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**Media Usage, Citizenship Norms, and Political  
Participation of Transition to Democracy in  
Indonesia**

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## **Media Usage, Citizenship Norms, and Political Participation of Transition to Democracy in Indonesia**

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### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to determine whether media usage and change of citizenship norms influence political participation. The focus of this study is to examine citizenship norms in the context of the development of information, and communication technology and how it will impact political participation in the context of Indonesia's transition to democracy. The main theoretical framework is media and political participation. The results of this study reveal that the gender, age and educational background of the respondents did not significantly influence media usage and citizenship norms. The Results also show that educational background is not a factor that distinguishes media usage but it becomes differentiating factor in citizenship norms. The results further show that the media usage has a significant correlation with citizenship norms and citizenship norms has a significant relationship with political participation. In addition, media usage and citizenship norms impact significantly to political participation. The sub-dimensions of citizenship norms (compliance, duty, and engaged citizen) provides a significant contribution to the sub-dimensions of political participation (traditional political participation, modern political participation, citizenship political participation). Based on the findings it can be concluded that the political euphoria in the era of transition to democracy has changed pattern media usage and citizenship norms among the young generation.

**Keywords:** Citizenship norms, Election, Indonesia, Media, Political participation, Transition to Democracy.

## Introduction

The twentieth century has commonly been labeled the century of democracy (Voltmer, 2008). The third wave of democratization (Huntington 1993). The third wave of democracy began in the mid-1970s in Portugal and subsequently expanded in various parts of the world from South America, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia, including Southeast Asia. The collapse of the political system of a non-democratic to a democratic political system called Fukuyama (1992) as the "end of history" (the end of history). The third wave of democracy gave birth to a transition to democracy, which is a change from dictatorship to democracy (Doorenspleet 2006).

Political map changes also influence young minds in Indonesia. On 20 May 1998, the Indonesian youth and civil society reform movement succeeded in bringing down President Suharto and changing the political map and communication in Indonesia. The reform movement has changed the pattern of media consumption, second only citizenship and political participation patterns among the younger generation of Indonesia.

In line with the third wave of democracy, the political communication world is entering the third wave of political communication (Vacari 2008). Changes in political communication are supported by advances in information and communication technology (ICT) and globalization that swept across the world. Advances in science and information communication technology and globalization led to the birth of the third wave of political communication (Theocharis, 2011). People who have been using traditional media (newspapers and television) as a source of political information is changing into network society and digital media (internet) as lifestyle. These changes cannot be separated from the influence of the Internet and digital media in general is growing very rapidly in the late 20th century (Dean, 2012).

The third wave of communication affects the lifestyle of the young generation. Media supports young people to obtain the necessary information quickly, so that they become people who have information and understand more (well informed), and together they create a network among community or society networking (networking societies). Therefore, young people are now known as the cyber generation or digital generation.

In era transition to democracy, media issues, norms citizenship and political participation become a major issue among experts and observers of political communication (Dalton 2008). Transition to democracy are social experiments that affect virtually all aspects of a society. Thus, the magnitude of the issue to many experts to conduct research and discussion at an international level. Media is the fourth pillar not only as a means of communication but it has an important role in the democratic process (Voltmer 2008). While citizenship is a strategic issue in the democratization process and has a very close relationship with political participation. Advances in science communication and information technology has affected access and media consumption patterns from old media (newspapers and television) to a new internet-based media.

In fact, in politics, the role of the internet has played a role in facilitating young people to actively voice their opinions and different views. Even the internet is trusted by young people as a reliable source of information, because the Internet can deliver information quickly and accurately. Thus, many young people make personal blocks, e-mail, Facebook and Twitter as a means of political participation and the application of search engines like google to find and collect information, including political information. Today, the younger generation actively uses the Internet for various purposes such as political and business requirements and job opportunities. The Internet is not just a medium of entertainment but it has become a means of communication and information policy (Hindman, 2009). Thus, the internet has become a field study of political communication in the modern world (Bakker and Vreese, 2011; McNair 2011; Quintelier & Visser, 2008; Scheufele & Nisbet, 2002; Shah, McLeod & Yoon, 2001, Tolbert and McNeal, 2003).

This phenomenon, indicating that the landscape of political communication is increasingly turbulent, fragmented, more personal, decentralization, professionals and citizens are becoming more cynical about political reveals, and do not want to become members of political parties. Various changes in the attitude of young people in this modern age are strongly influenced by the media, especially the internet media (Blumler and Kavanagh 1999). The mass media (newspapers, radio, television) and the new media (internet) affect democratic institutions and engage in the democratic process (Voltmer, 2008). The mass media one such organization has been largely ignored by mainstream democratization studies in spite of the fact their performance is believed to have a pivotal impact not only the functioning of other democratic institutions but also the viability of the democratic process as a whole. Changes in the political map of the strengthened position of media as the fourth pillar (fourth estate) after the Executive branch, legislative and judicial (Curran, 1991). Even in the process of transition to democracy, the media can fill the gap and strengthen the democratic process (Curran and Park, 2000; Downing, 1996; Palezt et al. 1995; Šplíchal 1994).

Online political activity using the internet, making communities tend to be attracted to specific issues and political ideas that can arouse the political consciousness of citizens. Media Internet can transform a major information and communication process of political change (Farrell and Webb, 2002; Norris 2002). Internet and other social media such as facebook, twitter, e-mail and other exploited young people as a political forum for discussion and debate, creating opinions and sharing information. Although admittedly not everyone can access the internet, because of economic problems, education, shelter and so on (Sylvester and McGlynn 2010).

Bimber, Flanagan and Stohl (2005), said that the new media and communication technologies serve as a link between the private and public domain. Based new media technology can help express themselves and obtain information much more easily than ever before and can become an instrument of political participation dimension. According to Dahlgren (2005), politics is

not only an instrument for achieving the objectives, but politics is an expressive activity, a clear way in the public space.

However, advances in science and technology this information to produce a gap between young people and the political elite. On the one hand, young people are very familiar with and spend on technology. On the other hand many people from the political elite do not understand technology, so they cannot take advantage of this medium to communicate with the citizens. Though the internet can help the political elite build political communication with constituents, political image building with easy and a low cost (Craig, 1996; Dionne, 1991; Hibbing and Theis-Morse, 2002; Wattenberg 2002).

Furthermore, progress in science and information communication technology and globalization more effectively to young minds. Globalization is characterized by the integration of the world's political, economic and structural interconnected, interdependent. The world is becoming a global village (global village) which is connected via the Internet (McLuhan, 2010). Political actors in this global era by Lilleker (2006) must think and behave in a global environment, yet still acting locally (think globally, act locally). Lifestyle citizens of the world is a key feature of globalization. Countries are only limited by territorial boundaries. The culture and civilization of a nation are contaminated by the change.

Changes in the political map and political communication and citizenship norms also affect the young generation. Citizenship norms are a set of rights and obligations of a person in the life of the nation and have been discussed ever since Aristotle and Plato. In a democratic country the citizenship issue is an important issue, because it has an important role in the democratization process. Citizens (citizen) are not just spectators, nor subjects, but they have a sense of responsibility towards the democratic process by opting to vote, pay taxes, obey and participate in political parties, raise public awareness of democracy, nation building character and report any violation of the law (Dalton 2008). Citizens have rights and duties which are guaranteed by the state constitution. This view is in line with the concept of the citizen submitted by the Marshall (1950) namely; civil rights, political and social citizenship. Zamudio (2004), suggests a three-dimensional citizenship, namely; status as citizens, have a sense of community and a high awareness (exercise and conscience).

Dalton (2008) saw a change of norms of sub dimensions of citizenship norms is duty citizenship such as voting, obey and comply with the law, and maintain good relations with others, have a sense of responsibility, and respect for ethics and moral change to new values or norms of citizenship engaged that is direct, more oriented to the values of openness, such as creating opinion in the media, to protest against government policies and so on. These norms change impact on political attitudes and behavior of the young generation.

Generally norms citizenship engaged activities by Theocharis (2011), more extra-institutional and citizenship-oriented. This activity pattern changes according to Franklin (1997); Dalton (2006) and Wattenberg (2002) Putnam, (2000); Lawson and Kirk, (2005) can decrease the interest of citizens to

participate in voting in elections, decreasing interest in becoming members of political parties, even the decline of the social capital of trust. Norms of citizenship engaged in the activities of citizens together with citizens in the era of post-materialism (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005) that direct the activities that account for the values of self-power. Changing patterns and political action in this era of transition to democracy according to Jacobsen and Linkow (2012) and Dalton (2008), associated with the higher level of education of citizens and the improvement of their economy.

In addition to the above two sub dimensions, the researchers added one sub dimension and dilemma related to the phenomenon in the democratic process of norm compliance. The dilemma of democracy is called Mann (2004) as the dark side of democracy (the dark side of democracy). Zmerli (2009) calls it the dark side of social capital. The dark side of democracy can create a dilemma in the democratization process. In fact, according to Lilleker (2006) these conditions can bring people to the government's cynicism, distrust and skepticism disbelief and citizens against the Elite (cynicism relates to disbelief, mistrust and skepticism). This dimension is called compliance citizenship norms. Sub dimensions associated with external factors are intimidation, pressure, money politics and family involvement in elections. The three sub dimensions are interrelated and contribute positively to the process of democratization.

Change the norm among the young generation and the impact on the attitude of political participation, from traditional political participation to modern political participation and citizenship-oriented political involvement in actions undertaken by civil society organizations. (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999; Farrell and Webb, 2002 Norris, 2002). Participation in democracy is something that is important, because it greatly affects the quality of a country's democracy. Verba and Nie (1972) mention the political participation as a cornerstone of democracy and heart. This opinion is supported by Helander (2012), that political participation is a prerequisite for a democratic country. Participation is important in democracy. Sylvester and McGlynn, (2010) say democracy will not have any meaning and legitimacy without the participation of citizens in the democratic process. Citizen participation has close ties with a nation's culture and norms. It was approved by the view of Almond and Verba, (1963); Barnes and Kaase (1979); Verba and Nie (1972), relate to citizen participation in the democratic political culture of a nation. Thus, political culture can encourage citizens to participate, for instance Americans actively engaged in voluntary associations, engaging in political discussions and other political issues. The main problem of this study is to identify how the relationship between media usage and changing norms of citizenship and political participation of young voters in the transition to democracy in Indonesia. While the focus of the investigation to review changes in the norms of citizenship in the context of development of communication technology and how does that affect the political participation in the context of Indonesia towards democratic transition.

### **Media Usage, Citizenship Norms and Political Participation**

Media as one of the actors in political communication is important and a strategic role in the democratization process, because the media can be a liaison between other actors such as the government, the political elite and citizens. Dimensions Media consists of three sub dimensions, namely; media access, media usage, and media orientation. Cook (1998) said the media is not only a link between the political elite and the citizens, but the media is an active actor in designing political messages. That is much more important than it is, how the media convey political information so that it has an impact on the citizens. The same view was also expressed by Voltmer (2008), that the media not only as a means of delivering messages to senior elite, but a means of media / medium for citizens to political communication. McNair (2011) refer to it as a link between the world of words (words to the world). Mass media such as newspapers, radio and television is an extension of the human mind. That is, the media as a creation of the human mind to force another human being to be dominated by the media, the new media (internet) is related to social interaction and social integrity (McQuail 1992; McLuhan 2010). Media have recognized the strategic role and importance in the democratic process. Even the media is the fourth pillar of democracy in any country (Voltmer 2008). According to Tabroni (2012), there are five media functions in the democratic process, namely; First, the media must provide information to citizens about what exists in the vicinity. Second, the media must undertake education to citizens through objective reporting. Third, the media must give space to people to discuss. Fourthly, the media must monitor the implementation of the rule, and the fifth, the media should serve as a reference institution in the general election.

Despite the scientific advances, communications technology have spawned a new media (internet), but the role of the traditional news media, such as newspapers, radio and television have a positive relationship with the Citizenship and citizen involvement in politics. According to research conducted by Eveland and Scheufele (2000) the use of old media has a positive and significant correlation with political participation and voting. In the study Weaver and Drew (2001) found that the use of old media can have a positive impact on the citizens. According to Jeffres, Lee, Neuendorf (2007), that the old media users connect positively with community activities and the social capital. In the study Norris (2002) found that there was a significant association between the uses of old media with political participation. But a study conducted by the Shah et al. (2005) showed different patterns, where the use of traditional media does not have a positive effect on political participation.

The new media (internet) have a variety of functions in political communication (Quintelier & Visser (2008). The view over the outlook confirmed by Shah et al. (2001), Xenos and Moy (2007); Bimber, (2003), that there is a positive relationship the use of the Internet to the level of citizen participation in politics.



Citizenship is a concept that is always changing. Dalton (2008) defines citizenship as "a set of norms that must be made individually to be good citizens." This is in line with TH Marshall's views on citizenship trilogy, which is based on economic rights, political, and social. They respect the differences that exist, a member of the community by loyalty to a civilization which is a common view. Thus, social rights, including social services provide the resources urgently needed for compliance with the principles of democracy such as political equality and participation. Thus, social citizenship reflect ethical and moral obligation towards others (Dalton, 2006).

The dimensions of citizenship norms comprise of three sub dimensions, namely; duty citizenship, engaged citizenship, and compliance citizenship norms. However, Hoikkala (2009) reminds us that globalization has become a challenge in the transition process to democracy. Globalization is not the only impact of changes in social norms, culture, but also on democratic values, such as human rights, freedom and environmental issues. Duty citizenship associated with traditional values, while the engaged citizenship -oriented to new and liberal values and compliance citizenship is an external factor, which supposedly has a significant correlation with changes in the political participation of young people. External factors are intimidation, pressure, money politics and the primordial factor. The norm compliance called Mann (2004) as the dark side of democracy (the dark side of democracy). The applicability of this norm compliance can influence the democratic process. In fact, according to Lilleker (2006), the factor compliance could bring in the citizens disbelief, mistrust and Scepticism to the political actors.

The third dimension in this study is participation. Participation is the key concept in democracy. According to Huntington and Nelson (2010), it is the political participation of citizens who act as individuals that are intended to influence the decision making by the government. Political participation is to influence public decisions. The dimensions of political participation consist of three sub dimensions, namely; the traditional political participation, political participation, modern, citizenship and political participation. Participation traditionally relates to voting and participating in the processes of government involved. Modern political participation relates to activities such as demonstrations directly, communicating directly with the elite political parties and the government via the Internet, while citizenship and political participation are associated with youth involvement in social and voluntary activities by non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This is in line with the findings made by the Hibbing and Morse (2002); Macedo (2005); Putnam (2000); Rosenstone and Hansen (1993); Wattenberg, 2006) mention the change in the political participation of citizens.

### **Method of Study**

A total of 384 respondents are aged between 17 and 40 years old. This method of data collection for the transactions is carried out using a

questionnaire. To facilitate the distribution of questionnaires, researchers involve six (6) persons as enumerators.

Based on the problem of young people's involvement changing trends in media use, changes in the norms of citizenship and political participation becomes a central issue in the process of transition to democracy, the sample selection is among those who already have the constitutional right to vote participated in the election, those aged between 17 and 40 years old. Respondents who have worked, also important as most of them, are in a group and interact from various gololongan, while the respondent students tend to change as the use of media, political values, and patterns of political participation. While those aged 17 to 21 years, this group voted for the first time participated, and respondents aged between 22 years and 40 years have never come to vote in the general election.

The key variable used in this study is the media, change the norm of citizenship and political participation. Media consists of three sub-dimensions: access to media, media usage, and media orientation. Norma has three sub dimensions of citizenship, namely: Duty citizenship, engaged citizenship norms, and the norm of compliance nationality. While political participation has three sub dimensions also: political participation of traditional, modern political participation, citizenship and political participation.

To obtain systematic data scores were given for each answer to the question of measuring variables. Several variables have been set up to answer questions with research problem.

The use of media means to determine the amount of time spent by young people to read newspapers and surf the internet to watch television in one week with the trust Cronbach's alpha 0.90. The orientation of the media intends to find out whether the type or theme of news/ information in newspapers, television and internet information given attention by the younger generation. For orientation news the newspaper has 11 questions with Cronbach's alpha value of 0.84 confidence. Orientation watching television has 11 questions with Cronbach's alpha 0.80. While surfing the internet orientation there are 11 questions with Cronbach's alpha 0.86 confidence. In terms of the orientation of social consumption of 4 questions with Cronbach's alpha value of 0.75 confidence.

To determine the change in duty citizenship norms, the respondents were asked to answer eight questions related to the elections, legal and moral activity. Eight questions had Cronbach's alpha values of 0.88 confidence. Engaged citizenship has eight questions related to the political activities of the mass media, social, religious and environmental issues. These questions have to trust the Cronbach's alpha 0.88. Compliance norm consists of five questions with the belief Cronbach's alpha 0.84. The five questions relate to external factors.

In traditional political participation, respondents were asked to answer seven questions with the campaign. Seven questions have the reliability Cronbach's alpha 0.89. Modern political participation, respondents were asked to answer the fifteen questions with participation in on-line media such as to

send emails to political party leaders, candidates and comments in the block. While off-line political participation, such as signing petitions, demonstrations, roundtable discussion with community leaders. Fifteen questions have the reliability Cronbach's alpha 0.91.

Civic/social political participation, respondents were asked to answer nine questions with community service activities such as participating in social, environmental, human right, and religious organizations. Nine of these questions have the reliability Cronbach's alpha was 0.87.

## Results

The end of the 20th century was marked by changes in the political map and political communication. Along with various changes, also there is a change in media consumption patterns, norms citizenship and political participation patterns among the younger generation. For media usage data and education, it is assumed that the higher the level of education has been increasingly inclined to surf the internet and other mass media other than their media. Data in Table 1 shows the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) to differences in the use of media in education. To surf the Internet, respondents are often educated surfers that are highly educated (M=3.34), followed by respondents with secondary education (M=3.18) and respondents who have elementary education (M=2.90). These data indicate that more highly educated respondents more often tending to surf the Internet from low education respondents. But in reading the newspapers, educated respondents more often basis (M=2.00) than respondents with higher education (M=1.98) and high (M=1.56). These data indicate has changed media consumption patterns in young generation.

**Table 1.** *The Use of Media by Educational Background*

<b>Education</b>	<b>News paper</b>	<b>Television</b>	<b>Internet</b>
Elementary	2.00	2.49	2.90
Senior	1.56	3.12	3.18
University	1.98	3.04	3.34
F	7.56	6.07	2.43
Sig.	0.00	0.00	0.09

Further analysis determines the extent of the use of the media to influence changes in the norms of citizenship. The correlation analysis Pearson, as shown in Table 2, that the frequency of watching television has a significant relationship with duty citizenship norms ( $r=0.25$ ) and engaged norms citizenship ( $r=0.14$ ). The frequency of internet surfing only has a significant relationship with duty citizenship norms ( $r=0.17$ ). The frequency of reading the newspaper does not have a significant relationship with all sub-dimensional duty citizenship norms ( $r=0.09$ ), engaged citizenship ( $r=0.07$ ) and compliance of citizenship norms ( $r=-0.01$ ).

**Table 2.** *The Significant Relationship between Reading Newspapers, Watching Television and Surfing the Internet with Sub Dimensions Citizenship Norms (Duty Citizenship Norms, Engaged Citizenship Norms, Compliance Citizenship Norms).*

<b>Pearson Correlation</b>	<b>Duty</b>	<b>Engaged</b>	<b>Compliance</b>
Newspaper	0.09	0.07	-0.01
R <sup>2</sup> Adjusted	0.01	0.01	0.00
Sig.	0.08	0.18	0.93
Television	0.25	0.14	-0.04
R <sup>2</sup> Adjusted	0.05	0.02	0.00
Sig.	0.00	0.01	0.48
Internet	0.17	0.05	-0.12
R <sup>2</sup> Adjusted	0.02	0.00	0.00
Sig.	0.00	0.29	0.63

Then Pearson Correlation analysis of data in Table 3 shows the relationship between norms of citizenship to political participation. These data suggest that compliance citizenship norm is positively correlated with the political participation of traditional medicine (r=0.50), modern political participation (r=0.43), and the civic political participation (r=0.22). Then duty citizenship also has a significant relationship with the traditional political participation (r=0.13), modern political participation (r=0.11), and the civic political participation (r=0.14). The engaged citizenship has a significant with traditional participation (r=0.14) and civic political participation (r=0.25) and had no significant relationship with the modern political participation (r=0.09).

**Table 3.** *The Relationship between the Sub-Dimensions Sub Citizenship Norms Dimensions with Political Participation (Traditional Political Participation, Modern Political Participation, and Civic Political Participation)*

<b>Citizenship Norms</b>	<b>Traditional Participation</b>	<b>Modern Participation</b>	<b>Civic Participation</b>
Compliance	0.50	0.43	0.22
Citizenship	0.25	0.19	0.05
R <sup>2</sup> Adjusted			
Sig.	0.00	0.00	0.00
Duty Citizenship	0.13	0.11	0.14
R <sup>2</sup> Adjusted	0.02	0.01	0.02
Sig.	0.01	0.03	0.01
Engaged	0.14	0.09	0.25
Citizenship	0.02	0.00	0.06
R <sup>2</sup> Adjusted			
Sig.	0.01	0.10	0.00

Table 4 shows that this hypothesis assumes that the use of media and citizenship norms have an influence on political participation. Multiple

regression tests using enter to view independent variables media usage and citizenship norms contribute to political participation.

The results of the multiple regression test shows that the variable use of media and citizenship norms together accounted for 14 percent of the variance in influencing political participation ( $F=31.31$ ;  $p<0.05$ ; Adjusted  $R^2=0.14$ ). This means that the variable use of media and citizenship norms together have an effect on the change of political participation.

**Table 4.** *Regression Test Media Usage and Citizenship Norms with Political Participation*

Factors	R <sup>2</sup> Adjusted	R <sup>2</sup> Change	Beta	t	Sig.
Media Usage	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.24	0.81
Citizenship Norms	0.14	0.13	0.37	7.83	0.00

Results of regression test showed that the increase in per unit using the media to contribute 0.01 unit increase in political participation ( $\beta =0.01$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). Meanwhile, the increase in per unit variable norms nationalities ( $\beta=0.37$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) 0.37 contributed to the increase in political participation.

The results show that the use of media does play an important role in increasing the political participation of young people in the transition to democracy. The results of this study have ruled that the use of media has an important role in increasing the political participation of young people. While independent variable citizenship norms play a vital role in improving the political participation of young people in the transition to democracy. Thus, the political elite, elections commission (EC) and the government should take into account the change in citizenship norms prevailing among the younger generation.

## Conclusion

In summary, this study provides a new perspective in order to make use of the media and citizenship norms change more effectively to the political participation of the younger generation. Media have a great influence in shaping government policy and public opinion. It allows those who hold power and public positions are valued and accounted for. It provides information for people to make decisions and become a communication medium to various parties for various purposes. Media concept and participation already been used to test the use of media and citizenship norms changes affect political participation in the era of transition to democracy in Indonesia.

The results of this study reveal that the gender, age and educational background of the respondents did not significantly influence media usage and citizenship norms. Educational background is not a factor that distinguishes media usage but it becomes differentiating factor in citizenship norms. The media usage has a significant correlation with citizenship norms and citizenship norms has a significant relationship with political participation. In

addition, media usage and citizenship norms impact significantly to political participation.

This study has helped identify factors that significantly affect the political participation of the younger generation. Although the study cannot provide a full response to the changing patterns of political participation, but it is a new chapter in identifying factors that affect the political participation of young people in the transition to democracy in Indonesia. Digital media and political participation recently, it has been disassemble some issues to look at patterns of political participation. Integration variables, namely through the use of media and citizenship norms has made political communication model that is more sustainable and stable enough to predict patterns of political participation of young people in the transition to democracy. However in spite of factors that have been tested in this study, there may also be other factors that affect the political participation of the young generation. So for future research is proposed that these factors are reviewed to unravel the political communication in the era of transition to democracy in Indonesia. Based on the findings it can be concluded that the political euphoria in the era of transition to democracy has changed pattern media usage and citizenship norms among the young generation.

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