

## **The Changing Trends of West Sumatera Youth Political Participation in the West Sumatra Governor Election 2020**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This survey aims to see the relationship between the media and changes in the norm of citizenship and the political participation of young voters in the West Sumatra Governor Election on December 9, 2020. This survey uses the survey method with 350 respondents in West Sumatra. The survey results show that the differences in gender, age and educational background of respondents do not significantly affect the media and changes in citizenship norms. The results of the hypothesis testing that have been carried out show that educational background is not a differentiating factor for the media, but a differentiating factor for changes in citizenship norms. Furthermore, the relationship analysis test shows that often the media has a significant relationship with changes in citizenship norms. Meanwhile, citizenship norms have a significant relationship with citizens' political participation. Then, the regression analysis test found that media and changes in citizenship norms together make a significant contribution to political participation. Based on the results of the survey and the results of hypothesis testing, it can be concluded that political euphoria in the transition to democracy has changed media patterns, citizenship norms, and political participation among young voters in West Sumatra.

**Keywords:** Media; norms of citizenship; political participation; young voters; transition to democracy

### **INTRODUCTION**

The 20th century is called the era of democracy, because at the end of the 20th century there was a significant change in the political map and political communication of the world. According to Huntington, as quoted by Najmuddin, (2018) the change in the political map is referred to as the third wave of democracy. This third wave of democracy began in the mid-1970s in Portugal and continues to develop in various parts of the world from Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia including overseas Southeast Asia. The collapse of the political system from a non-democratic to a democratic political system is called by Fukuyama (1992) as "the end of history" (the end of history). The third wave of democracy gave birth to a transition to democracy, namely a change from a dictatorial regime to a democratic system (Doorenspleet 2006). The Changes in the political map above also influenced the thinking of young West Sumatra voters. On May 20, 1998, Indonesian civil society carried out a reform movement that succeeded in overthrowing President Suharto and changing the map and political communication of Indonesia. The reform movement changed media patterns, norms of citizenship and patterns of political participation among young West Sumatra voters.

In line with the third wave of democracy, the world of political communication also enters the third wave of political communication (Vacari 2008). This change in political

communication is supported by advances in information and communication technology (ICT) science and globalization that have hit all regions of the world including Indonesia. Advances in communication and information technology science and globalization led to the birth of the third wave of political communication (Theocharis, 2011). People who have been using traditional media (newspapers and television) as a source of political information have changed and developed into a *techno cultural*, society that is society with a technology culture. The techno culture society makes digital media (internet) a lifestyle. These changes cannot be separated from the influence of the internet and digital media in general, which have developed very rapidly at the end of the 20th century (Dean, 2012).

The third wave of political communication affects the lifestyle of young voters. The media encourages young voters to get the information and knowledge they need quickly, so that they become *well-informed people* and then they create *networking societies*. Therefore, young voters are now known as the cyber generation or digital generation. In fact, in politics, the role of the internet has played its part by facilitating young people to actively voice their different opinions and views. In fact, the internet is trusted by young people as a trusted source of information, because the internet can convey information quickly and accurately. Therefore, many young voters create personal blocks, e-mail, Facebook, twitter as a means of political participation and use search engine applications such as google to search and collect information including political information. Today, young voters actively surf the internet in search of various needs such as political and business needs and job opportunities. The internet is not only a medium of entertainment but has become a means of communication and political information (Hindman, 2009). Therefore, the internet media has become a survey field for political communication in this modern century (Bakker and Vreese, 2011; McNair 2011; Quintelier and Visser, 2008; Scheufele & Nisbet, 2002; Shah, McLeod and Yoon, 2001, Tolbert and McNeal, 2003).

The above phenomenon shows that the landscape of political communication is increasingly turbulent, fragmented, more personal, decentralized, and more professional, citizens become more cynical about politics, and do not want to become political party experts. Various changes in the attitudes of young voters in this modern century have been strongly influenced by the media, especially the internet (Blumler and Kavanagh in Vaccari, 2008). Mass media (newspapers, radio, and television) and new media (internet) influence democratic institutions and are involved in the democratic process (Voltmer, 2006). This change in the political map further strengthens the position of the media as the fourth pillar (*fourth estate*) after the executive, legislative and judiciary institutions (Curran, 1991). Even in the process of transition to democracy, the media can fill gaps and strengthen the democratic process (Curran and Park, 2000; Downing, 1996; Palezt et al. 1995; Splichal 1994).

Bimber, Flanagan and Stohl (2005), say that communication technology and new media function as a link between the private and public domains. Media based on new technology can help express themselves and obtain information much easier than before and can become an instrument of the dimension of political participation. According to Dahlgren (2005), politics is not only an instrument of activity to achieve goals, but politics is an activity that is expressive in nature, a way that is clear in the common room. The advancement of science and information technology gave birth to gaps between young voters and political elites. On the one hand, young voters already understand how to use and take advantage of technology; on the other hand there are many political elites who do not understand technology, so they cannot use this media to communicate with citizens. Even though the internet can help political elites to build political communication with constituents, build political images easily and cheaply (Craig, 2012; Dionne, 1991; Hibbing and Theiss-Morse, 2002; Wattenberg 2002).

Furthermore, advances in science, communication and information technology and globalization have increasingly influenced the thinking of young voters. Globalization is characterized by the integration of world politics, economics and structures that are interrelated and dependent on each other. The world is like a *global village* which is connected via the internet (Luhan, 2010). According to Lilleker (2006), political actors in this global era must think and behave in a global way, but still act locally (*think globally act locally*). The lifestyle of global citizens is the main feature of globalization. Countries are limited only by territorial boundaries only. The culture and civilization of a nation is contaminated by change.

Changes in the political map and political communication have also influenced changes in norms of citizenship among young voters. The norm of citizenship as a set of rights and obligations for a person in the life of the nation and state and has been discussed since Aristotle and Plato experienced changes. In a democratic country, citizenship is an important issue, because it has an important role in the democratization process. Citizens (citizens) are not just spectators, not subjects, but citizens have a sense of responsibility for the democratic process by voting, paying taxes obediently and participating in political parties, increasing public awareness of democracy, building national character and reporting any violations of the law (Dalton, 2008). Citizens have rights and responsibilities and are guaranteed by the state constitution. This view is in line with the concept of citizen put forward by Marshal (1950), namely; citizens' civil, political and social rights. Meanwhile, Zamudio (2004) suggests three dimensions of citizenship, namely; status as a citizen, has a high sense of togetherness and awareness (exercise and conscience).

Meanwhile, Dalton (2008) sees changes in the norms of citizenship from sub dimensions, namely the norms of responsibility which are oriented towards traditional values such as voting, obeying and obeying laws, and maintaining good relationships with others, having a sense of responsibility, and respecting ethics. and morals change to new values or norms of civic engagement that are direct, more oriented towards openness values such as making opinions in the media, protesting against government police and so on. This change in norms has an impact on the political attitudes and behavior of young voters.

In general, the norms of civic engagement activities according to Theocharis (2011) are more extra-institutional and oriented towards civic participation. Changes in this activity pattern according to Franklin (2004); Dalton and Wattenberg (2000;); Putnam, (2000); Lawson and Merkle, (1998) can decrease the interest of citizens to vote in the grand choice, a decrease in interest in becoming political party experts, and even a decrease in social capital confidence. In the norms of civic engagement, citizen activities are the same as those of citizens in the post-material era (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005), namely direct activities that include the values of self-power. According to Jacobsen and Linkow (2012) and Dalton (2008), changes in political patterns and actions in the era of transition to democracy are related to the higher level of education of citizens and the better the people's economy.

Changes in norms among young voters have an impact on attitudes and patterns of political participation, namely from traditional political participation to modern political participation and civic politics oriented to involvement in actions carried out by civil society in organizations. (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999; Farrell and Webb, 2000; Norris, 2000). Participation in democracy is something important, because it greatly affects the quality of a democratic country. Verba and Nie, (1972) call political participation the *cornerstone* and heart of democracy. This opinion is supported by Helander (2012), that political participation is the main prerequisite for a democracy. Such is the importance of participation in a democratic state, Sylvester and McGlynn, (2010) say that democracy will have no meaning and legitimacy without citizen participation in the democratic process. Citizen participation is closely related

to the culture and norms of a nation. This is supported by the views of Almond and Verba, (1963); Barnes et al. (1979); Verba and Nie, (1972), that citizen participation in democracy is related to the political culture of a nation. Therefore, political culture can encourage citizens to participate, for example Americans are actively involved in voluntary gatherings, engage in political discussions. The main problem of this survey is to find out how the relationship between the media and the changing norms of citizenship and the political participation of young voters in the era of transition to democracy in Indonesia. While the main focus of the survey is to examine changes in the norms of citizenship in the context of the development of communication technology and to what extent it influences political participation in the Indonesian context towards a democratic transition.

## **MEDIA, CITIZENSHIP NORMA, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Media as an actor in political communication always has an important role and strategy in the democratization process. Because the media can act as a liaison between other actors, such as the government, political elites, and citizens. This media dimension consists of three sub dimensions, namely; media ownership, media, and media orientation. Cook (1998) states that the media is not only a channel between the political elite and the citizens, but the media are active actors in designing political messages. What is far more important than that, is how the media convey political information so that it has an impression on the citizens. Voltmer (2008) states that media is not only a channel for delivering elite messages to citizens, but citizens are also active in conducting political communication. Media is a channel that connects words to the world (words to world), says McNair (2011).

Mass media such as newspapers, radio and television are extensions of the human mind. In essence, media as a human mind is created to force other humans to be controlled by the media. Meanwhile, Baharu media (internet) is related to social interaction and social integrity (McQuail 2000; McLuhan 2011). The media are recognized as having a strategic and important role in the democratic process. In fact, the media has become the fourth pillar in a democratic country (Voltmer 2008). According to Tabroni's (2012) view, there are five functions of the media in the democratic process, namely; first, the media must provide information to citizens about what is happening around them. Second, the media must educate citizens through objective reporting. Third, the media must provide space for citizens to hold discussions and talk. Fourth, the media monitor the implementation of government, and fifth, the media must play a role as an institution of reference in the choice of public events.

Although advances in science and communication technology have given birth to the new media, the role of traditional news media, such as newspapers, radio and television has a positive relationship with the civilians and involvement of them in politics. According to a survey conducted by Eveland and Scheufele (2000), it shows that old media has a positive and significant correlation with political participation and lottery. Meanwhile, in the Survey Weaver and Drew (2001) found that old media can give a positive impression to citizens. Meanwhile, Jeffres, Lee, Neuendorf and Atkin (2007) stated that old media users have a positive relationship with community activities and social capital. In the Norris Survey (1996) also found that there is a significant relationship between old media and political participation. However, the survey conducted by Shah, Cho, Eveland, and Kwak, (2005) shows a different pattern, where traditional media do not have a positive impression on political participation. Meanwhile, the baharu media (internet) has various functions in political communication (Quintelier and Visser (2008). The view above is confirmed by the views of Shah Et.al. (2001),

Xenos and Moy (2007); Bimber, (2003), that is, there is a relationship. Between the use of the internet and the level of citizen participation in politics.

Citizenship is a concept that is always changing. Dalton (2008) defines citizenship as "a set of norms what individuals must make to be good citizens". This is in line with Marshall's view of the trilogy of citizenship, which is based on economic, political and social rights. They respect the differences that exist, become community experts based on loyalty to the civilization which is a common view. Therefore, social rights include social services by providing the resources indispensable for adherence to democratic principles such as political equality and inclusion. Therefore, social citizenship reflects ethical and moral obligations towards others (Dalton, 2008). The dimension of the citizenship norm consists of three sub dimensions, namely; norms of civic responsibility, norms of civic engagement, and norms of civic compliance. However, Hoikkala (2009) explains that globalization has become a challenge in the transition process to democracy. Globalization does not only affect changes in social and cultural norms, but also democratic values, such as human rights, freedom and issues of the natural environment.

The norm of responsibility for citizenship is related to traditional values such as voting. Meanwhile, the norms of civic engagement are alternative norms that are oriented towards new and liberal values. Meanwhile, citizenship compliance is an output factor that is thought to have a significant relationship with changes in the political participation of young voters. External factors include intimidation, pressure, money politics and primordial factors. This compliance norm is called Mann (2004) as the dark side of democracy. The occurrence of this compliance norm can disrupt the democratic process. In fact, according to Lilleker (2006), this compliance factor can lead to cynicism in citizens, and this cynical attitude is correlated with citizens' distrust, distrust and skepticism towards elite behavior (*disbelief, mistrust and skepticism*).

The third dimension in this survey is participation. Participation is a key concept in democracy. According to Huntington and Nelson (1991) political participation is the activity of citizens who act as individuals, which are intended to influence decision-making by the Government. Political participation aims to influence public decisions. This dimension of political participation consists of three sub dimensions, namely; traditional political participation, modern political participation, and civilian political participation. Traditional participation is oriented towards voting and being involved in the government process. Modern political participation is related to direct activities such as demonstrations, communicating directly with political party elites and the government via the internet. Meanwhile, political participation is related to the involvement of young voters in social and voluntary activities through non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This is in line with the results of a survey conducted by Hibbig and Morse, (2002); Macedo et al. (2005); Putnam, (2000); Rosenstone and Hansen, (1993); Wattenberg, 2006) regarding changes in citizen political participation.

## METHOD

A total of 350 respondents, namely those aged between 17 and 40 years have been sent a questionnaire via google form. Data collection was carried out using a questionnaire via google form media sent to respondents. Young voters are carried out on citizens who already have the right to vote. The main variables used in this survey are media, changing citizenship norms and political participation. Media consists of three sub dimensions: media ownership, media, and media orientation. The norms of citizenship have three sub-dimensions, namely:

norms of civic responsibility, norms of civic engagement, and norms of civic compliance. Meanwhile, political participation has three sub-dimensions: traditional political participation, modern political participation, and civic political participation.

To obtain systematic data a score has been given for each answer to the question in order to measure the permissibility of change. Several independent variables have been established to answer questions related to research problems. The media intends to determine the amount of time spent by young voters reading newspapers, watching television and surfing the internet in one week with the confidence value of Cronbach's alpha. 90. Meanwhile, media orientation intends to determine whether the type or theme of news / information in newspapers, television programs and internet information is given the attention of young voters? For news orientation, the newspaper has 11 questions with Cronbach's alpha confidence value .84. Television viewing orientation has 11 questions with Cronbach's alpha value .80. While the orientation of browsing the internet there are 11 questions with Cronbach's alpha confidence value.86. In terms of social media use orientation 4 questions with Cronbach's alpha confidence value .75.

To find out the change in norms of civic responsibility, respondents were asked to answer eight questions related to choice, legal and moral activities. Eight questions have a Cronbach's alpha confidence value .88. The norms of civic engagement have eight questions related to political activity in the mass media, social, religious and natural issues. These questions have a Cronbach's alpha confidence score of .88. Meanwhile, the norms of civic compliance consisted of five questions with a Cronbach's alpha confidence value of .84. These five questions are related to external factors. To find out about traditional political participation, respondents were asked to answer seven questions related to the campaign. These seven questions have a Cronbach's alpha trustworthiness score of .89. In modern political participation, respondents were asked to answer fifteen questions related to participation in on-line media such as sending emails to political party leaders, candidates, and making comments in private blocks. Meanwhile, off-line political participation, such as signing petitions, demonstrations of feelings, limited discussions with community leaders. These fifteen questions have a Cronbach's alpha trustworthiness score of .91. For social political participation, respondents were asked to answer nine questions related to community service activities such as being involved in social activities, nature, human rights, and religious organizations. These nine questions have a Cronbach's alpha trustworthiness score of .87.

## **DISCUSSION**

Survey assumes that the higher the level of education, the more likely it is to navigate the internet than the mainstream media. The data in Table 1 shows a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) on differences in education and media use. For surfing the internet, respondents who frequently sail were those with high education ( $M = 3.54$ ), followed by respondents with secondary education ( $M = 3.20$ ) and respondents with basic education ( $M = 2.90$ ). This data shows that respondents with higher education tend to surf the internet more frequently than respondents with less education. However, in reading newspapers, respondents with basic education were more often ( $M = 2.00$ ) than respondents with higher education ( $M = 1.98$ ) and intermediate ( $M = 1.56$ ). These data indicate that there is now a change in the pattern of media use among young voters.

**Table 1. Media Usage Based on Educational Background**

<b>Educational Background</b>	<b>Reading Newspapers</b>	<b>Watching television</b>	<b>the Internet</b>
<b>Basic</b>	2.00	2.15	2.90
<b>Medium</b>	1.56	3.12	3.20
<b>High</b>	1.98	3.04	3.54
<b>F</b>	7.56	6.07	2.43
<b>Sig.</b>	0.00	0.00	0.09

The next analysis is to see the extent to which media use affects changes in norms of citizenship. Based on the Pearson Correlation analysis, as shown in Table 2, it shows that frequent television viewing has a significant relationship with changes in the norms of civic responsibility ( $r = .25$ ) and changes in norms of civic engagement ( $r = .14$ ). Frequently surfing the internet only has a significant relationship with the norms of civic responsibility ( $r = .17$ ). Meanwhile, reading newspapers often does not have a significant relationship with all the sub-dimensions of norms of civic responsibility ( $r = .09$ ), norms of civic engagement ( $r = .07$ ) and norms of civic compliance ( $r = -.01$ ).

**Table 2. Relationship between Use Media with Citizenship Norms**

<b>Pearson Correlation</b>	<b>Citizenship responsibility Citizenship</b>	<b>engage citizenship</b>	<b>compliance</b>
<b>Reading Newspaper</b>	.09	.07	-.01
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Adjusted</b>	.01	.01	.00
<b>Sig.</b>	.08	.18	.93
<b>Watching television</b>	.25	.14	-.04
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Adjusted</b>	.05	.02	.00
<b>Sig.</b>	.00	.01	.48
<b>Internet browsing</b>	.17	.05	-.12
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Adjusted</b>	.02	.00	.00
<b>Sig.</b>	.00	.29	.63

$p < 0.05$

Then the Pearson Correlation data analysis in Table 3 shows that there is a relationship between changes in citizenship norms and political participation. These data indicate that changes in citizenship compliance norms are positively correlated with traditional political participation ( $r = .48$ ), modern political participation ( $r = .43$ ), and with civic political participation ( $r = .24$ ). Then changes to the norms of civic responsibility also have a significant

relationship with traditional political participation ( $r = .13$ ), modern political participation ( $r = .11$ ), and with civic political participation ( $r = .14$ ). Meanwhile, changes in the norms of civic engagement only had a significant relationship with traditional participation ( $r = .14$ ) and civic political participation ( $r = .25$ ) and did not have a significant relationship with modern political participation ( $r = .09$ ).

**Table 3. Relationship between Political Participation and Citizenship Norms**

Norms of Citizenship	Traditional Political Participation	Modern Political Participation	Civic Political Participation
<b>compliance citizenship</b>	.48	.43	.24
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Adjusted</b>	.25	.19	.05
<i>Sig.</i>	.00	.00	.00
<b>Duty citizenship</b>	.13	.11	.14
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Adjusted</b>	.02	.01	.02
<i>Sig.</i>	.01	.03	.01
<b>Engage of citizenship</b>	.14	.09	.25
<b>R<sup>2</sup> Adjusted</b>	.02	.00	.06
<i>Sig.</i>	.01	.10	.00

$p < 0.05$

Furthermore, to find out the size of the contribution of the independent variables of media and citizenship norms to the political participation variable, regression analysis was used. The data in Table 4 shows that this hypothesis assumes that media factors and citizenship norms have an influence on political participation. Multiple regression tests using the method to see to what extent independent media variables and citizenship norms contribute to political participation.

Regression test results show that the variable use of various media and civic norms jointly contribute as much as 20 cent variance in influencing political participation ( $F = 31.31$ ;  $P < 0.05$ ;  $R^2$  adjusted = .16). This means that the variables of media use and citizenship norms together have a significant effect on changes in political participation.

**Table 4. Regression Test of Media Use and Citizenship Norms with Political Participation of Young West Sumatra Young Voters**

Factors	R <sup>2</sup> Adjusted	R <sup>2</sup> Change	Beta	t-value	Sig.
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<b>Use of media</b>	.01	.00	.01	.24	.81
<b>Citizenship norm</b>	.20	.16	.37	7.83	.00

The regression test results show that the increase in each media unit will contribute as much as .01 units of increase in political participation ( $\beta = .01$   $p < 0.05$ ). Meanwhile, the increase in each unit of the independent variable of citizenship norm ( $\beta = .37$   $p < 0.05$ ) contributed to the .37 increase in political participation.

The survey's decision shows that the use of media does not play an important role in increasing the political participation of young voters in an era of transition to democracy. The survey results reject the assumption that the use of media plays an important role in increasing the political participation of young voters. Meanwhile, the independent variable of citizenship norms plays an important role in increasing the political participation of young voters in the transition to democracy. Therefore, the political elites, the General Election Commission (KPU) and the government need to take into account the changes in citizenship norms that have occurred among young voters.

### CONCLUSION

Media, norms of citizenship and political participation are three important issues in a democracy. These three issues have attracted experts to discuss and investigate. Along with the changes in politics and the map of political communication that took shape at the end of the 20th century, there have also been changes in media patterns, from mass media (newspapers, radio and television) to new media (internet). In addition, the form of changing the citizenship norm from the citizenship norms to new norms, namely the norms of civic engagement and citizenship compliance norms. The changes have an impact on changing the political participation patterns of young voters in the transition to democracy in Indonesia. The change in traditional participation patterns has changed from traditional political participation such as campaign activities to modern political participation such as political activities using the internet and direct political activities such as signing petitions, raising feelings and being active in various voluntary activities.

Changes in media patterns, norms of citizenship and political participation of young voters have implications for Indonesia's political strategy. The government and the General Youth Voters Commission (KPU) need to improve the pattern of young voters' political development. For political parties, they must develop a cadre development strategy that is relevant to the changing trends that are manifested in young voters. Young voters are not interested in becoming members of political parties, but they will encourage political parties that have relevant agendas such as issues of natural surroundings, human rights, human trafficking and other current issues.

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