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DOES IDEOLOGY (STILL) MATTER? YOUTH VOTERS BEHAVIOR ANALYSIS AT THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTION IN GATAK DISTRICT, CENTRAL JAVA

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Abstract

This study aims to determine the characteristics and analyze the behavior of youth voters in the 2019 legislative general election (DPR) in Gatak District, Sukoharjo Regency, Central Java Province, Indonesia. The method used is a mixed method. The population is youth voters aged 20-24 years and the number of samples is 97 voters determined by the Slovin formula and selected using a simple random technique. Test the validity of the questionnaire using the Guttman scale. In addition, this study also used semi-structured interviews with nine selected informants. Secondary data is also used to complete the analysis, such as: reports, scientific writings, and news. This study found that based on the typology, youth voters in Gatak District tended to be rational, not traditional, not skeptical, however, they tend not to be critical voters, especially on two indicators related to attachment to the ideology of political parties and their legislative candidates. Based on these results, it is concluded that the preferences of youth voters towards parties and candidates are more policy problem solving oriented than ideological orientations.

Keywords: *Voting Behavior; Youth Voter; National Legislative Elections; Voter Classification; Voter Participation.*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui karakteristik dan menganalisis perilaku pemilih pemula pada pemilihan umum legislatif (DPR) 2019 di Kecamatan Gatak, Kabupaten Sukoharjo, Provinsi Jawa Tengah, Indonesia. Metode yang digunakan adalah metode campuran. Populasi adalah pemilih muda yang berusia 20-24 tahun dan jumlah sampel sebanyak 97 pemilih yang ditentukan dengan rumus Slovin dan dipilih dengan teknik acak sederhana. Uji validitas kuesioner menggunakan skala Guttman. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga menggunakan wawancara semi terstruktur dengan sembilan informan terpilih. Data sekunder juga digunakan untuk melengkapi analisis, seperti: laporan, tulisan ilmiah, dan berita. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa berdasarkan tipologi, pemilih pemula di Kecamatan Gatak cenderung rasional, tidak tradisional, tidak skeptis, namun cenderung bukan pemilih kritis, terutama pada dua indikator yang berkaitan dengan keterikatan pada ideologi partai politik dan calon legislatifnya. Berdasarkan hasil tersebut, disimpulkan bahwa preferensi pemilih muda terhadap partai dan caleg lebih berorientasi pada pemecahan masalah kebijakan daripada orientasi ideologi.

Kata Kunci: Perilaku Pemilih; Pemilih Muda; Pemilu Legislatif Nasional; Klasifikasi Pemilih; Partisipasi Pemilih.

INTRODUCTIO N

General election is one form of operationalization of electoral democracy (Rose, 2021). Elections are not only a way to select state leaders, but are also a means to actualize people's sovereignty (Rishanda, 2021). Even though it is seen as a procedure, the implementation of elections that are democratic, effective, and with integrity will create a substantive democratic climate.

Indonesia has held general elections since the independence in various formats. At the beginning of the reformation, the spirit of democracy was even greater, marked by the direct election of regional heads for the first time in 2005.¹ This indicates that the people are increasingly given the space to express

their political will. Although the post-Reformation voter turnout was not as high as when the New Order regime came to power, this participation is considered to reflect the actual conditions of participation, not voter mobilization as happened in the previous regime (Ufen, 2010).

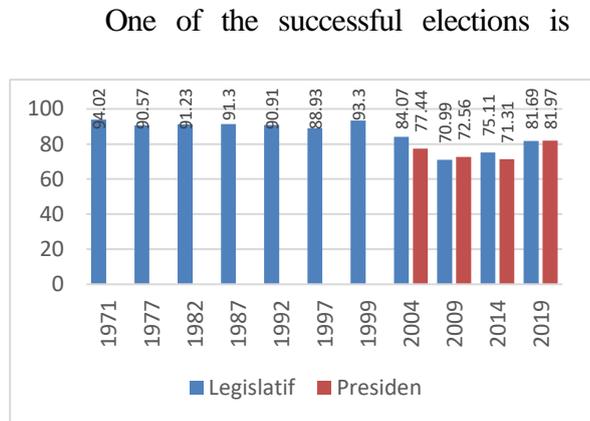
Statistically, in the post-Reformation, voter turnout has fluctuated. In the 2019 legislative elections, although they were not as high as the 1999 and 2004 elections, the participation rate has gradually improved since the 2009 elections, and is expected to continue

¹Regional heads and deputy regional heads prior to 2005 adopted an indirect election system through the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). Direct elections by the people began in 2005 since the enactment of Law

Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government. The first direct local elections were held in June 2005 in Kutai Kartanegara Regency, East Kalimantan.

to increase in the 2024 legislative elections.

Figure 1. Legislative and Presidential Election Participation Rate 1971 to 2019
 Source: BPS (2019); Ditpolkam Bappenas (2018)



In addition, qualitatively, rational and critical voters will also make an electoral process meaningful. Demographically, the voter component that needs attention is the youth voter group. They are a group that is relatively recently informed and exposed to political activities. They are the voters who are the millennial generation or generation Y, namely those born between 1980 and 2000. Based on data, in the 2019 General Election the number of Permanent Voters List (DPT) was 190,770,329 voters, consisting of 95,368,749 men and 95,401,580 women (BPS, 2019). In terms of age, from the LIPI survey results, the number of millennial voters is around 80 million people or about 40% of the total voters (Abdi, 2018). For this reason, the active role of youth voters is very much needed for quality elections.

Looking at the current conditions, the

active participation of youth voter group still needs to be increased. Based on Jeune & Raccord Data which conducted an election survey of 1,200 respondents in the period 10-16 March 2019 for millennial voter turnout, they found that they tend to be apathetic and don't care about political issues, and are not well informed. More specifically, it was found that 51.8 percent out of 65.4 percent of millennial voters do not care about political issues so they feel that they do not need to come to polling stations. Then, 30.8 percent out of 32.5 percent who are actively following political issues feel they do not need to come to polling stations (CNN Indonesia, 2019).

On the other hand, the active involvement of youth voters is also highly expected, not only because of their potential long political journey, but also their significant population. It also the reason why many political parties are trying to attract the attention of this segment of the electorate.

Robert Dahl (1973) in his book "Poliarchy: Participation and Opposition", stated that political participation is an important part of modern democracy because it allows citizens to hold the government accountable. The development of the study of political participation has been mapped by van Deth (2001). He found that in the 1940s to 1960s, most of the studies revolved around campaigning and voting activities. Then in the 1960s, these various activities were identified with the term conventional forms of

participation ((JW van Deth, 2001) in (Weiss, 2020)). Then, in the 1970s, studies developed with a wider scope of participation, not only various conventional forms of participation, but also unconventional ones that challenge the elite, such as: protest and resistance as well as new social movements, such as the women's movement or the pacifist movement. (JW van Deth, 2001) in (Weiss, 2020)). Furthermore, in the 1990s, the study of political participation was not only limited to conventional and unconventional political participation, but extended to civic activities such as voluntary activities and social involvement, or various other non-political behaviors to express political opinions. At that time, the dichotomy between conventional and unconventional is no longer relevant (Teorell et al., 2007). García-Albacete (2014) argues that the current change in the form of citizen political involvement has led to a change in the dichotomy, namely institutionalized and non-institutionalized political participation. Participation activities are institutionalized, such as voting and joining political parties, while activities that are not institutionalized include protests and boycotts. This classification departs from the weakening of citizens' ties to political and civic organizations, and conversely various individual political participation activities have increased, especially among the younger generation (García-Albacete, 2014).

Regarding youth political

participation, various studies show that there is a downward trend in the participation rate of youth voters in elections and the category of beginner voters occupies the lowest position. This level also comes from the decrease in their membership level in political parties (Cross & Young, 2008; Hooghe et al., 2004). Several studies have also examined this cause (Highton & Wolfinger, 2001; Jennings, 1979; Nie et al., 1974). Researchers have carried out research for decades and found that life cycle effects and generation effects determine (Jennings, 1979). In the first effect, there are differences in the level of political participation in each life cycle, low participation rates are found in youth voters. This is due to time constraints due to having to share strictly with personal needs (Earl et al., 2017; Saunders et al., 2012; Stoker & Jennings, 1995).

Meanwhile, the generation effect theory explains that there is a difference between the participation rate of the current generation of young people, which is lower than the previous generation (Martikainen et al., 2005). Tagliabue et al. (2014) find the fact that the current generation is difficult to reach maturity.

To understand the electoral process, apart from looking at the political participation of voters, it is also important to look at how voters behave in making their choices. The approach or study of voting behavior has begun to develop since 1939 when the

discipline of psychology entered the field of election studies (Mahsud & Amin, 2020). Political behavior theory, as an aspect of political science, tries to measure and explain the influence that determines a person's political views, ideology, and level of political participation. Political behavior is part of human behavior that involves politics and power (Clark et al., 2013). Various literatures have been discussed in depth. At least, in addition to non-voting behavior, there are three types or patterns of voting behavior, namely economic voting behavior, religious voting behavior, and rational voting behavior (Teak, 2021). Voting behavior is not formed by itself. According to Firmanzah (2012), there are three main influencing factors, namely: First, the initial conditions of voters, which consist of education, experience, culture, beliefs, and social status. Second, the influence of the media as an influential shaper of public opinion. Meanwhile, the third, the party and its candidates. The quality of parties and candidates is judged on the basis of ideology, performance, image, and other qualities.

Further, according to Firmanzah (2012), based on policy problem solving orientation and ideology, voter behavior is classified into four types, namely: First, rational voters, which are defined as voters who have an orientation that is more inclined to policy problem solving or the ability of parties and candidates to solve public problems and carry out their work programs

with good. On the other hand, these rational voters do not really care about the ideology of the party. Second, critical voters, which are defined as voters who are not only rational in viewing the performance of the party but at the same time also paying attention to its ideology. Third, traditional voters, namely voters who place ideology as the main determinant for their preferences. This type of voter is more concerned with proximity based on origin, religion, streams and other socio-cultural attributes. Meanwhile, the quality of policy making is a secondary determinant for this group of voters. Fourth, skeptical voters, namely voters who have no interest in the performance and ideology adopted by political parties. These voters consider that the existing parties do not adequately represent their wishes and are pessimistic about the promised changes.

Various kinds of studies have attempted to analyze the political behavior of youth voters. Qualitative-descriptive research conducted by Nur et al. (2015) aims to determine the factors that influence the political behavior of youth voters in the implementation of the presidential election in Kanaungan Village, Labakkang District, Pangkep Regency. In their research, they found that youth voters were less independent in making their choices, where parents' preferences were the benchmark in determining voting choices. In addition, irrational factors also dominate the cause of

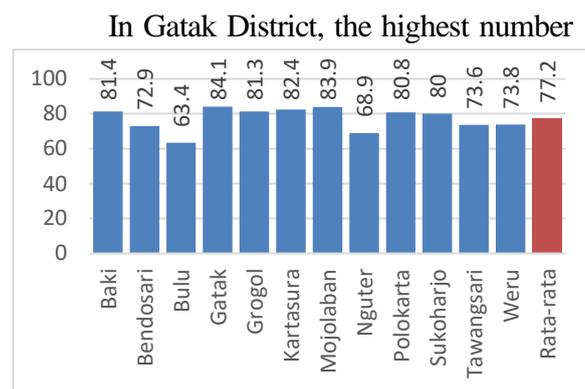
them choosing and making choices. Similar to this study, another study entitled Analysis of Voting Behavior for Beginner Voters in the West Jakarta Region in the 2019 General Election, Febriani (2018) also seeks to determine the various determinants of the youth voters in determining their choice. However, Febriani (2018) using quantitative methods with data analysis techniques using multiple linear analysis to find the influence of sociological factors (X1), sociological factors (X2) and rational choice factors (X3) on voting behavior (Y). In addition, in contrast to Nur et al. (2015) who found that the influence of other parties (sociological and psychological) determined the choice of youth voters, the results of the study of Febriani (2018) shows that the factors that influence the behavior of choosing youth voters are rational choices, while sociological and psychological factors have no significant effect on the behavior of youth voters. Another related research is a study entitled Vote Buying and Beginner Voter Behavior: The Case of the 2018 Bali Governor Election in Tabanan (Adhinata, 2019). This qualitative study found that factors such as giving money framed as assistance to the community influenced the preferences of youth voters.

In contrast to previous studies, this study attempts to analyze voter behavior on a relatively small scale by using the voter classification formulated by Firmanzah (2012). The case study was conducted in

Gatak District, Sukoharjo Regency, Central Java Province. Gatak District was chosen since its voter turnout in the 2019 national legislative election was the highest in Sukoharjo Regency (84.1%) (figure 2), it also surpassed the participation rate in Sukoharjo Regency, which was 77.2% and in Central Java Province, at 80.04% and national of 81.69 (BPS, 2019).

Figure 2.
Voter Participation in the Legislative Election (DPR) in Sukoharjo Regency in 2019

Source: Sukoharjokab.go.id (2020)



of millennials is in the age category of 20-24 years compared to the other two categories, ranging from 25-19 years and 30-34 years (Table 1).

Table 1.
Number of Millennial Generation by age category in Gatak District

No	Villages	Age (persons)
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		20-24 years old	25-29 years old	30-34 years old	Total
1	Sanggung	185	172	153	510
2	Kagokan	147	128	151	426
3	Blimbing	427	406	368	1201
4	Krajan	379	334	353	1066
5	Geneng	287	278	263	828
6	Jati	176	180	190	546
7	Trosem	207	204	191	602
8	Luwang	257	273	282	812
9	Klaseman	127	140	148	415
10	Tempel	115	122	111	348
11	Sraten	254	270	224	748
12	Wironangga	321	312	349	982
13	Trangsan	557	552	517	1626
12	Mayang	309	311	356	976
Total		3.748	3,682	3.656	11086

Source: Sukoharjokab.go.id (2020)

Based on these data, this study narrows the scope of the discussion to the millennial generation in the age category of 20-24 years, the age at which most of them have the opportunity to vote for the first time.

METHOD

This study uses a mixed research approach. A combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches is used to provide a more complete and clear understanding and picture. Creswell (2014) states that 'concurrent mixed methods strategies are procedures in which the researcher combines or combines quantitative and qualitative data to obtain a comprehensive analysis of the research problem'.

The population in this study were all youth voters in the age category of 20-24 years

who were registered in the Permanent Voters List (DPT) for the 2019 legislative elections in Gatak Regency. While the sample size is determined using the Slovin Formula:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2}$$

Information:

n : Number of samples to be used

N : Total population

e : Margin of error of 10%

Based on this formula, the calculation of the number of samples (n):

$$n = (3748) / (1 + (3748 \times 0,10)^2)$$

$$n = 3748 / (1 + (3748 \times 0.01)$$

$$n = 3748 / (1 + 37.48)$$

$$n = 3748 / 38.48$$

$$n = 97$$

The data was collected using a questionnaire technique which was distributed to 97 respondents who were randomly selected samples in the population (the questionnaire refers to the operationalization of the concept in table 2 below). In addition, this study also collected information using semi-structured interviews to nine informants consisting of the Chairperson of the General Election Commission (KPU) of Sukoharjo Regency, Head of the Division of Socialization, Education, and Political Participation in Sukoharjo Regency, Election Committee (PPK) of Gatak District, Election Oversight Committee (Panwascam) Gatak District, and early age voters, 20-24 years old as participants in the 2019 Legislative Election.

Finally, the author also uses documentation techniques by collecting various data from secondary sources, such as: reports on election administrators, scientific articles, news, and so on.

Table 2. Concept Operationalization

Concept	Dimensions	Indicators
Voter Behavior Firmanzah (2012)	Rational voters	Knowledge of the past performance of Political Parties/ legislative candidates
		Reputation/good image of political parties/legislative candidates
		Knowledge of vision, mission, and work programs offered by political parties/legislative candidates
		Loyalty to Political Parties/ legislative candidates (tends to move if disappointed)
	Critical voters	Knowledge on ideology, vision, mission, and work programs
		Clarity and goodness of ideology, vision, mission, and work program
		Monitoring and criticizing the selected political parties/legislative candidates
		Loyalty to Political Parties/ legislative candidates
	Traditional voters	Tribal/ethnic proximity to voters
		Shared beliefs/religion with voters
		Figures and Personality of Political Parties/legislative candidates
		Mobilization in Campaign
Skeptic voter	Desire to be involved in political parties	
	Concern for political party policies	
	Considerations to random selection	
	Level of confidence in the changes offered	

Source: indicators adopted from Nawas (2014)

Validity test of the questionnaire is using the Guttman scale, the questionnaire must pass the test of the reproducibility coefficient (kr) and the scalability coefficient (ks). Tests were conducted on 30 respondents randomly, using the formula:

$$kr = 1 - (e/n)$$

$$ks = 1 - (e/x)$$

Notes:

Kr = Reproducibility Coefficient

Ks = Scalability Coefficient

e = number of error values

x = 0.5 (number of answers – score)

Table 3. Reproducibility and Scalability Coefficient Test Results

No res	Skeptis				Tradisional				Kritis				Rasional				Skor	Error
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	7	3
4	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	2
5	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2
6	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
8	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	1
9	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
10	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	5	1
11	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
12	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	6	2
13	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	5	1
14	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
15	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	5	3
16	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	2
17	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	1
18	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	6	3
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	5	1
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	6	2
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	5	1
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	5	1
23	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	2
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	6	2
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	5	1
26	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
27	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	5	1
28	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	4	2
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	6	2
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	6	2

Source: Author's calculation (2020)

Based on the table, it is found:

Total Score = 157

Number of Errors = 44

Number of Answers = 480

Based on Table 3, then the Kr and Ks:

$$Cr: 1 - (44/480) = 1 - 0.09166667 = 0.90833333 = 0.90$$

$$Ks : 1 - (44 / \{0.5 \times (480 - 157)\}) = 1 - (44 / 161.5) = 1 - 0.27244582 = 0.72755418 = 0.73$$

Based on the standard, a questionnaire with a value of Kr > 0.90 and Ks > 0.60 is considered good enough to be distributed to respondents. Examination of the answers of all respondents to the multiple choice questions 'yes' and 'no' was carried out using the Guttman Scale. For the answer 'yes' is given a value of 1 with the conversion of the answer to 100% and the answer 'no' is given a value of 0 with the conversion of the answer to 0%. To facilitate the calculation, the mention of operational measurement results using a measurement range of 0% to 50% is called

"close to disagree", and 51% to 100% is called "close to agree".

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Characteristics of Youth Voters in the 2019 National Legislative Election (DPR) in Gatak District

Gatak is a district with the majority of the population working in the agricultural and handicraft sectors. Demographically, its population age categories of 0-9 years and 20-39 years make up 29% of the total population respectively. Meanwhile, the 40-59 year age category makes up 28% of the population, the rest are between 60-74 years old and >75 years old at 10% and 4%, respectively (Sukoharjokab, 2019).

The dominance of the population with a young age range is also in line with the number of youth voters in the 2019 national legislative elections (DPR) in Gatak district. The number of millennial voters (20-34 years) is 11,086 voters or makes up about 40% of the DPT. Meanwhile, if it is narrowed according to the focus of this research, namely the millennial generation aged 20-24 years or youth voters, the number is 3,748 people. When viewed from gender, there is a balance between men and women, where there are 1,870 men or 49.9% and 1,878 women or 50.1% (Gatak District, 2019).

Based on education level, the majority of youth voters are high school and college graduates, which are 64% and 28%,

respectively. Meanwhile, there were only 6% and 2% of junior high and elementary school graduates (Gatak District, 2019). This composition shows that from the level of education, youth voters aged 20-24 years already have sufficient cognitive abilities so that they can analyze political phenomena and events. As stated by Caprini & Keeter (1996) that education is able to increase the capacity of individuals to obtain and process various political information. van de Werfhorst (2014) also claims that one of the functions of education is to increase citizen participation. The composition of respondents who were randomly selected also corresponds to the population. First, the balance between the composition of men and women where out of 97 respondents, 55% of them were men and the rest were women. Second, from the level of education, the educational background of the respondents was nominated by 51% high

school graduates, 45% undergraduate graduates, 2.5% junior high schools, and 1.5% elementary schools.

Behavioral Analysis of Youth Voters in the 2019 National Legislative Election (DPR) in Gatak District

Firmanzah (2012) divided the classification of voter behavior into 4 (four) behaviors, namely: rational, critical, traditional, and skeptical. Based on the survey given to 97 respondents using simple random sampling, the following results were obtained:

Skeptic Voters

This type of voter is a voter who has no interest in participating in an electoral process, such as an election. These voters do not care about the policies of political parties or the ideology they follow. The following are responses from all respondents to questions that refer to the skeptical voter type indicators:

Table 4. Percentage of Skeptic Voters for Beginner Voters in Gatak District

No	Questions	Answer				Total
		Not	%	Yes	%	
1	Are you a sympathizer of political parties and legislative candidates and political parties that you choose?	73	75.26%	24	24.74%	97
2	Do you know the work plans/platforms and policies of the political parties that carry the political parties and legislative candidates you choose?	41	42.27%	56	57.73%	97
3	Do you choose political parties and legislative candidates with certain considerations such as vision, mission and capabilities?	19	19.59%	78	80.41%	97
4	Do you think that the political parties and legislative candidates you choose will bring changes to your life?	28	28.87%	69	71.13%	97
Total		161	41.49%	227	58.51%	388

Source: Author's calculation (2020)

The four questions above are derived from the four indicators on the critical voter

dimension. If detailed, youth voters are not skeptical about three of the four indicators (No. 2, 3, and 4) and are skeptical for the indicator 1.

Based on table 4, it can be seen that for question number 1 there are 75.26% who answered 'no' and 24.74% answered 'yes'. This shows that most of the respondents are not part of or sympathizers of political parties or legislative candidates. As stated by one of the commissioners of the KPU Kab. Sukoharjo Division of Human Resources, Socialization, and Political Education on January 19, 2021:

It's difficult, *mas*, to invite the public to participate in political activities, even just to attend the socialization from us the KPU. People will choose to use their time to work and increase their income rather than to follow our socialization, not to mention to participate in political campaigns.

Skeptic voters, one of the characteristics is that they do not want to care about political activities and prioritize other activities. One of the youth voters, DR, on January 10, 2021, said that he was not a party sympathizer and did not want to join (with the party) because it would take up a lot of his time. Likewise with BS, in an interview on January 17, 2021, he stated that it is better to go to work than to join a political campaign.

Meanwhile, for question No. 2, 57.73% of respondents have known the work plan/policy of the party or candidate compared to those who stated they did not know. This shows that youth voters have been trying to

find information related to what was promised by the party carrying and the candidate being promoted. Based on observations, the candidates have attempted to diversify their campaign media, by no longer only using banners and billboards, but also through social media, websites, and so on.

Meanwhile, to the question No. 3, the majority or 80.41% of voters admit that choosing a party or candidate is based on the vision and mission carried out as well as the ability of the party or candidate. This shows that they objectively make these things the basis for making choices. Finally, to question No. 4, the majority or 71.13% of voters believe that their choice will bring changes for the better for their lives. Several interviewees admitted that the role of the legislature is very important, especially in producing various laws and regulations that will have an impact on their future.

The results of the overall calculation, it is obtained as much as 41.49% and based on the measurement standard if the percentage who chooses 'no' is in the number 0 to 50% then it can be categorized as voters who are not skeptical, and when the results of the percentage who choose 'no' are in the range of 51% to 100%, they are categorized as skeptical voters. Based on these calculations, it can be concluded that youth voters in Gatak District are non-skeptic voters.

Traditional Voter

This type of voter has a very strong

attachment to the ideology of a political party, but is not so influenced by the party's policies or programs. Voters with this type choose more for reasons of similarity in origin, belief,

religion, culture, and other attributes. The following are responses from all respondents to questions that refer to indicators of traditional voter types:

Table 5. Percentage of Traditional Voters for Beginner Voters in Gatak District

No	Question	Answer				Total
		Not	%	Yes	%	
5	Do the political parties and legislative candidates you choose come from the same ethnicity as you and for that reason did you make your choice?	71	73.20%	26	26.80%	97
6	Do the political parties and legislative candidates you choose have the same beliefs/religion as you and for that reason did you make your choice?	50	51.55%	47	48.45%	97
7	Are the political parties and legislative candidates that you choose are political parties and legislative candidates that you admire or like?	52	53.61%	45	46.39%	97
8	Have you ever been involved/participated in campaigns conducted by the political parties and legislative candidates you chose?	85	87.63%	12	12.37%	97
	Total	258	66.49%	130	33.51%	388

Source: Author’s calculation (2020)

The traditional voter type also has four indicators, each of which is reduced to four questions. Based on Table 5, it can be seen that youth voters are not traditional voters and this is reflected in each indicator.

On question No. 5, 73.20% of respondents admitted that they did not make a choice based on the attributes of ethnicity. One of the informants, DO, on January 10, 2021 said: '... because in my opinion, it is too petty to use ethnic similarity as the main factor in selecting legislative candidates'. Likewise with question No. 6 concerning religion, 51.55% of respondents stated that they were not influenced by religious background in making choices. Based on an interview with a member of the Panwascam, AS, on January 12, 2021,

he stated that there were no violations related to politicization or conflicts of religion and belief by political parties or legislative candidates. However, the percentage of respondents who make their religion or belief quite high (47%). In terms of religion, Gatak population is very homogeneous with Islam as a religion with the most followers.

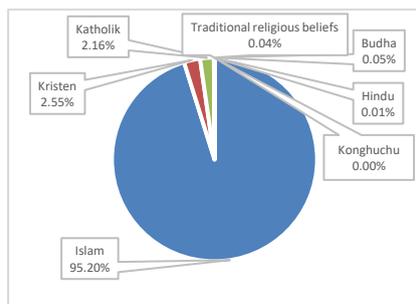


Figure 3. Population Based on Religion in Gatak in 2018

Source: Sukoharjokab.go.id (2020)

For the question No. 7 regarding the figures of political parties or candidates, a simple majority or as many as 53.61% of voters stated that they were not influenced by certain figures. Some informants also admitted that there is no party or candidate who has a strong figure and the others believe that performance is more important than just a figure.

Finally, on question No. 8, 87.63% or the majority admitted that they had never been involved or participated in campaigns conducted by political parties or candidates. One of the informants, DS, on January 10, 2021 admitted that he was not interested in joining the campaign and only passively read the vision, mission, and programs offered through social media.

Based on the calculation of all indicators on the dimension of Traditional Voters, the results obtained are 33.51% of millennials answered 'yes'. Thus, based on the measurement standard, it can be concluded that youth voters in Gatak District, Sukoharjo Regency are not the traditional type of voter.

Critical Voter

This type of voter takes the program and ideology of political parties into consideration in providing support. Not only because the party's ability to articulate the interests of its constituents is evidenced by a good program, but these voters have also become loyalists because of the ideological line adopted by the party. The following are responses from all respondents to questions that refer to the critical voter type indicator:

Table 6 Percentage of Critical Voters for Youth Voters in Gatak District

No	Questions	Answers				Total
		Not	%	Yes	%	
9	Do you know and admire the ideological values adopted as well as the vision, mission and work programs offered and offered by the political parties and legislative candidates you choose?	58	59.79%	39	40.21%	97
10	Do you choose political parties and legislative candidates because they adhere to an ideology that you admire and have a good vision, mission, and work program?	56	57.73%	41	42.27%	97
11	Will you continue to monitor how the performance of the political parties and legislative candidates you choose and provide criticism if their performance does not match your expectations?	41	42.27%	56	57.73%	97
12	If the political parties and legislative candidates you choose meet your expectations, will you always be loyal and will not change your choice from the political parties and legislative candidates you choose?	40	41.24%	57	58.76%	97
Total		195	50.26%	193	49.74%	388

Source: Author's calculation (2020)

On the critical voter dimension, respondents are considered critical on indicator No. 11. And No.12. Meanwhile, on two other indicators, namely No. 9 and No. 10 are not critical. On indicator No. 9, 59.79% or the majority of respondents admitted that they did not know or admire the ideology, vision-

mission, and work programs offered by the party or candidate they chose. Likewise in question No. 10, 57.73% or the majority of voters admitted that they chose political parties and candidates not based on the ideology they admired or the vision and mission and work programs that were considered good. One of the informants, DO, on January 10, 2021, argued that he was more concerned with the vision and mission than the party's ideology because they were considered irrelevant. The fact also shows that often the ideology listed in the party's Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD ART) is only in writing, often not showing differences in policy making with other parties with different ideologies (Romli, 2011). In addition, not all parties also have a clear ideology (Volpi, 2019).

Meanwhile, in question No. 11, 57.73% of respondents admit that they will continue to monitor and critics the candidates if their performance is not as expected. As stated by an informant, HC, on January 12, 2021, "Of course I am critical, I have a

responsibility with my choices and they have a responsibility with their program". At this time, the voters can monitor their candidates by observing their social media and news to see the performance of the elected legislative members. The last is question No. 12 related to indicators of loyalty to certain figures when in accordance with respondents' expectations. As many as 58.76% of respondents stated that they will be loyal to those who meet expectations.

Thus, in total, based on the measurement of four indicators with result average 49.74%, it can be said that the youth voters in Gatak are not critical voters.

Rational Voters

This type of voter is very highly oriented to the programs and visions and missions of political parties. These voters are not very interested in the ideology of political parties. The following are responses from all respondents to questions that refer to the indicators of the type of rational voter:

Table 7 Percentage of Rational Voters for Youth Voters in Gatak

No	Questions	Answer				Total
		Not	%	Yes	%	
13	Do you know how the past performance of the political parties and legislative candidates you chose?	44	45.36%	53	54.64%	97
14	Did you choose political parties and legislative candidates because they had a good reputation/image in the past?	31	31.96%	66	68.04%	97
15	Do you know the vision, mission, and work programs offered by the political parties and legislative candidates you choose?	22	22.68%	75	77.32%	97
16	Would you change your choice of political parties and other legislative candidates if the political parties and legislative candidates you chose were not able to perform as you expected?	33	34.02%	64	65.98%	97
Total		130	33.51%	258	66.49%	388

Source: processed by the author (2020)

The rational voter dimension also has four indicators, each of which is represented by one question. On question No. 13, 54.64% of respondents claimed to know the past performance or track record of the legislator candidates they chose. One of the informants, DR, on January 10, 2021 said, 'For the party's past performance, I know that yesterday I opened it on a website on the internet.' One of the websites that provides background information on legislative candidates is jasaparlemen.id. Through this website, prospective voters can compare and evaluate candidates who are considered better.

Then in question No. 14, 68.04% of respondents also admitted that their choice was based on knowledge of the track records of the legislator candidates they chose. One of the

informants, DO, on January 10, 2021 stated that reputation and image are very important things to be used as reasons for choosing certain candidates. The formation of a good reputation is mainly maximized by the candidates during the campaign. Currently, the use of multimedia and online media is widespread by almost all candidates. Not only because of the restrictions on direct campaigning, but because the candidates understand that the digital campaign will be able to attract votes from a fairly large number of youth voters. This is as stated by a member of the District Election Committee (PPK), GR, on January 11, 2021:

The 2019 campaign pattern is somewhat different from the previous election, *Mas*. This year, several candidates have used social media to attract the sympathy of

young people, especially for this segment of 40% in Sukoharjo Regency. They use photos, videos and posters that they post about their vision, mission, and programs that have been or will be implemented. This is what makes millennial voters interested in choosing these candidates.

Next to question No. 15, 77.32% of respondents admitted that they knew the vision, mission, and work programs offered by the party or candidate they chose. An informant, DR, on January 10, 2021 admitted that he knew the vision, mission and work program of the candidate he had chosen. "As for the vision and mission of the candidates I voted for yesterday, I know. I have to know, instead, I see their vision, mission, and programs on their social media." Based on observations, as many as six of the eight members of the DPR RI who were elected from the Electoral District (Dapil) V of Central Java have social media accounts, one of which is used to disseminate their vision, mission, and political promises.

Finally, on question No. 16 as many as 65.98% of respondents admitted that they will change their choice in the next election if the party or candidate currently elected is not able to meet their expectations. Not having high loyalty to parties and candidates is one of the characteristics of rational voters. They are solely based on the performance of the party and candidate they will choose. One of the informants said, "If the candidate meets my expectations and the performance in

implementing the program is good, of course I will vote again, but when the candidate makes a mistake and doesn't keep his promise, I don't vote anymore. I will choose the one with the most rational program."

Based on the calculation, the result of four indicators is 66.49% so that we can conclude that youth voters in Gatak are rational voter.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the behavior of youth voters aged 20-24 years in the 2019 national legislative elections (DPR) in Gatak District, Sukoharjo Regency, Central Java Province using the concept of voter behavior of Firmanzah (2012) shows that voter behavior is more policy problem solving oriented than ideological one. The study found that 66.49% of voters' close to rational. Then 33.51% 'close to not traditional'. Furthermore, 41.49% 'close to not skeptical'. There is only one dimension that needs attention, namely the type of critical voter where 49.74% of voters are 'close to uncritical'. Although the difference is not that significant with the minimum category of critical voters, it still needs to be improved, especially on two indicators related to the attachment of youth voters to the ideology of political parties and their legislative candidates. Lastly, future studies are expected to be able to conduct further research with a larger locus scale in order to

have a broader picture of the behavior of youth voters that is useful for decision makers, election organizers, political parties, and the voters.

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