equality here is equality of opportunity for all people as citizens to achieve maximum development regarding the physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual, and social participation potentials of each person. Based on this basic principle, the essential characteristics of democracy can be formulated, namely: (1) the existence of popular consent; (2) the effective participation of the people in political decision-making concerning their fate; (3) the existence of a position before the law; (4) the existence of individual freedom to determine themselves; (5) respect for human rights; (6) the existence of an equitable distribution of income; (7) the existence of social control mechanisms against the government; and (8) the availability and disclosure of information. (Sudarminta, 1996: 69; Maran, 2001: 206).

The current democratic climate conditions in Indonesia have presented an election campaign approach as a necessity to win elections. In the election process, the people have absolute power. The decision to choose who will sit in parliament is no longer delegated by the party. Thus, each candidate must try various ways to get the people to support and vote for him in the election. This condition gives birth to a climate of competition between candidates at all levels of elections, be it the People's

Representative Council (DPR), Regional Representative Council (DPD), or Presidential Election. It is in these competitive conditions that a campaign approach is needed to win the competition.

In its implementation, elections have several functions. First, there is two-way political communication between the people and the government. Second, the circulation and strengthening of elites. Elections are a way to enter the position of the government elite, so it can be seen during the candidate selection process whether there is a change of figure in the elite circulation and whether the circulation occurs sufficiently varied. The final process is figures who are elected as elites in executive and legislative posts. Third, provide representation. This function is mainly the need of the people, which is the link between the people and the government. With elections, the people can elect their representatives to occupy the positions of the government elite, and then these representatives become the connector of the interests of the people over the interests they represent. Fourth, as a means of political education. Elections are expected to educate the people politically about the understanding of democracy. The event is carried out by political parties and actors who play a role in elections. Thus, political ideology can be a consideration for the people to make their choices correctly.

The last function above, namely political education, actually has a major role in public awareness in having an active attitude toward participatory democratic processes, one of which is elections. In the development of democracy in the era of information openness, public space is one of the hopes where information can develop healthily. Social media is a reflection of today's public space. Public space in the political conception as a condition of democracy is in line with the essence of social media, which is also considered the fifth pillar of democracy. Public space, known as the public sphere proposed by Jurgen Habermas, is a space where there is a fight between issues and discourses that exist in society and the state. Public space plays a vital role in democracy because it is where the process of political communication takes place between individual citizens or civil society and the state. That's where there is a connection with the exchange of information between the two parties.

McNair (2011) describes the element of political communication: the media is a liaison between citizens or people with political organizations, including the government/state. Likewise, social media is one form of communication liaison between citizens and their countries. There is often a bias between online media and social media. Social media is predicted to be the fifth pillar of democracy. The trias politica known as the pillars of democracy are executive, legislative, and judicial institutions. In its development, state power was overseen by the mass media, which was then considered the fourth pillar of democracy. This is considered important because the mass media is considered to be a watchdog for the course of government and democracy. The mass media is also considered an institution that should be independent of the source of power. According to mass communication

scientist, McQuail (1987), mass media has information, entertainment, and educational roles. Mass media, especially journalism, are considered to be able to voice the voice of the people who have not received channels or are voiceless.

Social media comes by providing spaces that are more inclusive, egalitarian, and cheap. This condition is the antithesis of mass media which tends to be exclusive and expensive. Flew (2005) mentions that the Internet is the backbone of the new media era. He mentioned five characteristics of this new medium, (1) manipulable, that digital information is easily transformed and adapted in various forms, storage, transmission, and use; (2) networkable, that information can be shared and exchanged continuously by a large number of users around the world; (3) dense, that large digital information can be stored in small storage rooms or network service providers; (4) compressible, that the size of digital information obtained from any network can be reduced through a compressing process and can be restored when needed; (5) impartial, that digital information disseminated over the network is in the same form as that represented and used by its owner. This manipulable nature that causes hashtag fabrication machines to play as they please on social media fills the timelines of social media users everywhere. The main goal is to become a trending topic on social media, with the hope that this topic or issue will then become the full attention of social media users. The last hope is to change public opinion or even reinforce the growing opinion.

Political participation questions the relationship between people's political awareness and trust in government. Thus, political participation is closely related to democracy and legitimacy. Political participation, democracy, and legitimacy have a very close relationship framework. Political participation in relation to democracy affects the legitimacy of society in the course of a government. In an election, for example, political participation affects the legitimacy of the community to the pair of candidates elected. Each society has its own preferences and interests to determine their choices in elections. Not only that, people's political participation in elections can be viewed as people's control of a government. The control exerted varies depending on the level of political participation. Apart from being the core of democracy, political participation is also closely related to the fulfillment of citizens' political rights. One of the measuring tools to determine the participation, democratization, and legitimacy of Indonesian citizens can be seen through their political behavior. Political behavior can be seen in various types, namely through the activities and enthusiasm of the public to go to the polls in general elections. This form of political behavior becomes an analytical tool to see the political participation of the community itself.

Political participation (Sitepu, 2012) is an activity of citizens either directly or indirectly (unintentionally) related to government policies that can be carried out by individuals and groups

spontaneously or mobilized. On the other hand, it also formulates that political participation is an activity carried out by individuals and groups to actively participate in political life, namely by electing state leaders, either directly or indirectly, influencing government policies. First-time voters in the political category are the group that is exercising their right to vote for the first time. The political orientation of these novice voters is always dynamic and will change according to existing conditions and the factors that influence them. But despite all that, the existence of first-time voters is certainly promising in every general election as a way to secure the strategic position that every candidate who runs in the election wants to achieve. Whoever can grab the attention of these circles will be able to feel the benefits. Otherwise, the absence of support from these circles will be detrimental to the electoral vote targets to be achieved. Novice voters consisting of students, students, or voters with an age range of 17-21 years are a segment that is indeed unique, often raises surprises, and certainly promises in quantity. Called unique because of the behavior of novice voters with high enthusiasm, relatively more rational, thirsty for change, and thin levels of pragmatism pollution.

Meanwhile, women's opposition in politics is getting stronger with the birth of Law Number 8 of 2012, which confirms that in every 3 (three) candidates for a candidate, at least 1 (one) woman. Finally, ahead of the 2014 elections came KPU Regulation Number 7 of 2013, which is an affirmation of the points in previous regulations. These regulations are made based on considerations as affirmative action policies for women's representation in politics. Affirmative policies are temporary special measures taken to achieve equality of opportunity and treatment between women and men. These laws and regulations cannot necessarily boost women's political participation.

On the other hand, voting in elections is a necessity and challenge for every cadre with a party vehicle. Because the projection context is closely related to the political strategy of a party and all elements of political party cadres. The political procedure carried out by the contestants to be able to win the election is to approach and communicate politically. Contestants need to conduct studies to identify the size (number) of supporters, floating masses (swing voters), and other supporters of contestants. This identification needs to be done to analyze the strength and potential of votes to be obtained at the time of voting, as well as to identify the necessary approach strategies for each group of voters. This strategy needs to be thought of by each contestant because competitors also intensely make efforts to win political competitions.

There is a strategy and approach taken by political parties through party cadres in approaching female voters and millennials. Thus, the graph of the participation rate from the previous election increased, and the party received additional votes in winning the contestation in the General Election.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach, using the literature study method (Creswell & Creswell, 2017), namely by looking for various references regarding the participation of women & millennials in the 2019 election in Sidoarjo district, both from books, journals, data on democracy & election activists, and General Elections Commission (KPU) data. By using qualitative methods, the author hopes to provide up-to-date information so that it can be useful for the development of more science and can be applied to solve a problem. In his research, the author uses a literature study method based on a study conducted with written works, including the results of his research, both those that have been and those that have yet to be published. Because in every research, literature studies are very necessary. Sources and users use data collection methods by taking data from libraries, reading, recording, and managing the material being researched. And finally, the data collected is processed using the content analysis method.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

1. Democracy & Political Participation

Democracy as a political order is the right model for managing state life. Indeed, democracy is not the only perfect model for governing human life. But history shows that democracy has the least chance of blaspheming humanity. The fall of communism in Eastern Europe added to the long list of democratic advantages over other political regimes, so democracy is now embraced by most countries in the world. Robert A. Dahl provides an overview of why a country uses a democratic system, including; (1) Democracy helps prevent the development of cruel governments and cunning religious circles; (2) Democracy guarantees citizens a standard of human rights that cannot be provided by non-democratic systems.; (3) Democracy ensures greater individual freedom for its citizens than any other alternative; (4) Democracy assists society in protecting its interests; (5) Only a democratic government can provide its people with a great opportunity to exercise freedom of choice, for example living within the rules of their choosing (6) only a democratic government can provide the greatest opportunity to abdicate moral responsibility; (7) Democracy assists in total humanitarian development; (8) Only democratic governments can develop relatively strong political equality; (9) Modern states that embrace representative democracy do not conflict with each other; and (10) Countries with democratic governments tend to be more prosperous than non-democratic countries.

As a manifestation of democracy, in the International Commission of Jurists, Bangkok, in 1965, it was formulated that "the holding of free elections is one of the six basic conditions for a representative democratic state under the rule of law." Furthermore, a definition of a democratic



government based on representation is also formulated, namely: a form of government in which citizens exercise equal rights but through representatives elected and accountable to them through a process of free elections 2 Elections as a means of realizing popular sovereignty as well as the fairest arena of competition for political parties, to the extent to which they have carried out their functions and roles and accountability for his performance so far to the people who have elected him. The people are sovereign to determine and vote according to their aspirations to which political party is considered the most trusted and able to carry out their aspirations. Political parties as election participants are assessed for accountability every 5 (five) years by the people honestly and fairly so that their existence every 5 (five) years is tested through elections. On the other hand, elections are the fairest means to determine which political parties still exist and are most entitled to continue their duties in order to realize welfare for the people. Naturally, there will be a selection of political parties to exist both as election participants and their existence in parliament. Therefore, as an arena of fair competition, elections should only be participated by participants who are considered credible by the people so that the effectiveness of the competition can be maintained. Too many contestants participate in the competition, which will affect the quality of the competition, especially if the quality standards of the contestants are very diverse.

Elections themselves can be seen from many sides: systems, actors, stages, management, financing, ethics, law enforcement, and others. All of which show that elections are a technical issue, how to convert popular votes into seats. But in looking at election issues, it should be able to handle technical problems. After all, elections are actually an instrument of democracy. As a tool of democracy, elections seek to approach the obsession of democracy, namely governance of, by, and for the people. Therefore, elections as an arena of competition in selecting political parties participating in elections, the effectiveness of the bag depends on First, the rules of the game or the competition system, in this case, the electoral system applied; Second, the number and objective information about the performance of political parties as election participants; Third, the level of maturity of the people who vote; Fourth, the credibility of the election organizer, in this case, the KPU.

2. Women's Participation in the 2019 Election in Sidoarjo Regency

The implementation of democracy in Indonesia has actually entered a good phase, but women's representation has not shown women's political identity that is able to bring changes in Indonesian politics for the better. There are several reasons for the importance of women's political representation, namely: justice and equality, women's interest, emancipation, and change in the political process. Political participation for women until now with the political world is still two things that are not easily linked to each other. This is evidenced by the representation of women on the political stage, and formal



political institutions still need to be higher compared to men. In the legislature, the representation of women is very small, not balanced with their numbers. This limitation of women's participation influences, both directly and indirectly, women's empowerment efforts (Zaenal Mukarom, 2008: 258).

The issue of women voters in this stream is not only the responsibility of election organizers, but also election participants and the community (especially women themselves), and the existence of women's education aims to bridge community problems related to electoral education, which has not been well developed. Including the presence of the spearhead of this socialization is motivated by voter participation which tends to decline from election year to the next election year. But the phenomenon in Sidoarjo Regency says that the number of women participation tends to be high for elections in choosing Presidential & Vice Presidential Candidates, the central People's Representative Council (DPR-RI), and the provincial People's Representative Council (DPRD Province. This can be seen in the table below;

		Gender	
No	District	Man	Woman
1	Tarik	21.569	22.299
2	Prambon	24.692	25.652
3	Krembung	21.786	23.083
4	Porong	21.021	21.745
5	Jabon	16.715	17.646
6	Tanggulangin	26.330	27.991
7	Candi	42.412	46.625
8	Sidoarjo	56.026	61.526
9	Tulangan	29.741	31.789
10	Wonoayu	25.551	26.755
11	Krian	37.220	39.150
12	Balongbendo	23.404	24.076
13	Taman	57.305	61.877
14	Sukodono	33.542	35.332
15	Buduran	27.559	29.537
16	Gedangan	33.113	36.308
17	Sedati	26.309	28.567
18	Waru	55.601	60.849
Jumlah		579.896	620.807

Table 1. Number of Voters in the Presidential & Vice Presidential Elections in the 2019 Sidoarjo Regency Election (Data Processed from the Sidoarjo Regency KPU)

Looking at the table, if the number is added, there are more female voters in the Sidoarjo district than men. This leads to several factors, including; (1) Sidoarjo women's culture that is easily directed by successful teammates of presidential & vice presidential candidates and political parties because of

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their persuasive approach; (2) women in Sidoarjo will not see who and where their party comes from, but are seen more as body personas, gestures in communicating, communication styles with constituents, and humanists; (3) Sidoarjo women will be easy to bond politically, if they are given souvenirs or gifts by the successful team of presidential & vice presidential candidates or political parties, because for Sidoarjo women, giving is the first sign of bonding so as to later support one of the presidential & vice presidential candidate pairs.

This can also be seen from the high political participation of women in Sidoarjo in choosing candidates for legislative members at the central level, as in the table below;

		Gender	
No	District	Man	Woman
1	Tarik	21.563	22.289
2	Prambon	24.691	25.650
3	Krembung	21.786	23.081
4	Porong	20.876	21.740
5	Jabon	16.715	17.646
6	Tanggulangin	26.321	27.986
7	Candi	42.307	46.566
8	Sidoarjo	55.724	61.303
9	Tulangan	29.722	31.771
10	Wonoayu	25.534	26.742
11	Krian	37.186	39.101
12	Balongbendo	23.399	24.061
13	Taman	57.143	61.712
14	Sukodono	33.504	35.282
15	Buduran	27.400	29.384
16	Gedangan	32.991	36.166
17	Sedati	26.194	28.432
18	Waru	55.388	60.599
Jumlah		578.444	619.511

Table 2. Number of Voters in the Choice of CandidatesMembers of the Central Legislature in the 2019 Election of Sidoarjo Regency (Data Processed from the Sidoarjo Regency KPU)

If you compare the data of female voters in tables one and Two, there will be a difference in numbers. This happens for several reasons, including; (1) female voters in Sidoarjo do not know candidates for legislative members, so they only vote on the presidential and vice presidential options; (2) there is confusion among women voters due to the large number of photos of legislative candidates and party logos on one large page; (3) With so many candidates for legislative members, women voters feel they do not have the closeness or chemistry to make their choices. This also happens in electing candidates for legislative members at the provincial level, as in the table below;

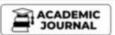
		Gender	
No	District	Man	Woman
1	Tarik	21.563	22.289
2	Prambon	24.688	25.648
3	Krembung	21.786	23.081
4	Porong	20.451	21.739
5	Jabon	16.715	17.646
6	Tanggulangin	26.320	27.980
7	Candi	42.335	46.558
8	Sidoarjo	55.682	61.269
9	Tulangan	29.718	31.769
10	Wonoayu	25.532	26.740
11	Krian	37.185	39.097
12	Balongbendo	23.399	24.060
13	Taman	57.114	61.678
14	Sukodono	33.500	35.275
15	Buduran	27.377	29.371
16	Gedangan	32.980	36.158
17	Sedati	26.181	28.424
18	Waru	55.012	60.533
Jumlah 577.538 619.31			

Table 3. Number of Voters in the Choice of CandidatesMembers of the Provincial Legislature in the 2019 Election of Sidoarjo Regency (Data Processed from the Sidoarjo Regency KPU)

If you compare the data of female voters in tables two and three, there will be a difference in numbers but not significant. In other words, the indicator of female voters in making their choices in the last 2019 election, it is easier to get to know the profiles of legislative candidates who have built chemistry and figures they have known and are familiar with through the mass media..

3. Millennial Participation in the 2019 Election in Sidoarjo Regency

Miriam Budiardjo defines political participation as an individual or group activity to participate or play an active role in politics, including by choosing state leaders, directly or indirectly, to influence a policy to be issued by the government (public policy) (Budiardjo, 2015). so as revealed by Budiardjo, there are activities in the form of giving someone the right to vote in a general election to choose a leader and holding relationships with government officials to control the policies issued. Participation can be linked to political consciousness so that, aware of politics, the individual will demand to be given the right to vote in the election of a government. Political awareness of citizens is one of the determinants of political participation in the community, meaning that as something that is directly related to knowledge and awareness of individual rights and obligations related to the community environment and political activities are also the measure and degree of a person involved in the process of political participation (Tarsidi et al., 2019).



The Millennial generation, commonly referred to as Generation Y or Generation Langgas, is a demographic group after Generation X (Gen-X); this generation is the Millennial generation born between the 1980s to 2000. In addition, the millennial generation also included Millennials aged from 17 to 37 this year (Nindyati, 2017). This generation is developing rapidly; there are many positive and negative things in the process of developing this generation, where technological advances make millennial narratives quickly absorb information on each timeline; unfortunately, that speed biases the information they get; in the 2019 election, a lot of hoax news scattered in the mass media caused a miss of information that the millennial generation got. In addition, online communication such as Whatsapp, line, and Instagram is one of the sources of information they use in determining prospective leaders.

Research conducted by Christiany Juditha and Josep Darmawan entitled "The Use of Digital Media and Political Participation of the Millennial Generation" shows that the use of media that is often used to access general information or political news by the millennial generation is online media, with 80.5% 100% of respondents. For this reason, in order to achieve the participation of the millennial generation in the political field, it is necessary to follow instant and advanced technology. In subsequent research, Political Participation in the upcoming 2019 Legislative and Presidential General Elections showed that the majority of millennial respondents (91.1%) claimed to be voting for them (Juditha &; Darmawan, 2018). Based on data from the General Elections Commission (KPU) of the Republic of Indonesia, the number of millennial voters has reached 70 million – 80 million people from 193 million voters, which means that 35% - 40% of millennial voters already have the power and have a major influence on the election results which will affect the progress of the nation. Millennials are not apathetic to politics. Having a sense of responsibility in him as a good citizen is the basis for the millennial generation to carry out political participation. Their participation in politics is mainly in democracy or elections. However, to increase their participation in the political field, different ways are needed to keep up with the times, such as the use of social media so that millennials can interact and communicate by discussing the latest situations comfortably without having to show their personality openly.

In line with KPU RI data in the 2019 election, at the local level, such as the Sidoarjo Regency, millennial voters as a percentage of exercising their voting rights are also at 40%. This fact can be seen in the graphic image below;

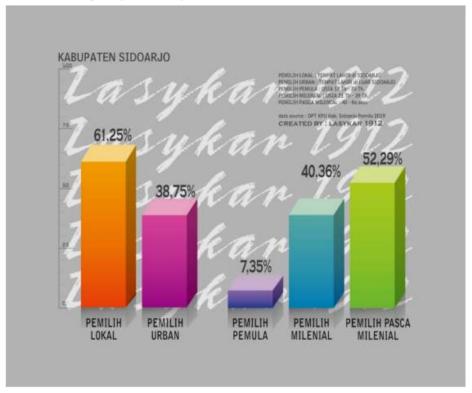


Figure 1. Percentage of Voters in the 2019 Sidoarjo Regency Election (Data taken from the old 1912 Lasykar Government Observer, processed data from the Sidoarjo Regency KPU)

From this picture, we can see the potential of millennial voters who actually have to be read and captured by political parties. In other words, political parties and interested parties must conduct political education to maximize the aspiration of millennial voters in the Sidoarjo district. Whether we realize it or not, the votes of novice and millennial voters are a strategic potential to increase the votes of legislative candidates and political parties. In the campaign process, more than candidates with political party vehicles are needed just with social capital and capital alone. Because if we look at the context in Sidoarjo, it is not enough for a candidate to rely only on two sides of the capital but it is necessary to do self-branding and political marketing. Self-branding here is closely related to political actors. Political actors are individuals who aspire, through institutional and organizational means, to desire to influence the decision-making process. They attempt to do so by gaining institutional political power, both executive and legislative, where political policies are usually portrayed in mainstream political psychology as main or supporting actors. Furthermore, there is another approach that must be taken by a candidate or political party, namely the political marketing approach. This approach needs to be applied by political parties or candidates if they want to maintain the support of the public voters.

In addition, political art must be able to carry out strategies for mapping voter characteristics because, in society, there are groups of people who use logic and rationality in making choices for contestants. The ability of political parties to solve community problems is a point of concern for this community group. However, many groups of people also choose because they have ideological closeness, where they care more about what programs are offered by political parties. As long as the ideology of the party is the same as the ideology of the voters, then there is enough reason to vote at the time of the election.

CONCLUSION

There has been political awareness from female voters and millennials that life change in the country began with being active in the national democratic party through electoral momentum by choosing a president and vice president candidates and legislators, as evidenced by the high number of female voters than men in Sidoarjo Regency. Although there is an awareness of voting from female voters in the 2019 election, they will only vote for people who are known or have the chemistry that was built long ago. Millennial voters feel that they vote only because of mobilization carried out by friends or the surrounding environment, not on the basis of personal awareness, because they feel they have never received political education from political parties, election organizers, election observers, democracy volunteers, or academics. The General Elections Commission (KPU) must carry out additional election socialization programs to the lower levels by entering into many aspects so that later political education can be transformed optimally. Political parties must conduct political education for party cadres, which later, when they go down, party cadres can transfer knowledge to the public about the importance of being active in the upcoming elections.

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