

**Analysis Of The Turn-Out Voter In The Presidential Election And Vice President In 2019  
In The Ambon City, Indonesia**

**Safrudin Bustam Layn**

Doctoral Candidate Of Public Administration Sciences Universitas Negeri Makassar, Indonesia  
Email: [Rudilayn@gmail.Com](mailto:Rudilayn@gmail.Com)

**Rifdan**

Head Of Doctoral Program In Public Administration, Postgraduate Program, Makassar State University,  
Indonesia  
Email: [Rifdan@Unm.Ac.Id](mailto:Rifdan@Unm.Ac.Id)

**Andi Ikhsan**

Postgraduate Program, Makassar State University, Indonesia  
Email: [Andiiccan@gmail.Com](mailto:Andiiccan@gmail.Com)

**Haedar Akib**

Head Of Department Of Administrative Science, Faculty Of Social Science And Law, Universitas Negeri  
Makassar, Indonesia  
Email: [Haedar652002@Yahoo.Com.Au](mailto:Haedar652002@Yahoo.Com.Au)

**Fitriyani Manik**

Department Of Sanitation, Politeknik Kesehatan Kemenkes Maluku, Ambon, Indonesia  
Email: [Fitriyanimanik@Yahoo.Com](mailto:Fitriyanimanik@Yahoo.Com)

**ABSTRACT**

Voter Turn-Out In The General Election Of The President And Vice President In 2019, Interesting To Be Studied As "Learning For Elections," Will Come, In 2024. This Research Was Conducted Because Of The High Number Of "White Factions" Or White Group Voters In Some Momentum Elections President-Vice President In Ambon City. This Study Aims To Analyze And Explain: The Causes Of The Decline In Voter Participation Rates In The 2019 Presidential-Vice Presidential Election Compared To The Previous Elections; Factors Influencing Irregularities In Voting Behavior In The 2019 Presidential Election; And Factors Causing The Presence Of Abstentions In Each Election. Data Were Collected Using Techniques, Namely: Questionnaires To 100 Respondents, Interviews With Informants, As Well As Observing And Tracking Related Documents. The Results Of The Study Found That The Factors That Caused The Decline In Voter Participation Rates To Polling Stations Were Personal Considerations Because Elections Were Not So Important For Meeting Their Economic Needs, Lack Of Electoral Socialization, Job Reasons So They Did Not Go To Polling Stations To Vote, And Accessibility Voters To Polling Stations And Rational Calculations Where Income-Generating Activities Are More Important Than To Polling Stations. The

Cause Of Irregularities In Voting Behavior Is The Absence Of Candidates Who Have Good Work Programs Or Programs That Are Pro-People And Poor People. There Is A Negative Perception Of Politics Or An Attitude Of Not Wanting To Deal With Politics Because It Considers Politics Rotten. Factors That Cause Voters Who Are WP Are Unpopular/Unknown Candidates, The Absence Of Candidates Who Have Pro-People Work Programs And Side With The Poor, And Candidates Who Are Considered Not To Be In The Community.

*Keywords:* Political Participation, Turn Out Voter, Presidential Election.

## INTRODUCTION

The Nature Of Reform Requires Various Parties To Develop And Develop The Values Of Democracy And Regional Autonomy Which Are Based On The Principles Of Equality, Equality, And Justice. In Connection With This, The Implementation Of Regional Autonomy Demands The Existence Of Basic Values That Accommodate The Needs And Aspirations Of The Community With The Principles Of Democratization, Participation, Equity, And Justice. According To Levitt (2012), Asshiddiqie (2006), The Holding Of Ges In The Context Of Regional Autonomy Emphasizes The Importance Of Democratic Principles, Enhancing Community Participation, And Equitable Justice By Taking Into Account Various Aspects Relating To Inter-Regional Potential And Diversity. While The GE Is One Of The Joints For The Establishment Of A Democratic Political System.

Indonesia Is A Country That Runs A Democratic Political System In The Process Of Governance. Several Pillars Are The Preconditions For The Running Of The Democratic Political System, Namely: First, The Holding Of Free And Periodic Elections; Second, The Existence Of An Open, Accountable And Responsive Government; Third, The Existence Of Protection For Human Rights; And Fourth, The Development Of Civil Society In Society (Arianto, 2011).

The Implementation Of Free And Periodic Elections Is A Prerequisite For A Democratic Political System Because Elections Are One Of The Means Of Popular Sovereignty Where The People Can Choose Their Representatives And Leaders To Run The Government. Kelsen (2017) States, In A Representative Democracy, The Function Of The Government Is Transferred From Citizens To The Organs Of The State, To Fill The Organs Of The State Is Carried Out Through Democratic Nominations, Namely Elections.

In Practice In Indonesia, Since The Reformation, There Has Been A Change In The Implementation Of Elections Which Is Understood As An Arena Of An Open Competition Between Electoral Participants To Mobilize Voter Voting Support. As A Result, There Was Relatively Intense Interaction Between Citizens/Voters With Election Participants, The Government, Organizers, Election Supervisory Bodies, And Also Monitors. In This Interaction, Voters Are In The Same Position/Equivalent To Other Elements, If Not Have To Say In The Position Of Benefiting. Election Participants Need Voter Support, As Well As Election Organizers Who Seek To Increase Voter Involvement In Elections (King, 2003; Stein Et Al., 2008; Stein & Vonnahme, 2012).

Amid Huge National And Regional Interests, The Interests Of Voters Are Left Behind And Almost Forgotten. Voters Are Only Positioned As Objects In Political Battles Between Election Participants Both Political Parties And Candidates. Likewise With The Interests Of Voters To Provide Voting Rights Based On Adequate Information, Open Access To The Track Record Of Election Participants, Open Access To Electoral Information, Free From Intimidation And Mobilization That Has Not Yet Been Managed Adequately, Intensively, And Of Quality. In Connection With The Support Of Community Participation In The Political Field, Ayala (2000) And Budiardjo (2003) That Political Participation Is Understood As Voluntary Activities Of Citizens Through Which They Take Part In The Of The Authorities, And Directly Or Indirectly, In The Process Of Forming General Policies.

In The Process, The General Election Commission (GEC) As The Technical Organizer Carries Out The Accommodation Function And Ensures That Voters Can Use Their Voting Rights At Polling Stations (PS) And Ensure That Voter Votes Are Counted Honestly. A Combination Of Political Factors And Technical Factors Determines The Level Of Voter Participation. That Is, The GEC Is Not Directly Related To The Question Of The Performance Of Political Parties And Political Conditions That Also Influence Community Participation. The Issue Of Corruption, Problematic Politicians Cause Apathy To The Citizens, So That It Also Influences The Level Of Participation, Of Course, These Factors Are Beyond The Responsibility Of The GEC As The Election Organizer. Besides That, When Voters Do Not Exercise Their Right To Vote Because They Are Absent From The Polling Station Due To Lack Of Information About The Election Mechanism, Then Of Course This Is The Responsibility Of The Organizer. Based On This, It Is Irrelevant If Then The Question Of High And Low Voter Participation Is Only The Responsibility Of The GEC. All Elements Of This Country Have Full Responsibility In Giving Weight To Civic Education Values To Citizens So That They Can Stimulate National Political Participation With A Figure Of 75 Percent Which Is Equipped With Good And Adequate Political Literacy. A High Level Of Political Knowledge And Understanding Will Be A Provision For Encouraging Increased Political Participation In Our Society, This Feels Very Important To Be Discussed Because It Is Directly Related To The Problem Of Turn-Out Voters (Attendance Or Absence Of Voters At PS).

The Above Propositions Are Inversely Proportional To The Facts Of The Legislative Elections And The Presidential And Vice-Presidential Elections In Ambon City. The Socio-Political Installation Of The City Is Packed With Residents With A Background Of Representation Of Various Ethnic Groups In Indonesia. The Type Of Voters In Ambon City Is Categorized As Critical Voters, But In The 2014 And 2019 Legislative Elections, The Level Of Voter Participation In This City Was Only About 70 Percent Far From The National Target Of 75 Percent With Voters' Data Of 269,889 (100 Percent In 2014), Whereas In Presidential And Vice-Presidential Elections This Number Also Decreased To About 67 Percent From The Voters' Data Of 272,587 (100 Percent In 2014). This Means That There Was A Decrease In Voters From The Legislative Election (LE) To The Presidential Election About 4 Percent, Meaning That In The Last 2019 Presidential Election There Were More Than 90,000 Voters Who Did Not Come To The PS To Elect The President And Vice President. Likewise In The 2019 GE Of Governors And Deputy Governors, The Number Of Legitimate Votes Was Recorded To Decline Again To 175,042 In The First Round Of Elections, And In The Second Round, It Dropped Again To 138,527 Votes GEC, Maluku Province, 2014, 2019). This Is What Attracts The Attention Of The Writer To Examine Various Phenomena That Occur In The Symptoms Of High WP Numbers (White Factions/Voters Who Do Not Come To The PS). The Article Results Of This Study Aim To Explain The Factors Causing The Decline Of Voter Participation Rates In The 2019 Presidential Election Compared To The Previous Election, Knowing The Determinant Factors Of Voting Behavior Deviation, And Knowing The Causes Of The "White Group" Voters As "Learning" For Elections In Indonesia In 2024.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

*Political Participation.* The Notion Of Democracy Requires The Participation And Participation Of The People Or Citizens In The Activities Of Carrying Out State Life. Etymologically, Participation Is More Meaningful As Taking Part Or Participating In Or Participating In An Activity. "Participation Is The Involvement Of A Person's Thoughts And Emotions In A Group Situation That Encourages To Support The Group's Goals And Take Part In The Responsibility For The Group Itself." If Linked To Political Life Then It Is Known As Political Participation. Political Participation Is The Activity Of A Person, Group, Or Organization To Actively Participate In Political Life (Wardhani, 2018). According To Brady, Verba, & Schlozman (1995) Budiardjo (2003), Miller, Gurin, Gurin, & Malanchuk (1981), Political Participation Is Defined As The Activity Of A Person Or Group Of People To Actively Participate In Various Political Systems And Activities, Among Others By Choosing A State Leader And, Directly / Occupying Certain Positions Or Indirectly, Influencing Government Policy (Public Policy).

Davidson & Cotte (1989) And Marbun (1996) Mentions The Main Factors That Encourage People To Participate In Politics, Namely: 1) Political Incentives, Including Political Discussion Activities; 2) A Person's Characteristics Towards Politics; 3) Social Characteristics Are Social, Economic, Racial, Ethnic And Religious Status; 4) Political Situation Or Environment; 5) Political Education. On The Other Hand, According To Sanit (1997), Political Participation Includes The Participation Of The Community Collectively In The Process Of Determining Leaders, Making Public Policy, And Overseeing The Governance Process. Based On This Understanding, It Is Understood That Political Participation Is The Activity Of A Person, Group, Or Organization Actively Participating In Political Life Directly Or Indirectly, By Choosing Leaders And Influencing Government Policies.

About Political Participation During The Election By Soebagio (2008), In His Study Of The Implications Of WP In Indonesia's Democratic Development Revealed That Political Participation Is In The Form Of Personal Core Political Activity From Each Citizen Voluntarily To Participate In The General For Selecting Public Officials, Both Directly And Indirectly In The Process Of Determining Public Policies. On The Other Hand, The Political Participation Of The People In The Electoral Activities, By (Pramo, 2012), Shows That Political Participation Rates Tend To Decline In Elections In Indonesia, Where The Number Of Abstentions Becomes Very Large, In 1999 And 2004 Elections Respectively. -That Is 10.21%, 23.34%, And Increased To 39.1% In 2009. On The Other Hand, The Amount Of Costs Incurred Is Very Large, But Precisely The Participation Of The People In The GE Is Getting Smaller.

GEC Regulation No. 5 Of 2015 Concerning Socialization And Participation In Local Elections, Article 19 Paragraph 2, Explains That Elections Are Held With Community Participation, Which Is Carried Out In The Form Of A) Community Involvement In Organizing Elections; B) Supervision At Each Stage Of The Election; C) Election Socialization; D) Political Education For Voters; E) Election Monitoring; And F) Survey Or Poll On Election And Quick Calculation Of Election Results. Thus, It Can Be Understood That Political Participation Is The Involvement Of The Community In Political Activities To Influence Government Decision-Making, One Of Which Is By Giving Their Aspirations During The Election.

*Voters Turn-Over (VTO)*. Choosing In Elections / Regional Head Elections In Indonesia Is Part Of The Rights Of Citizens Who Have Fulfilled The Requirements As Voters And Not Become A Compulsory Vote As Practiced By Some Of Our Neighboring Countries (Australia). According To Law No. 10 Of 2016 That: 1) To Be Able To Use The Right To Vote, Indonesian Citizens Must Be Registered As Voters. 2) If An Indonesian Citizen Is Not Registered As A Voter As Referred To In Paragraph 1, Then At The Time Of Voting Shows The Electronic Identity Card/EIC. 3) To Be Registered As A Voter, An Indonesian Citizen Must Fulfill The Following Conditions: A) His / Her Memory Is Not Being Disturbed, And B) The Right To Vote Is Not Revoked Based On A Court Decision That Has Permanent Legal Force. 4) Indonesian Citizens Who Are Not Registered In The Voters List And At The Time Of Voting Do Not Fulfill The Requirements As Referred To In Paragraph 2 Or Paragraph 3, Those Concerned Cannot Use Their Voting Rights. This Shows That Indonesia Continues To Apply The Restrictions, Because Not All Citizens Who Are 17 Years Of Age Or Older Or Have/Have Been Married, Can Automatically Use Their Voting Rights During Elections Or Regional Head Elections. Thus, Voter Participation Refers To The Presence Of Citizens Who Have The Right To Vote At The PS.

Based On The Regulation Mandate Above, It Can Be Said That Voter Participation Refers To The Presence Of Citizens Who Have The Right To Vote At The TPS As Regulated By The Which Is Technical, Explained By Geys (2006) That What Is Meant By VTO In The View Of The Rational People Is An Attitude That Leads To Actions To Come Or Not Come To Vote In Elections Due To Views About The Usefulness Of The Actions Of Each Who Is His Right. Whereas According To Budiardjo (2003) That VTO Is Defined As A Form Of Political Participation In The Election Through The Calculation Of The Percentage Of People Who Use Their Voting Rights, Compared To The Total Number Of Citizens Who Have The Right To Vote.

In The Period Of 7 (Seven) Times Of The GE During The New Order, The 1971 Election Was The GE With The Highest Level Of Participation, Which Was 94 Percent, While The 2007 Election Was The GE With The Lowest Level Of Participation Of 88.9 Percent. During The New Order Era, The Average Voter Participation Rate Was Estimated At 92%, And Only The 1997 Election Had A Participation Rate Below 90 Percent. Meanwhile, During The 4 (Four) Times Of The GE During The Reform Order, The 1999 Election Was The GE With The Highest Participation Rate Of 93.3 Percent, And The 2009 Election Which Had The Lowest Level Of Participation, Namely 71.7 Percent. In The Last Election In 2014 And 2019, The Level Of Voter Participation Was About 75 Percent.

For A Country That Is Just In The Phase Of Consolidating Democracy, Political Factors Are The Main Reason Or Cause Caused By The Political Aspects Of The People Willing Or Unwilling To Vote. Like Not Believing In The Party, Having No Choice From Available Candidates, Or Not Believing That The Election Will Bring Changes And Improvements. This Condition Encourages People Not To Exercise Their Right To Vote. Political Stigma Is Dirty, Evil, Justifies Any Means And So On Which Exacerbates Public Trust In Politics So That People Do Not Want To Exercise Their Right To Vote, So This Condition Undermines Public Confidence In Politicians. Another Factor Is Politicians Who Are Not Rooted, Politicians Who Are Close And Fight For People's Aspirations. Some Politicians Are Closer To Party Officials, With Power Holders. They Are More Dependent On Their Leaders Than Closer To Their Constituents Or Voters. Other Conditions Are The Behavior Of Many Politicians Who Conflict Starting Internal Party Conflicts In Gaining Strategic Positions In The Party, Then Conflict With Other Politicians Who Are Different Parties. Conflicts Like This Give Rise To Anti-Community Opinion Towards Political Parties. Pragmatic Politics Are Getting Stronger, Both Among Politicians And In Some Societies. Politicians Are Only Looking For A Moment's Profit By Getting The Votes Of The People. While Some Of Our Society, Politics Is Making Transactions. Such Conditions Politically Influence The Public To Exercise Their Right To Vote (Arianto, 2011; Stein Et Al., 2008; Stein & Vonnahme, 2012).

The Dynamics Of Choosing Behavior In VTO. In The Study Of Voter Behavior, There Are Only Two Main Concepts, Namely; Voting Behavior And Non-Voting Behavior. Moon (1992) Said There Are Two Main Theoretical Approaches In Explaining Non-Voting Behavior, Namely: First, Emphasizing The Social And Psychological Characteristics Of Voters And The Institutional Characteristics Of The Electoral System; And Second, Emphasizing The Voters' Expectations About The Advantages And Disadvantages Of Their Decision To Attend Or Not To Vote.

The Term "Abstentions" First Appeared Before The First Election Of The New Order Era In 1971. The Initiative To Not Vote Was Arief Budiman, Julius Usman, And The Late Imam Malujo Sumali. Their Steps Are Based On The View That The Rules Of Democratic Play Are Not Enforced, Tend To Be Trampled On (Putra, 2004). While By (Sanit, 1997) WP Is Said To Be A Political Protest Movement Based On All National Problems, The Target Of Protest From The Abstentions Is The Holding Of Elections. Regarding The Abstentions Of The Late KH. Abdurrahman Wahid Once Said "If There Is Nothing To Believe, Why Bother To Go To The Ballot Box? Instead Of Being Disappointed (Wahid & Halim, 2009).

To Understand Voter Behavior, Including Deepening The Presence And Absence Of Citizens At The Polling Station, Political Science Studies Use The Four Main Approaches As Follows.

*The Sociological Approach*, Known As The Columbia School, Concluded That One Is Choosing Behavior Is Influenced By Environmental Factors, Such As Socioeconomic Factors, Ethnic Affiliations, Religion, Family Traditions, Membership In The Organization, Age, Gender, Occupation, Place Of Residence, And Others. Shaw & Martin (2000), Pays Attention To Aspects Of One's Status And Role In Society To Shape Social Character, Especially The Status And Role Of A Person In Work. According To Shaw & Martin (2000), Elections Are An Expression Of Democratic Social Class Struggle, Because Political Parties Are Formed Based On Low, Middle, And High-Class Classifications.

On The Other Hand, Sherman & Kolker (1986), Focused On Geographical Variables In Examining Voting Behavior, That Determines The Behavior Of Voters In The Form Of Embraced Religion, Place Of

Residence, Demographic Characteristics, And The Like. According To Them, The Geographical Aspect Has A Relationship With Choosing Behavior. The Existence Of Regional Sentiments Influences One's Support For Certain Political Parties Or Candidates. Thus, It Can Be Understood That The Sociology Approach Places More Emphasis On The External Factors Of Voters. These External Factors Can Be In The Form Of Socioeconomic Status, Gender, Age, Religion, Class, And Geographical Factors, And So On.

*Psychological Approach.* One Of The Pioneers Of This School Is Tesser & Erber (2013). According To Them, There Is A Tendency That The Longer The Dominance Of Certain Classes Of Certain Political Parties Is No Longer Absolute (Nursal, 2004). This Approach Focuses More On Three Aspects, Namely The Attachment Of A Person To A Political Party, The Orientation Of A Person To A Presidential Candidate Or A Member Of Parliament, And One's Orientation To Political Issues. If Someone Tends To Identify With A Particular Party, This Is Due To An Interest In The Issues And Candidates. Interest Is What Drives A Person To Vote For The Party And Candidate In The Election. It Was Concluded That The Latter Group Considered Feelings, Experiences, And Interpretations Of Political Events To Significantly Influence The Political Behavior Of Voters.

*Political Economy Approach.* This Approach Is Often Referred To As The Rational Choice Approach (Shepsle, 1989). Adherents Of This School Hold The View That Voter Behavior Towards Certain Political Parties Or Candidates Is Based On Economic Calculations, About What Is Obtained If A Person Determines His Choice Of Party Or Certain Candidate. This Approach Is More Focused On The Primary Orientation Of Voters, Namely The Orientation Of The Candidates Orientation And Orientation. The Behavior Of Voters In This Context Is More Oriented To Issues Centered On The Fundamental Question Of What The Government Of The Ruling Party Should Do In The Future To Solve Problems That Are Being Faced By Society, Nation, And State. Meanwhile, The Candidate's Orientation Is More Focused On The Person's Attitude Towards The Candidate's Personality, Regardless Of The Party's Label.

*Cognitive Domain Approach (Marketing Approach).* Newman & Sheth (1985), Develop A Model Of Voter Behavior Based On Several Domains Related To Political Marketing. In Developing This Model They Use Some Cognitive Beliefs That Come From Various Sources, Such As Voters, Word Of Mouth Communication, And Mass Media. This Model Was Developed To Explain And Predict Voter Behavior. According To This Model, Voter Behavior Is Determined By 7 (Seven) Different And Separate Cognitive Domains, Namely: 1) Issues And Policies (Issues And Policies), 2) Social Imagery, 3) Emotional Feelings (Candidate Personality), 4) Candidate Image, 5) Current Events (Current Events), 6) Personal Events (Personal Events), 7) Epistemic Issues.

Nursal (2004) Stated That Other Studies And Various Notes On Voting Behavior In Indonesia Contained Several Important Factors That Greatly Influenced People's Voting Behavior, Namely: Religious Orientation, Social Class Factors, And Other Social Groups, Factors Of Leadership And Personality, Identification Factors, Issue Orientation, Candidate Orientation, Linkages With Events. Reconfiguration Of Political Chess Boards. Meanwhile, According To Gaffar (1999) That There Are Several Reasons Underlying Voters In Exercising Their Voting Rights, Among Others: 1) Dislike, So Choose Their Opponents; 2) Follow Other People; 3) Character Popularity; 4) Follow The Leader; 5) Ideology (Islamic Religion), And 6) Family Traditions. Thus, It Can Be Understood That This Approach Explains That Patterns Of Voter Behavior Are Based On Political Marketing Owned, Where Cognitive Beliefs Such As Aspects Of Voters, Communication From Mouth To Mouth, And Mass Media Become Input Points To Analyze And Explain The Symptoms Of Voter Behavior In An Election And Election Events.

Law No. 7 Of 2017 Concerning GE, Explained That The GE Is A Means Of The Sovereignty Of The People To Elect Members Of The House Of Representatives (HR), Regional Representative Council (RRC), President And Vice President, And To Elect Members Of The Regional People's Representative Council (RPRC), Which Are Carried Out Directly, Publicly, Freely, Confidentially, Honestly And Fairly In The USRI Is Based On *Pancasila* (Five Principles) And The 1945 Constitution Of The Republic Of

Indonesia. Huntington (1997) And Von Spakovsky (2012), Said That "A Country Can Be Called Democratic If There Are Mechanisms For Ges That Are Carried Out Periodically To Conduct Elite Circulation." Elections Are Very Important For A Country Because 1) Election Is A Means Of Realizing People's Sovereignty. 2) The Election Is A Means For Political Leaders To Gain Legitimacy. 3) The Election Is A Means For People To Participate In The Political Process. 4) The Election Is A Means To Make Constitutional Leader Changes.

The Election Is A Means To Build Democratic Political Institutions. From The Above Definition Can Be Concluded, That The GE Is The Process Of Selecting Or Determining The Attitude Taken By Society To Elect A Ruler Or Political Official To Lead A State Which Is Also Held By The State. In Carrying Out GE, Indonesia Uses Two GE Systems, Namely: District System And Balanced Representative System. While The Function Of The GE Is: 1) As A Means To Elect People's Representatives Who Will Carry Out The People's Sovereignty. 2) Creating Conditions That Are Safe, Orderly, And Peaceful In Holding Elections And Replacing Government Officials. 3) Election As A Means For People's Political Education. 4) Test The Accountability Of Public Officials Directly.

GEC Is A National, Permanent, And Independent Election Organizing Body That Is Tasked With Carrying Out Elections. Furthermore, In The Context Of The Smooth Implementation Of Elections The GEC Is Assisted By The Secretariat, And Article 68 Of Law No. 15 Of 2011 Describes The Duties Of Regency / City GEC Secretariat.

## RESEARCH METHODS

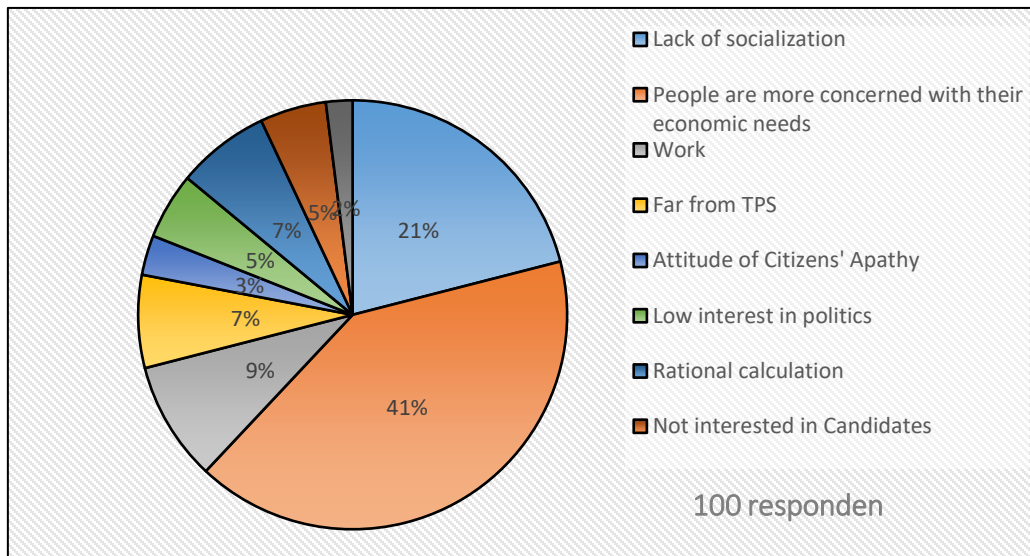
This Study Uses A Descriptive Qualitative Approach (Lambert & Lambert, 2012; Wibowo & Santoso, 2018) To Analyze And Explain The Political Participation Of Study VTO Voters In The 2014 And 2019 Presidential And Vice-Presidential Elections In Ambon City, Maluku Province. The Population In The Study Includes: 1) Ad Hoc Agency (District Supervisory Committee/DSC, Voting Committee/VC) And 2) District General Election Supervisor/DGES, 3) Voters Who Use Voting Rights At PS, And 4) Voters Who Do Not Use Their Voting Rights At The PS At The Research Location So That The Number Of Respondents As Many As 100 People. To Facilitate The Analysis Of The Political Participation Of Study VTO Voters, Three Indicators Are Used, Namely: 1) Declining Participation Rates Of Voters In The 2019 Presidential Election Compared To The Previous Elections, 2) Factors That Influence Voting Behavior Deviations In The 2019 Presidential Election, And 3) Factors Causing The Presence Of Abstentions In Each Election. The Data Needed In This Study Were Collected Using Questionnaires, Observation, And Interviews. Data Analysis In This Study Is A Joint Model Between Quantitative Methods Using Survey Methods (Bethlehem, 2009) And Qualitative Methods Based On Miles, Huberman, & Saldana (2014) Theory Which Is That Activities In Qualitative Data Analysis Are Carried Out Interactively And Takes Place Continuously Until Complete, So The Data Is Saturated With Data Reducing Activities, Data Presentation And Drawing Conclusions And Verification.

## RESEARCH RESULT

This Section Describes The Results Of Research In The Form Of Data And Information, Including A Summary Of The Results Of Interviews About The Political Participation Of Study Voters Turn-Out In The 2014 General And Presidential Elections In The City Of Ambon.

*Cause Factors The Decline In Voter Participation Figures.* The Cause Of The Decline In The Voter Participation Rate In The 2019 Legislative Election (LE) Compared To The Previous GE, Illustrated In Figure 1.

Analysis Of The Turn-Out Voter In The Presidential Election And Vice President In 2019 In The Ambon City, Indonesia



Source: Research Primary Data, 2019-2020.

**Figure 1.**

**Causes Of Declining Voter Participation Rate In The 2014 & 2019 Presidential Election (Presidential Election) Compared To Previous Elections**

The Diagram Above Shows That 21.00 Percent Stated That The Cause Of The Decline In The Participation Rate Of Voters Coming To The Polling Station Was Due To The Lack Of Electoral Socialization, Then The Majority Of Respondents, 40.00 Percent Answered Because The Community Was More Concerned With Their Economic Needs And Considered The Election Was Not Important To Him. There Are Also 9.00 Percent Answering Because Of Work Factors Or Not Being Able To Leave Their Jobs So They Do Not Come To The PS. The Respondent's Answer Illustrates That The Main Factor Of The Decline In Voter Participation Rates Came To The Polling Station In The 2019 Presidential Election, In Ambon City Compared To The Previous Election Was A Factor Of "Rational Economic Calculation."

The Percentage Of Respondents' Answers Was Reinforced By The Chair Of The Election Supervisory Committee (ESC) Nusaniwe District (Abas, 45 Years) And Sirimau District Community Leader, Saleh Lisaholet (45 Years) That:

"Ambon City Community Is A Community That Works A Lot In The Informal Sector, For Example, Street Vendors In Markets And Construction Workers. When Asked Why They Did Not Vote At The Polling Station, "If They Go To Vote, Then The Opportunity To Earn A Day Is Lost. So, According To Them, It Is Better To Take Care Of The Economic Affairs/Stomach Business Than Vote If They Return The Night They Are Forced Not To Vote. Related To The Lack Of Electoral Socialization, We Prove This By The Number Of Broken Voices. Another Phenomenon, Many People Who Sell In The Market Are Lazy To Come Back Home To Vote And Let The Sound Burn. When Asked About The Reasons For Not Voting, They Answered That It Was Also Part Of Their Basic Rights That Earning A Living Was Also A Part Of Human Rights Rather Than Voting Which Only Gave Votes To Unknown, Unreliable People. Some Feel They Do Not Need To Go To The PS Location Because It Is Too Far Away." (Interview: July 11, 2020, At 9:00 A.M. At His Residence).



Mr. "Saleh Lisaholet" Added That There Were Technical Factors: 1) The Residents Were Not Registered As Voters, In Case They Were Residents, 2) Location Of The PS That Was Far From The Address Of His Residence. In Addition, There Are Also Personal Factors That Affect Their Condition Not Coming To The Polling Station, Because The Political Knowledge Of The Candidates For Candidates Who Are Only Seeking Unilateral Profits, Citizens Feel That They Are Not Suitable With The Ideology Of Candidates/Parties Or Successful Teams And There Are Still Many Voters Or Voters Who Claim That Participating In The Election Is A Right, Not An Obligation.

In Response To The Same Question, Abdullah Hatala (57), Chairperson Of Sirimau District ESC, Explained That:

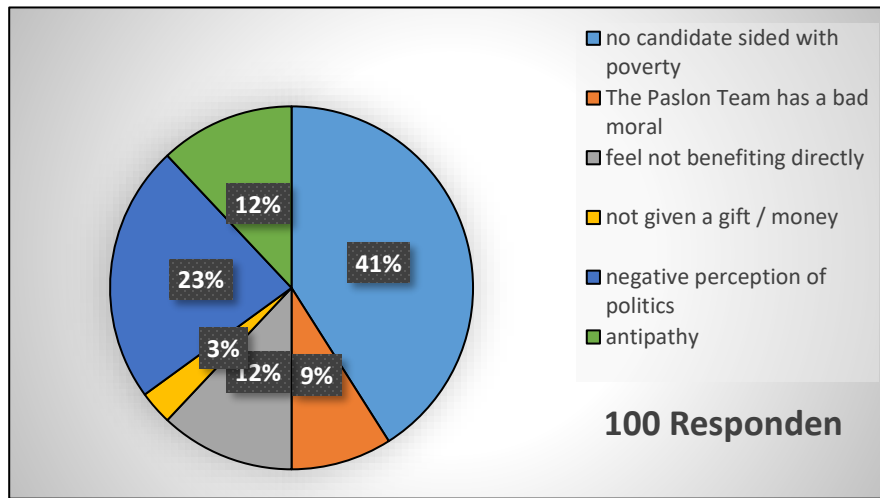
"The Main Cause Of The Decline In Voter Participation Rates Is Because It Is Determined By The Distance Between PS's That Are Too Far Away So That There Are Many People Who Are Lazy To Go To The PS (To Vote), Especially The Elderly Voters. After The Ambon Riots, Many Residents Moved. In The Past, The Residence Was Close To The PS, But After Moving The Address There Was A PS That Remained In The Old Settlement. There Are Also Those Who Move To Other Places That Are Far Apart, For Example There Are Voters Who Live In Batu Merah, But Their Names Are Registered At The Polling Station Around Rijali Village." (Interview: 13 July 2020, 12.13 At The Head Office Of Sirimau District).

The Same Question Was Confronted With The Chairman Of The Batu Merah State ESC, Whose Number Of Voters Was 50,451, According To "Sulaeman Tuhulele, 38 (Interview: July 15, 2020, At 10:00 Am), That:

"The Causative Factors Include The Election Socialization, The Procedures For Voting And The Benefits Of The Election. For Those Who Are Uneducated And Especially Parents, This Is A Problem. On The Other Hand, Some Residents Sell In Markets That Tend To Be Mentally Indifferent Or Indifferent, Reckless, Want To Vote Or Not, The Important Thing Is Selling Well Or Being Taken Care Of. Besides, There Are Many Damaged Ballots At PS In The Batu Merah Terminal Or Market.

So, It Can Be Stated That The Technical Factors Of The Election And The Internal/Personal Factors Of The Community Are More Influential As The Main Cause Of The Decline In Voter Participation Rates Coming At The Polling Stations In The 2019 Presidential And Vice President Election In Ambon City. On Technical Factors, This Includes The Registration Of Voters In The Voter List, The Distance Between PS With Voters 'Addresses, Aspects Of Electoral Socialization By The Organizers, Voter Political Knowledge, And Internal Factors That Cover The Interests Of The Citizens/Voters' Economic Needs So That The Election Is Not Important To Them. Urgent, Rational Calculation Factor Because Candidates Have No Direct Effect On Them. The Above Factors Are The Main Factors Causing The Decline In Voter Participation Rates To Come To PS In The 2019 Presidential And Vice-Presidential Elections In Ambon City Compared To The Previous Elections.

*Factors Causing Public Behavior Deviation In Choosing.* Deviations In The Number Of Participants In The 2019 Presidential Election From The Previous Election Pattern, Then The Full Data Can Be Seen In Figure 2.



Source: Research Primary Data, 2019-2020.

**Figure 2.**

**Factors Causing The Occurrence Of Selected Behavioral Deviations From The 2014 & 2019 Presidential Election**

The Respondent's Answer In Figure 2 Illustrates That 41.00 Percent Stated That The Main Cause Of Deviations In Voting Behavior Was The Factor That There Were No Candidates Who Had Pro-People Work Programs And Favored Poverty. Then There Was 9.00 Percent Stating That Due To The Factors Of Poor Morale Of Party Members/Team Of Candidate Pairs (CP), And 12.00 Percent Answered Because They Felt They Would Not Get Immediate Benefits. There Were Also 3.00 Percent Answering Irregularities In Voter Behavior Because They Were Not Given Money/Prizes By A Team Of Candidate Pairs Who Had Promised Him, And 23.00 Percent Stated That Because Of Negative Perceptions Of Politics, Or Not Wanting To Deal With Politics, Consider Politics Rotten. There Was 12 Percent Responding Because Of The Attitude Of The People Who Were Antipathy, Indifferent, Pessimistic About The Conditions Experienced Which Never Changed From The Election To The Election.

Respondents' Answers Above Illustrate That The Main Causes Of Irregularities In Voting Behavior In The 2019 Presidential Election In Ambon City, When Compared With The Previous Elections Were The Absence Of Candidates Who Had Good Work Programs (Pro-People Programs And Side With Poverty), Then Community Attitudes The Antipathy/Indifferent/Pessimistic, Then There Are Negative Perceptions About Politics, Or The Attitude Of Not Wanting To Deal With Politics Because They Think Politics Is Rotten, And Because Of The Factors Of Bad Morals Of Candidates.

The Respondent's Answer Was Reinforced By The Statement Of Anthony L (42 Years), Chairperson Of The Citizen Law (CL) In Wayame Village, Teluk Ambon District. According To Anthony That:

"In My Opinion, The Factor Of The Absence Of Candidates Who Have A Good Work Program (Pro-Poor Program Because It Seems The Program Is The Same From The Past Until Now And Only Presents Political Promises. Also, The Community Has Negative Perceptions Of Politics I Take The Example When We Vote Some Invite Residents From House To House So That The "H" Day To The PS, But Many Residents Do Not Come Up With Boredom With Political Life That Is Full Of Deception, Deception, And Slander. Also Because Of The Bad Morality Of Political Actors Who

Become Candidate Pairs/CP Teams Around Us "(Interview: July 15, 2020, At 5:00 P.M., At His Residence).

The Same Thing Was Confirmed To The DGES, Ahmad Bilal Tuhulele (32 Years), Chairperson Of The Teluk Ambon DGES. According To Bilal That:

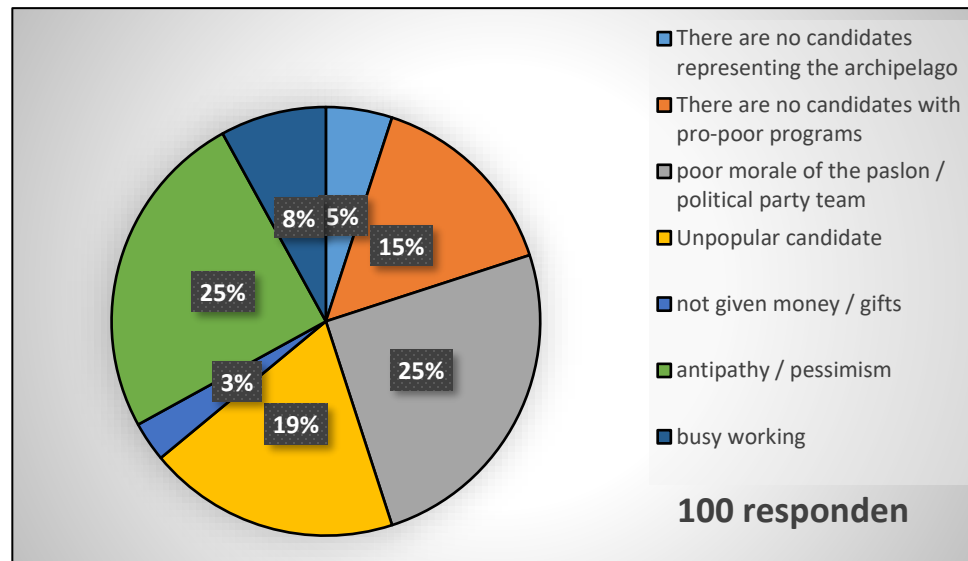
"In My Opinion, The Main Cause Of The Occurrence Of Irregularities In Voting Behavior In The 2019 Presidential Election In Ambon City When Compared With Previous Elections, Due To External And Internal Factors. External Factors Include Administrative Reasons Such As Not Being Registered With The Permanent Voters List (PVL), Not Getting An Invitation Or C-6 Form, Even Because Some Do Not Have An E-ID Card, Are Sick, Or Not In Place. So Are Too Many Parties. While Internal Factors Include Rational Choices Such As Being Busy With Personal / Work Activities, No One Giving Gifts/Money, Reasons For Being Confused About The Existing Candidates. The Number Of Cheating In The Election Is The Reason For The Change In Voting Behavior Which Has An Impact On The Voters. (Interview: 18 July 2020, 10:00 A.M. At Joas Cafe). While Usman Ely (37 Years), Chair Of Baguala DGES Explained That:

"The Main Cause Of Irregularities In Voting Behavior In The 2019 Presidential Election In Ambon City, According To Beta (I) Was Triggered By Several Factors, Such As Many Rotten Politicians (Corruptors From Political Parties). Furthermore, If It Is Connected With The Presidential Election, It Will Be Possible For Changes In Voter Behavior To Occur Because So Far Maluku Has Not Been So Prioritized Directly In The Development Aspect, Our Region Is Deactivated Even Though Maluku Has A Lot Of Natural Resources And Human Resources, But We Can See That Development Is Not So Rapid, Everything Is Slow, So There Is A Public Perception That Development Only Exists In Western Indonesia. Such Perceptions Are Due To The Rotten Practices Of These Politicians That Have Been Repeated From The Center To The Regions To Shape People's Perceptions So Badly. If This Is The Case, I Think That To Build Awareness And Political Participation, The Community Needs A Long Time And Needs The Right Way. "(Interview: July 17, 2020, At 2:00 P.M. At His Residence).

Based On The Interview Results, It Is Understood That The Absence Of Candidates Who Have A Good Work Program And Will Be Realized (Pro-People Program And Side With Poverty), Then The Negative Perception Factor About Politics, Or The Attitude Of Not Wanting To Deal With Politics, Because They Consider Politics It Is Dirty, And Because Of The Factors Of The Bad Morale Of The Candidate/Party Or Team Of Candidate Pairs Is The Main Cause Of The Deviation Of Voting Behavior. Voters Prefer WP Or Choose Not To Vote In Their Way In The 2019 Presidential Election In Ambon City.

Causes Of WP Voters Candidates In Each Election. The Distribution Of Respondents' Answers About The Factors Causing The Existence Of Voting Voters In Each Election In Ambon City Can Be Seen In Figure 3.

Analysis Of The Turn-Out Voter In The Presidential Election And Vice President In 2019 In The Ambon City, Indonesia



Source: Research Primary Data, 2019-2020.

**Figure 3.**

The Causes Of Abstentions In Each Election

Based On The Respondent's Answer, It Was Illustrated That The Cause Of WP's Presence In Every Election In Ambon Was A Factor Of The Bad Morale Of The Members Of The Candidate Political Party. Then The Sense Of Antipathy / Indifference / Pessimism With The Election. Furthermore, The Factor Of The Candidate Pair Is Less Well Known / Popular In The Community And The Factor Of The Absence Of Candidates Who Have A Good Work Program. There Is Also A Factor In The Absence Of Candidates Representing The Archipelago, And Because The Candidate Or His Team Did Not Give Money Or Gifts In The Form Of Groceries. In Line With This Statement, John Melmambessy (53 Years), Chairperson Of Baguala DSC Explained That:

"Everywhere When Speaking Of The Morality Of Political Party Members/Candidates, I Also Agree That We Have To Give A "Deterrent Effect "To The Rotten Politicians Whose Morals Are Not Good. However, I Am Also Surprised Because There Are Also People Who Want To "Sell Their Pride" With Some Money. We As Organizers Have Often Reprimanded Politicians And People Who Are Moral Like This. If The Candidate Does Not Have A Good Program, The Community Must Provide Input, Provided The Candidate Is Met With Good Morals. So, The Community Also Taking The Opportunity. However, For Those Who Feel Disappointed And Do Not Want To Vote Because Many Of The Bad Mental Candidates Are Also Not Wise Reasons, Because If They Do Not Vote It Means Providing Space For The Entry Of Rotten Politicians In Our Parliamentary Arena." (Interview: July 21, 2020, 4.00 Pm).

Interview With A Researcher With The Chairperson Of Nusaniwe District Supervisor, "Yondrie Ririhena (38 Years), According To Yondrie That:

"Procedurally, The Ambon City GEC Has Carried Out The Stages Well And The Most Crucial Stage Is In Voter Data Collection Conducted Through A Matching And Research Process Carried Out By Voter Data Update Officers (VDUO) Ad Hoc Bodies From House To House. The Aim Is To Obtain Data Validation Accurately And Then The Results Of The Data Are Submitted To The GEC Through

DSC And VC To Be Updated Through The Voter Data Information System. (Interview: July 22, 2020, At 10:00 Am).

The Interview With The Baguala District Community Was Still With The Same Question, By Mr. Yohanis Patiruhu (50 Years) Passo Citizen And Mr. Abdullah (45 Years) One Of The Citizens Of Ambon City, Nusaniwe District, Silale District That:

"In My Opinion, The Main Cause Of The Absence Of WP In Every Election In This City Is Because Personal Factors Are Related To Public Knowledge. I Think Those Who Are Not Active As Voters Or Choose Abstentions Because There Is Nothing They Get Directly So That There Are Boredom And Laziness Or A Sense Of Indifference. Besides That Sometimes They Are More Concerned With Personal Interests Than The Election Whether It Is Work Or Family Affairs."(Interview: July 22, 2020, At 1:00 P.M.)

From The Answers Of The Informants Above, It Is Illustrated That The Technical Factors Of The Election, (PVL, Socialization, Accessibility Of Voters With Polling Stations), Personal Factors (Psychological), Bad Morale Of Candidates / Parties, Knowledge Of Citizens, Then The Absence Of Candidates Who Have Good Work Programs (Which Is Pro-People And Pro-Poverty Side), And The Factor Of Not Promising The Proposed Candidates Is The Main Cause Of The Existence Of WP Voters In Each 2019 Presidential And Vice-Presidential Election In Ambon City.

## **DISCUSSION**

Based On Research Conducted On Voter Political Participation, The Study Of VTO In The 2019 Presidential And Vice-Presidential Elections In Ambon City, Can Be Explained As Follows: The Cause Of The Decline In Voter Participation Rates Came To The Polling Stations In The 2019 Presidential Election In Ambon City Compared To The Previous Elections. According To Stein & Vonnahme (2012) Stein Et Al., (2008), Brady Et Al., (1995), Budiardjo (2003), Davidson & Cotte (1989) That Political Participation Is The Voluntary Activities Of Citizens Through Which They Take Part In The Of The Authorities, And Directly Or Indirectly In The Process Of Forming General Policies. Based On The Results Of Interviews With The Respondents (Voters And Organizers At The Sub-District Level), Related To The Dynamics Of The Number Of People / Voters Who Did Not Come To The Polling Station To Voice Their Voting Rights Through Elections In The 2019 Presidential Election Compared To Previous Elections, It Can Be Understood That There Are Several Factors That Influence These Symptoms To Include, The Personal Factors Of Voters Who Are Economic (Citizens Are More Concerned With Fulfilling Subsistence Needs), Consider The Election Is Not So Important To Him, Then The Lack Of Electoral Socialization Factors Also Support The Weak Activeness Of Voters To The Polling Station. The Fact Shows That Socialization Is Always Carried Out In The Capital Of The Sub-District And At The Level Of Ambon City. While At The Sub-District And Village Level Socialization Is Still Very Lacking. Furthermore, There Are Factors That Attach Importance To Work So That They Do Not Come To The Polling Station, And The Technical Factors Of The Election, Such As Voter Accessibility To The Polling Station (The Location Of The Polling Station), Factors Of Citizens Who Are Not Registered As Voters In The Voter List, Besides That There Are Still Many Ambonese Citizens Who Do Not Have E Electronic Identity Card (EIC) And Economic Rational Calculation Factors, Where Income-Generating Activities Are Considered More Important Than Coming To PS. Likewise Other Factors That Also Influence Voter Absenteeism In Polling Stations Include Aspects Of Political Engagement, Not Being Interested In Candidates Personally, And Actors' Attitudes Of Citizen Apathy.

The Causes Of Behavioral Deviations Choose The Society In The 2014 And 2019 Presidential Election. Geys (2006) And Newman & Sheth (1985) Argue That VTO In The View Of The Rational People Is An Attitude That Leads To The Action To Come Or Not Come To Vote In Elections Due To The View Of The Usefulness Of Each Action Individuals Who Are Their Rights. The Usefulness Of His Actions Is Based On The Benefits Of One's Actions (Stein Et Al., 2008; Stein & Vonnahme, 2012; Von Spakovsky, 2012). Because The Action (Choosing Or Not Choosing) Will Be Useful For Public Policy From The Party Chosen When In Power Over The Interests Of The People, This View Assumes That When Someone Feels There Is An Advantage For Him Or Many People Then He Comes To Vote, But What Happens Is A Disappointment Due To Loss To Himself Or The Interests Of Many People Than The Decision Not To Come To Vote Then Done.

The Results Of The Interviews Found The Factors Causing The Deviation Of People's Voting Behavior In The 2014 And 2019 Presidential Election From The Pattern Of Previous Elections. These Factors Are; Factors There Are No Work Programs That Are Considered Good From The Candidates (Pro-People Programs And Side With Poverty), Besides That The Behavior Deviates From Voters Or Changes Because Of The Negative Perception About Politics, There Are Assumptions Of Rotten Politicians (Corruptors From Political Parties) Who Only Want Taking The Voice Of The People But Not Acting For The People, Do Not Want To Deal With Politics Because Politics Is Rotten And The Voting Factor Feels That They Will Not Benefit Directly From The Presidential, As Well As The Feeling Of Indifference/Pessimism Is Seen As Determinant Factors That Influence Irregularities In Voter Behavior In The Presidential Election. Relevant To This, The Opinion Of The General Public Also Stated That In Principle The Main Cause Of Deviations In Voting Behavior Was Because Usually In The Election There Were Many Political Promises From The Candidate Pairs That Had Not Been Fulfilled In The Previous Elections, Thus Making The Voters Distrust Of The Party Or Even Candidates Who Carried On. From Every Election Event To The Election, The Poverty Rate Still Increases And Is Not Overcome By Various Programs Delivered During The Campaign. In The Technical Aspects Of The Election, The Factor Of Non-Neutrality Of The Organizers Also Influences The Determinants Of Irregularities In Voter Behavior. Besides That, There Are Still People Who Are Not Registered On The Voter List Which Causes Them To Be Lazy At The Polling Station. The Main Occurrence Of Voting Deviations, Where Voters Prefer White Factions (WP) Or Choose Not To Vote In The Way Of The People Themselves In The 2019 Presidential Election In Ambon City When Compared With Previous Elections.

Factors Causing The Presence Of Abstentions In Each Election. White Group Or Abbreviated Abstentions Is A Political Term In Indonesia That Originated From A Protest Movement From Students And Youth To Protest The 1971 Election Which Was The First Election In The New Order Era. By GEC-WP Was Interpreted As A Person Who Protested Against Elections, Even People Who Think That This Election (Regional Head Election/ RHE) Is Of No Use, Or Someone Who Considers Certain Candidate Pairs As A Problem So He Does Not Want To Come To The Four Polls (Polling Station/PS), "Even If He Comes, But He Ensures His Voice Is Invalid. So It Is Not People Who Do Not Come To The GE, But People Who Do Not Want To Follow The Election Or Do Not Support It.

When Viewed From The Results Of The Interview Between The Writer And The Respondent, The Factors Causing The Presence Of The Abstentions In Each Election Include; Personal Factors (Psychological), Namely The Bad Aspects Of The Morale Of Political Party Members Who Carry Candidates, Factors Of Feeling Antipathy / Indifferent/Pessimistic With The Election, Factors Of Knowledge Of Citizens, Then The Factor Of The Absence Of Candidates Who Have Good Work Programs (Who Are Pro-People And Siding In Poverty), And The Factor Of Not Promising The Proposed Candidates Indeed, The Factor Of Voters Who Are Busy Working So That They Choose Not To Use Their Votes In

The Election And The Technical Factors Of Elections, (Permanent Voters List/PVL, Socialization, Accessibility Of Voters With PS), Are The Main Causes Of WP Presence In The Presidential Election And Vice President In 2014 And 2019 In Ambon City.

### Conclusion

Based On The Results Of The Study Concluded That, First, The Participation Of Voters Who Came To The Polling Station In The 2019 Presidential Election Showed A Decrease In The Number Of 65% Of Voters Who Exercised Their Voting Rights, When Compared With The 2014 Legislative Election Where The Number Of Voters Used Voting Rights Amounted To 69%, Meaning A Decrease In Voter Participation 4%. This Condition Occurs Due To Several Main Factors That Include Rational Calculation Factors Or The Voters' Aspects Of An Economic Nature, Then The Factor Of Lack Of Election Socialization Activities In The Community, The Importance Of Work, And The Technical Factors Of The Election (The Location Of The Polling Station, Citizens Not Registered In The Voter List ), As Well As Other Factors That Influence The Absence Of Voters In Polling Stations, Including Aspects Of Low Political Interest, Not Interested In Candidates Personally / Personally, Factors Of Citizen Apathy.

Secondly, Factors In The Occurrence Of Public Voting Irregularities In The 2019 Presidential Election. The Results Of The Study Found Social Facts, That Voting Behavior Deviations Occurred To Voters Who Spread Ambon City In The 2019 Presidential Election From Patterns In The Previous Elections (Legislative Election/LE), As For These Factors Include 1 ) There Is No Candidate Pairs (CP) Work Program That Is Considered Good Especially Pro-Poor Programs; 2) The Existence Of Negative Perceptions Of Politics / The Rise Of Rotten Politicians (Corruptors From Political Parties) That Are Not Aspirational, Which Has An Impact On The Attitude Of Not Wanting To Deal With Politics; 3) Voter Factors Feel That They Do Not Get Direct Benefits From The Presidential; 4) The Feeling Of Antipathy/Indifference/ Pessimism These Four Factors Are Seen As Determinant Factors That Influence The Deviation Of Voter Behavior In The Presidential Election Compared To Previous Election Patterns, Especially The 2019 Legislative Election.

Third, The Factors That Cause The Presence Of Abstentions In Each Election In The City Of Ambon Occur Because Of The Poor Moral Aspects Of The Candidates For Political Parties, Factors Of Antipathy/Pessimism With The Election, Factors Of Citizens' Knowledge Of Politics, Then The Absence Of Candidates Have A Pro-People Work Program That Is Truly Pro-Poverty, And The Non-Populist Factors Of Candidates Submitted By Political Parties, Factors Of Busy Working Voters So That They Choose Not To Use Their Votes In Elections And Technical Election Factors, (PVL, Socialization, Voter Accessibility With PS), Became The Main Cause Of Golput In The 2014 Presidential And Vice-Presidential Elections In Ambon City.

### Bibliography

1. Arianto, B. (2011). Analisis Penyebab Masyarakat Tidak Memilih Dalam Pemilu. *Jurnal Ilmu Politik Dan Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 1(1), 51–60.
2. Asshiddiqie, J. (2006). *Pengantar Ilmu Hukum Tata Negara Jilid II*. MK RI.
3. Ayala, L. J. (2000). Trained For Democracy: The Differing Effects Of Voluntary And Involuntary Organizations On Political Participation. *Political Research Quarterly*, 53(1), 99–115.
4. Bethlehem, J. (2009). *Applied Survey Methods: A Statistical Perspective* (Vol. 558). John Wiley & Sons.
5. Brady, H. E., Verba, S., & Schlozman, K. L. (1995). Beyond SES: A Resource Model Of Political

- Participation. *American Political Science Review*, 89(2), 271–294.
6. Budiardjo, M. (2003). *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
  7. Davidson, W. B., & Cotte, P. R. (1989). Sense Of Community And Political Participation. *Journal Of Community Psychology*, 17(2), 119–125.
  8. Gaffar, A. (1999). *Politik Indonesia: Transisi Menuju Demokrasi*. Pustaka Pelajar.
  9. Geys, B. (2006). ‘Rational’ theories Of Voter Turnout: A Review. *Political Studies Review*, 4(1), 16–35.
  10. Huntington, S. P. (1997). *The Clash Of Civilizations And The Remaking Of World Order*. Penguin Books India.
  11. Kelsen, H. (2017). *General Theory Of Law And State*. Routledge.
  12. King, D. Y. (2003). *Half-Hearted Reform: Electoral Institutions And The Struggle For Democracy In Indonesia*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
  13. Lambert, V. A., & Lambert, C. E. (2012). Qualitative Descriptive Research: An Acceptable Design. *Pacific Rim International Journal Of Nursing Research*, 16(4), 255–256.
  14. Levitt, J. (2012). Election Deform: The Pursuit Of Unwarranted Electoral Regulation. *Election Law Journal*, 11(1), 97–117.
  15. Marbun, B. N. (1996). *Kamus Politik*. Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
  16. Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Sage.
  17. Miller, A. H., Gurin, P., Gurin, G., & Malanchuk, O. (1981). Group Consciousness And Political Participation. *American Journal Of Political Science*, 494–511.
  18. Moon, D. (1992). The Determinants Of Turnout In Presidential Elections: An Integrative Model Accounting For Information. *Political Behavior*, 14(2), 123–140.
  19. Newman, B. I., & Sheth, J. N. (1985). A Model Of Primary Voter Behavior. *Journal Of Consumer Research*, 12(2), 178–187.
  20. Nursal, A. (2004). *Political Marketing: Strategi Memenangkan Pemilu: Sebuah Pendekatan Baru Kampanye Pemilihan DPR, DPD, Presiden*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
  21. Pramono, J. (2012). Mengembangkan Organisasi Birokrasi Pemerintahan (Mendorong Perimbangan Antara Fungsi Penguasa Dan Abdi Masyarakat Melalui Pemilu). *Jurnal LPPM: PARADIGMA*, 10(01).
  22. Putra, F. (2004). *Partai Politik Dan Agenda Transisi Demokrasi*. Yogyakarta, Pustaka Pelajar.
  23. Sanit, A. (1997). *Partai, Pemilu, Dan Demokrasi*. Pustaka Pelajar.
  24. Shaw, M., & Martin, I. (2000). Community Work, Citizenship And Democracy: Re-Making The Connections. *Community Development Journal*, 35(4), 401–413.
  25. Shepsle, K. A. (1989). Studying Institutions: Some Lessons From The Rational Choice Approach. *Journal Of Theoretical Politics*, 1(2), 131–147.
  26. Sherman, A. K., & Kolker, A. (1986). *The Social Bases Of Politics*. Wadsworth Pub Co.
  27. Soebagio, H. (2008). Implikasi Golongan Putih Dalam Perspektif Pembangunan Demokrasi Di Indonesia. *Sumber*, 21(8).
  28. Stein, R. M., & Vonnahme, G. (2012). Effect Of Election Day Vote Centers On Voter Participation. *Election Law Journal*, 11(3), 291–301.
  29. Stein, R. M., Vonnahme, G., Byrne, M., & Wallach, D. (2008). Voting Technology, Election Administration, And Voter Performance. *Election Law Journal*, 7(2), 123–135.
  30. Tesser, A., & Erber, R. (2013). Self-Evaluation Maintenance: A Social Psychological Approach To Interpersonal Relationships. In *Theoretical Frameworks For Personal Relationships* (Pp. 223–246). Psychology Press.
  31. Von Spakovsky, H. A. (2012). Protecting The Integrity Of The Election Process. *Election Law Journal*, 11(1), 90–96.
  32. Wahid, A., & Halim, H. D. (2009). *Mengapa Kami Memilih Golput*. Sarekat Golput Nusantara.
  33. Wardhani, P. S. N. (2018). Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Pemula Dalam Pemilihan Umum. *JUPIIS: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*, 10(1), 57–62.



34. Wibowo, R. D., & Santoso, B. (2018). *The Image Of President Through Social Media (A Descriptive Qualitative Message Content Analysis In Facebook Account Of President Joko Widodo On Visit To Papua)*. Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta.