POLITICAL AWARENESS OF PHI GENERATION

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Abstract

According to the Youth Laboratory Indonesia, Indonesia's Generation Z, known as Phi Generation, has been considered an individual born and raised in the Internet Era, they are accustomed to getting information quickly and hanging out without meeting face to face. As they become more individualistic than the previous generation, several opinions state that Phi Generation has lost Indonesia's local wisdom of courtesy and respect to elders. Despite being individualistic, discussing politics with Phi Generation is interesting since political issues deal with many people's well-being. This study is then intended to examine whether or not Indonesia's Phi Generation truly cares about political issues happening around them. This research belongs to a qualitative study in which the researcher obtained the data through Focus Group Discussion. The subject of the research is college students who are categorized as first-time voters in the 2019 election. This study found that the Phi generation did not hesitate to disagree with elders, especially if they had valid information. However, they would not show these different attitudes, especially to parents, because they still maintain the manners. The Phi generation is aware of Indonesia's political situation, but they have not trusted the current politicians yet, especially in the legislature. The Phi generation, who spend most of their free time on social media, realizes that they should have known the candidates for the next member of representatives in the political year, so they try to find information about them on Instagram and Twitter.

Key Words : *Phi Generation, Political Awareness, Social Media, First-time voter, Digital Footprint.*

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INTRODUCTION

The general election is a democratic process in Indonesia that has been conducted since 1955. At that time, 172 political parties participated in the election, which was eventually won by "Partai Nasional Indonesia" (Indonesian National Party) or PNI. Since then, the general election is regularly held until the present time. Indonesia's general election can be considered as a "party" where freedom is highly appreciated. It is indeed in line with democracy as the political system that believes that every citizen has the right to vote for candidates who will be members of the house of Representatives (Sulistyo, 2002).

The general election of Indonesia in 2019 was different from the previous ones in which the Indonesian government hold a simultaneous presidential and legislative election for the first time. This election was conducted since the Indonesian government considered it a solution to previous presidential and legislative elections that were pricy and took longer since they were conducted in stages. In the 2019 general election, 16 political parties in total – 14 parties were the same as the 2014 election while the remaining four parties were new.

Indonesia's general election in 2019 was interesting not only because the process was different from the previous one. The way of candidate of the president was chosen was also different. What should be noticed was that only political parties who had won legislative chair could nominate president candidate in the 2014 general election. However, in the 2019 general election, the coalition party had to choose their presidential candidate before winning the legislative election. As the four new parties had not had any chair in the legislature, they had to choose sides from available president candidates that had already been chosen by the other political parties. There were two presidential candidates in the 2019 general election: the incumbent, Joko Widodo, versus General Prabowo Subianto. Besides, Jokowi as the incumbent represented nationalist identity, while the latter represent exclusive Islam identity (BBC, 2019).

This democratic party in Indonesia, which is supposed to be a big event, could be meaningless without the citizens' involvement in the election process. Fortunately, from the 2009 general election to the 2014 legislative and presidential elections, community involvement reached 70%, and even the 2014 legislative elections recorded 75.11% citizen involvement. Despite being counted successful in the three previous election processes, the "General Election Commission" *(Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU)* in the 2019 democracy party still paid particular attention to several groups, one of which was "first-time voters"(Purbolaksono, 2019). Based on the voter education manual created by KPU in 2015, "first-time voters" are Indonesian citizens who have just entered the age or status to be allowed to participate in the General Election. The general election cycle in Indonesia itself takes place every five years, so that the category of "the first-time voter" in the 2019 general election is in the age range of 17-21 years before 17 April 2017 (KPU RI, 2015).

As previously mentioned, the 2019 general election's first-time voters belong to so-called millennials or Phi Generations. Although they are considered necessary in 2019 general elections, linking millennials participation and successful general election may not be easy. According to Youth Laboratory Indonesia, the challenge is obvious since Indonesian millennials

or Phi Generations have always been viewed negatively by the community, especially from the Beta generation. This young generation is always considered passive and not sensitive to social conditions in society.

Many things support the Phi Generation notion being criticized by the previous generation through news and art activities. Musical drama "Kirana" performed by "Spotlight Theater" in Jakarta with the cultural background of Yogyakarta, for example, tries to communicate to the phi generation not to be individualistic and leave behind the rich Indonesian culture (Syahrianto, 2019). Hipwee.com, an online portal for the young generation of Indonesia, even feels pessimistic with Phi Generation. It can be seen from one of its articles that concerns modernization, miss-used technology, and western style that are adopted by many Phi Generation (Shabrinaanitha, 2019). Kasali calls generation Phi as a strawberry generation. The metaphor portrays that generation phi is similar to the strawberry that looks good and exotic, yet fragile and easily torn apart. This generation is also believed to be slow to respond as they prefer to stay in their safe zone and are unwilling to take the risk. Many of them do not have a strong fighting spirit and tend to take the safest and the most convenient lifeways (Amalia & Gumilar, 2019a).

Faisal, a researcher from "Youth Laboratory Indonesia", and Central Bureau of Statistics (Badan Pusat Statistik) state that Indonesia is experiencing a demographic bonus period until 2036. 52% of Indonesian will be on their productive age that time. It means that first-time voter in 2019 will have a significant impact in years after. If Indonesian youths have the individualistic and less social sensitive character, this country will definitely be in danger. Surprisingly the data stated differently as general election involvement in 2019 reached the highest percentage ever. The involvement increases around 10% compared to the presidential election in 2014.

Aside from the negative stigma against Phi Generation as a first-time voter in 2019, this year's election also faced another challenge. Hoax warfare and attacking each other's identity value became media presentations from 2018 until early 2019. According to Wartaekonomi. co. id, there were massive increases in criminal acts from which most crimes were spreading hoaxes. In 2018 there were 52 cases of spreading hoaxes in a year, yet there were already 51 cases of hoaxes under police supervision only from January till June 2019. Lim even traced back the attack of one's identity to the case of Ahok, an incumbent who was running for the Jakarta governor election, that was accused of doing blasphemy in November 2016. People were taking sides during the case. Some claimed Ahok as a martyr that became the victim of the politicization of religion, while the others thought of him as a hero of pluralism and called those who were against him as the attacker of the national motto "unity in diversity" *(Bhinneka Tunggal Ika),* intolerant, radical, and terrorist (Lim, 2017)

Changes, challenges, and threads along the 2019 general election became unavoidable parts that could not be separated. Apart from the negative and the positive sides, does the Phi Generation, as the first-time voter of this year's democracy party, actually aware of themselves? Do they are individualistic in that they do not care about the current political situation happening

around them? This research is then intended to examine whether millennials are politically aware or not.

LITERATURE REVIEW OR RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Political Awareness

The study of political awareness has raised attention over the past decades. It is considered worth-studying as an individual decision toward political participation is likely determined by the level of political awareness. Paul Goren borrows Michael X. Delli Carpini and Scoot Keeter's concept stating that the more individuals obtain information, the more they will bridge their value on political matters. It means that individuals will have more willingness to participate in political events and deliver their point of view toward political issues (Goren, 2012). On the contrary, an individual who has a low level of political awareness will likely get more difficulties developing, holding, and expressing their political preferences. Zaller in Jordan finds that those with limited political awareness are highly unstable in expressing their opinions and considerations when they face complex political issues as they tend to formulate their ideas on the spot. As a result, their stance can easily change over time and trivial changes (Jordan, 2018).

Scholars have several yet similar definitions of political awareness. First, Zaller defines political awareness as the degree of one's attention to politics and the understanding of political issues that he/she encountered. It includes information exchange between an individual and various sources of political messages in public space. Berinsky adds a similar argument stating that political awareness is knowledge on political events, elections, parties, campaigns, and other related issues. In conclusion, political awareness requires one's comprehension of particular issues on politics so that he or she will be able to give an opinion and take a stand on them (Jordan, 2018).

Another definition comes from Surbekti, who states that political awareness is one's awareness of his or her political rights and responsibilities, including political knowledge, political stance, and the political atmosphere of the surroundings (Fatwa, 2016). As an individual becomes aware of politics, that person will be able to link one's self-interest to specific policy preferences persistently easily (Jordan, 2018). Besides, an individual will also understand the current issues that are happening around the government (Goren, 2012). Milbiath considers political awareness to be involved in political issues cognitively and willing to participate in them (Fatwa, 2016). Galston draws a link between political awareness and willingness to take part in political events. When a person has an adequate political awareness level, civic participation in politics will run smoothly and effectively. However, when one does not possess an adequate political awareness level, civic participation will be unlikely to occur(Pasek & Kenski, 2006).

Several aspects affect the level of individual political awareness. Zaller argues that media exposures generally influence political awareness (Jordan, 2018). As an individual

receives more information on political issues and events, they will be more likely to be aware of them. Thus, they will have more insights on current development and will be able to present necessary views on it. In the study of political awareness, Nicholson urges the combination of cognitive ability, political interest, and media coverage to increase one's level of awareness. Cognitive ability and political interest, in this case, are categorized as individual factors, whereas media coverage is considered as an environmental factor. In addition to the statement mentioned earlier, the environmental factor plays a more critical role for an individual in raising their awareness than the former (Nicholson, 2003).

Nicholson agreed with Delli Carpini and Keeter, Gordon and Segura, and Kuklinsi et al. to affirms that the degree of individual political awareness depends on the amount and type of available information around the political environment. As an individual has more critical information about the political environment, they will be able to connect their values with current policy, or in "general election" is with the potential candidate. Therefore, it can be concluded that the surrounding situation will be an essential factor in determining individual political behavior and point of view (Goren, 2012; Nicholson, 2003).

Relating to the notion that social media also plays an essential role in building one's political awareness, Mufazzar et al. conducted a study on a group of youth in Pakistan. The result showed that people, especially the youth, are using social media to obtain more information on political matters. Moreover, politicians and spokesperson start to extensively use social media to spread their stance on both national and international issues and win the support of the commoners (Muzaffar, 2019).

Strandberg argues that social media, Twitter, and Facebook have a significant effect on the political environment. The users of those platforms will be able to access information about political matters easily in no time. In a general election context, those platforms can also be used as media to obtain commoners' attention so that political parties and politicians gain more votes for their interests. Vitak strengthens the argument by stating that there is a positive and direct relationship between "intensity in the use of Facebook for political purposes" and "political participation among college students". He argues that Facebook enables those youngsters to gain more knowledge on politics and raise their political awareness level (Muzaffar, 2019).

Despite being an apparatus for enhancing one's political awareness, Castells said that online networking could be a potential media to encourage social contract between the people and the state. In this way, the government can use the platform to request criticism on its political activities and policies. On the other hand, people can also utilize social media platforms to express their acknowledgment, critics, even outrage on governments' activities (Jarrar & Hammud, 2018).

Although environmental factors have more effects on political awareness, individual factors should not be neglected. Bowler and Donovan state that education plays an essential role in determining one's degree of political awareness. Nicholson uses Magleby reports that state that education, age, and income substantially affect how an individual views politics

(Nicholson, 2003). In a nutshell, the more excellent knowledge an individual possesses, they will explain political development better. Being fully aware of political issues is beneficial in many aspects. An attentive person will be able to know significant political figures as well as their policies. Besides, they will be able to understand the culture that governs the political system and keep up-to-date with the latest developments (Jordan, 2018). Bowler and Donovan argue that having necessary political awareness will improve an individual's ability to answer fundamental questions related to politics, such as "who is behind the current policy" or "what benefits can I obtain from a certain policy?" (Nicholson, 2003).

Another factor influencing one's level of political awareness is family. Verba, Scholzman, and Brady argue that family's influence is indeed an essential contributor to one's political interest. This opinion is in line with Crowell's study on a group of students, which shows that several of them notice similarities in political engagement with their families. These students state that their families' political activism significantly impact their interest in politics and policy work. On the contrary, those whose families lack political involvement also state that they do not have much enthusiasm for the political realm because they do not have an adequate model (Crowell, 2017).

The next factor that can significantly influence one's political awareness is infamous figures, such as celebrities or spokesperson. Fraser and Brown argue that celebrities' political point of view has tremendous effect as the fans are likely to adopt and follow their idol political values and behaviors. The argument is then strengthened by Click et al. research finding on Lady Gaga's fans, in which many of them, if not most, clearly stated how the well-known singer's political activism has inspired, encouraged, and changed Little Monsters in multiple aspects, including political positions (Click et al., 2017).

Phi Generation

Phi generation is an archetype of Indonesian Millennials and Z. This term is published by Muhammad Faisal, researcher and head of "Youth Laboratory Indonesia," whose research finds that Indonesia has a different generation timeline than the world has. It does not mean that generation in Indonesia has a different situation as in the rest of the world, but as an archipelago country, each province and part of Indonesia have different access to the newest technology, information, and global trend.

Strauss and Howe describe the American generation in their book series since *baby boomers* in the 1940s, generation X in 1960s, generation Y or millennials in 1980s, and generation Z in 2005's. The description itself is based on American conditions, but that term is becoming worldwide accepted because the rest of the world shares that timeline. However, Faisal states that Indonesian conditions of culture, landscape, and technology are way too different. Thus, he categorizes the Indonesian generation in a different timeline.

Generation/Era	Social Political Condition (USA)	Generation/Era	Social Political Condition (INA)
Baby Boomers (1943–1960)	The assassination of John F. Kennedy, Golden Age of Capitalism	Alpha. (1900-1930)	Under colonialism, Try to unite scholar and student
Generation X (1961 – 1981)	Consciousness Revolution, Fourth Great Awakening, Vietnam War	Beta (1930-1966)	Newly country, Political, economy, ideology unstable
Generation Y / Millenials (1982 – 2004)	Culture Wars, Postmodernism, Neoliberalism, Great Regression, Gulf War, War on Drugs	Theta (1970-1998)	University Political Movement, growth in the economy, Political Reformation
Generation Z (2005 -....)	Great Recession, War on Terror, Climate Change, Trump Presidency	Phi (1999-….)	Digital Economy growth, Free Trade Agreement

Table 1. Strauss and Howe Generations vs Muhammad Faisal Generations

Martikasari emphasizes that Indonesian culture's richness is one of many main factors that makes Indonesia's generation timeline differs from the USA. The shifting generation in Indonesia is not directly affected by global issues but mostly by the national movement. Even though Indonesia is rich in culture, Faisal argues that the country does not have national culture, norms of behavior, trust, and habits that become standard in a nation's way of life. Though it is widely known that Muslims become the majority in Indonesia and Java island is the center of economics and administration, it does not mean that their culture is accepted worldwide. This condition is apparent as each area and province in Indonesia has a domestic value that cannot be replaced easily (Martikasari, 2019).

It can be said that Indonesia has become a unique nation because it has a variety of cultures that are adopted by its inhabitants. What is widely applied in everyday life is a culture based on local wisdom and social class. Martikasari uses Faisal's finding to describe seven archetypes that make the Indonesian millennial-Z generation known as the Phi generation, full of uniqueness and complexity.

Millenial Generation Archetype	Description
Communal	They have a high intention to be accepted into social groups but at the same time also wish to be known for having uniqueness and expertise and not considered to be mainstream.
Trend Follower	They quickly adapt to new things but still adhere to the values that are of local wisdom and religious beliefs.
High tolerance for Differences	They can embrace differences, yet they are sensitive to issues related to the values of local wisdom and the religion they embrace.
Independent but Family-Oriented	They are responsible for the family's happiness, especially their parents, and it eventually becomes an indicator of success in social groups
Willing to contribute and be active in voicing various social issues that are related to themselves	The desire to be active and contribute becomes one of their concerns as it will make them feel accepted and approved by their social groups.
Creative in utilizing and optimizing technology	They can use technology, especially social media, to connect with their social groups. However, they still believe that hanging out is needed as an effort to reinforce their existence.
Have enthusiasm and ability to move the environment and society	They can move the environment and society to be better but often premature in understanding an idea or innovation.

Table 2. Phi Generation Archetype (Source: Martikasari)

Kasali analyses several traits of the Phi generation. He argues that the Phi generation tends to think out of the box. It means that they are used to having various ideas, from the ordinary to the most peculiar ones, to respond to some issues. Besides, the Phi generation tends to be more open to a new perspective and more critical. They also have an excellent ability to associate an idea with another to find out bigger pictures or salient issues (Amalia & Gumilar, 2019b).

Aside from the positive traits, the Phi generation is known to be a generation that does not have sharp survival ability as they prefer to find an alternative rather than to compete with others. They are usually reluctant and do not want to take the risk when facing problems. They are also known to give up when facing difficulties and feel offended quickly. Kasali calls this

generation "Strawberry Generation" as they demand immense change, but they ask for shortcuts and convenience, despite the struggle a change takes (Amalia & Gumilar, 2019a).

Faisal asserts similar traits of the Phi generation. He calls generation Phi "The Outlier" since they possess great creativity. Like Kasali, Faisal also states that the Phi generation prefers to take an alternative rather than compete with their surroundings. According to Faisal, the Indonesian Phi generation seems to be a little late in determining themselves. They indeed take a long time to explore values, beliefs, and identities. (Purwantini & Pramintari, R, 2019). Budiati proposes similar traits of Indonesia's millennial generation, also known as the Phi generation. This generation is familiar with social media and digital technology. They are also creative, productive, and usually have hobbies. They are dynamic and demand to have everything fast. Also, they are open to new things, critical, as well as brave. (Fajriani, S, W. & Sugandi Y, 2019).

Politic and Social Media

Tracing back to the beginning of social media may not be a short discussion. One should draw the line back to the 1980s when there was a shift from the printing press to photocopiers, home video cameras, and mixtapes, which allowed broader dissemination of information over broader audiences. Then, individuals had the same access to a similar means of productions used by professionals as the cost of computers, software, and the internet decreased around the 2000s. As a result, the social networking sites appeared as new media, which successfully blurred the border between media producers and consumers. Besides, the invention of the new media has allowed the formerly passive consumers to take part, create, and spread their media (Trottier & Fuchs, 2015).

Mandiberg agrees with Danah Boyd's statement that social media has become an almost inseparable part of daily life; people will undeniably be affected by the full range of information around them. As networking technology allows people to broaden their reach and connect themselves across space and time, it will be easier for people to express the feeling, even to make choices. (Trottier & Fuchs, 2015). The power of social media as dissemination are indeed used in many ways, including political campaign. According to Paolo Gerbaudo and Emiliano Trere, social media platforms have played a significant role in constructing identity. Social media's strength is then used by those involved in politics to build specific personas. (Gerbaudo & Treré, 2015). As a result, many political parties have their own social media account and actively try their best to engage with users through the platform. (Ida & Saud, 2020).

In its journey, social media do not only serve as an apparatus to look for political-related information. They also play an essential role in encouraging people, especially the youth, to participate in political activism. Through social media, these people are free to regularly participate in the online political sphere, including following politician accounts and discussing political matters. Also, social media allow people to create content as well as expressing their opinion freely (Rumata & Nugraha, 2020).

There are indeed lots of digital movement that are initiated through social media, one of which is a campaign that was initiated to fight against the latest corruption law in Indonesia

(Ida & Saud, 2020). Bohang points out that social media can give broader space for people to participate and to respond to certain issues. The evidence of the statement can be seen from lots of social movements in Indonesia that was initiated by hashtags, including #SaveKPK or #KamiTidakTakut (Rumata & Nugraha, 2020).

Involving social media as part of a political campaign is likely a brilliant way to seek citizen sympathy as it becomes a perfect place for collective political interaction. Foot and Schnieder state that political figures will be able to inform, to persuade, as well as to involve citizen easily when they use social media. It will indeed be a great idea as a way to engage more actively around the citizen. Starting to do a political campaign, especially related to the electoral agenda, through social media cannot be done carelessly. One should be able to manage posts and comments on his or her electoral social media account. The candidate along with the team, should begin with deciding posts' frequency as she or he wishes. Deciding the style of productions is the next step that ought to do, followed by creating exciting content that may catch attention. One thing to note is that the content should contain information related to electoral events. After finishing all those steps, being ready to receive comments and messages from social media visitors is the thing that should not forget. By doing such action, the potential candidate opens a chance to engage and get closer with the citizen(Criado, n.d.).

METHODOLOGY

This political awareness research for phi generation uses case study. The case study is studying the particularity and complexity of a single case to understand its activity within critical circumstances (Harrison et al., 2017; Houghton et al., 2017; Shea & Sandoval, 2020). This paper collects individual memories and experiences about the general election Indonesia 2019. The study are conducted to find out how deeply concerned the phi generation on political conditions in Indonesia. This Research are intended to describe how first-time voters in Indonesia, also known as Phi Generation, give meaning to various political issues during 2019 general election. Furthermore, the political issues in 2019 general election includes identity issues and hoaxes among society. The research subject is first-time voters in the 2019 general election.

The subject of the research is limited to students of four universities in Malang city due to the limitation of time and the availability of informants. Malang is chosen due to the fact that it is the second biggest city in East Java, which is also known as an education city. It has six Public campuses and 56 private campuses (*Perguruan Tinggi Kota Malang*, 2021). With that condition, researchers expect to be able to obtain more diverse informants that represent Indonesia. There are five people from each campus with a total of twenty informants. In this study, fourteen informants are from Java, the most populous island in Indonesia, and six remaining informants are from the outside of Java. All of the informants are first-time voters of the 2019 general election. Researchers held Focus Group Discussion in each campus so that the informant feel more comfortable and can give honest statements about their experience.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Opinion about Politics

The study of "political awareness for phi generation" began by discussing informants' opinion on politics. The Researcher obtained ten different answers, in which three of the informants stated that Politic is a competition to gain power. Dela, one of the informants, was the only one stating that Politic was not just competition but also how to manage people. The other answer interpreted Politic as tools for gaining power, getting, managing, and defending the power. Other answer stated that Politic was nothing but propaganda. Besides, Politic was good, but the people who are involved in it tended to be group-centrist. As a result, they would merely do a good thing just for their people.

One of the informants stated that politics was a game of influence. It was not very easy, but it was a survival strategy. By stating so, politics seemed to be impossible to be made fair as the theory. This condition was strengthened by two informants that clearly stated that politics was dirty. The other stated that politics was part of the system of strategy for significant purposes.

Ten different opinions with a wide range of information inform the researcher that although the informants are from the same ages, they still have their personal opinion and hold the opinion firmly. Various answers from the informants give the researcher slight hope that Faisal (Faisal, 2017) is right about Phi generation; they have individualistic insight but do not ignore their social environments.

The question about "informants' personal opinion about politics" was quickly followed by questions about politics' importance. Five out of twenty informants just gave a concise answer, "Important", but refused to elaborate the statement. The researcher took the concise answer as save answer, even suspected that those who had that answer had an awful experience talking about politics with others. In the 2019 general election of Indonesia, the citizen and netizen were sensitive with some issues. Several people stated that being different has never been an option, even political actors and celebrities were bullied because of their personal opinion. As they did not know who shared the same opinion, short answers made them feel comfortable.

The other informant tended to share their formal opinion. All of the 15 informants agreed that politics was significant. Eight informants answered that politic is essential because it is significant for the country well-being. If there is no politic, there will be no leader, and the country will not be managed well. Moreover, the citizen cannot get prosperity well. Three informants from these eight also shared their deep concern about politics. They believed that each impacts the political system because in Indonesia each vote is counted to select representatives who will set policy in the country. If the voters are careless and unaware of their candidate, it can negatively affect next five years. Moreover, they are aware that they will become a representation of Indonesia in the next 10-20 years.

Seven informants believed that politic was essential, but they did not believe with the politicians today. The informants argued that politicians today use their power for their good. As politicians use the money for more political power, they tend to ignore their people's interest when they win the election. The strongest argument from informants was that politic is essential, but not crucial. The informants added that the campaign almost tore Indonesia to pieces. At that period, a family could fight because they did not share the same value from other political candidates. The answers from the sources and their opinions on politics show that they, as the Phi generation, are aware of the national political condition and its impacts around them (Fatwa, 2016; Goren, 2012; Jordan, 2018).

In this section, the researcher points out another characteristic of phi generation that tend to stand between pole (Faisal, 2017;Martikasari, 2019), and their environment didnt gave much influence to them unlike Nicholson statement (Nicholson, 2003). In Faisal research about Indonesian archetype, Indonesian millennials tend to stand in the neutral zone . In other words, they understand that there are conflicts, they are sometimes involved in the conflicts, yet they choose not to take sides and enjoy the ride. For this generation, absolution is rare; technical information can be a possible factor that makes the phi generation more aware of both sides' information (Faisal, 2017; Pasek & Kenski, 2006).

The 2019 General Election and Social Media

The Indonesia 2019 general election faced many challenges. International media such as BBC, Bloomberg, CNN, CNA, and other media reported that more than 500 official election staff died due to fatigue. The media also concerned about hoaxes increasing threat since 2018, during the general election, and even after the national event. It seems that the general election brings more harm than the right thing for Indonesia.

This fact, then, becomes one of the questions for informants, "Is general election important to Indonesian political system?". The answers from twenty informants were divided into three. One informant argued that they did not need to hold another general election because in the 4th point of "Pancasila", the basic principles of Indonesia, states that "Democracy led by the wisdom in a consensus or representatives" *(Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam Permusyawaratan/ Perwakilan). Thus,* he considers that citizens are better to vote for the legislative and elect a new president from their political consensus.

His colleagues strongly opposed this opinion and thought that such a kind of election would close the access to democracy built after the 1998 reformation. The informant's focus group discussion argued that if they went back to the "Orde Baru" (New Order System), the citizen would not have any impact in politics and would not have any opportunity to voice their opinion. However, this informant insisted that the general election budget could be used for more important thing. He also agreed that the legislative election must be carried out more effectively and efficiently.

Furthermore, ten informants stated that the general election is essential because Indonesia is a democratic country. Every citizen has the right to choose and to be chosen as a

leader. Everybody indeed can hold higher position if trusted by his constituents. These ten informants just gave a normal-formal answer; the researcher suspects that the informant does not have enough information to provide an in-depth assessment of other election options, but they still believed that all people should be able and should be given access to be actively involved in government bodies and political agenda.

The last nine informants shared their concern about the general election event. They agreed that the general election is inseparable with the democracy system in Indonesia. Moreover, they confirmed they have already lived in the technology-information era, so the government should consider using technology in the next general election to be cheaper than the current general election processes. Another statement stated that the current election process had disadvantages toward the official election staff, especially those stationed in remote areas. They had to compete with time while surrounded by environmental obstacles, including rugged and tough access because they were surrounded by mountain and jungle. Thus, it was no wonder that there were lots of officials who died of exhaustion after working long hours straight.

The next question was about their opinion on the presidential and legislative election, including all the social media hoax and black campaign. At the focus group discussion, the researcher discussed it separately, but each explanation turned out to be related; thus, the answers are combined in this discussion. The most informant stated that the campaign activity was brutal! It did not just potentially damage the Indonesian diversity, but also ruin the relationship between parents and children. For example, in the presidential campaign, each team was trying to spread negative issues of their opponent. Various social media platforms are used to grab and to win constituents' sympathy. Unfortunately, Indonesia's people – especially Beta and Theta generation – who did not go through the technology era mostly believed it. As a result, there were frictions among Phi Generation, and the preceding generations as Phi generation who were more sensitive to hoaxes tried to correct it.

The war of negative issues was massive as the presidential team campaign used identity as a critical issue (Gerbaudo & Treré, 2015;Rumata & Nugraha, 2020). The identity issues that emerged were about being communist, selling Indonesian asset to China, and oppressing Muslims. Sadly, this kind of strategy was working well as those with different identity values tend to quarrel. As a result, social media become a battlefield – Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter were suddenly full of hate speech. This situation then attracted commoners' attention to become more interested and even involved in the battle of hate speech (Trottier & Fuchs, 2015). In many families, identity war had made parents forced their children not to choose the opposite candidates.

In the 2019 general election, parents were mostly from Beta and Theta Generation, whereas the children came from Phi Generation. Phi generation archetype is always surrounded by information as they are naturally digital native. The funny thing to note is that even if they disagree with their parents, phi generation will not object to the elder order. They will nod their head as a sign of agreement but still keep their trust based on their fact findings. This condition

can be related to Martikasari concept stating that phi generation is independent but family-oriented (Martikasari, 2019). For phi generation, becoming good children is more critical than giving accurate information to their parents.

The other seven informants stated that the information war in the 2019 general election was typical. The candidates' strategies were not as new as Donald Trump used similar strategies to win the USA's presidential election. This group of informants focused on how the audience should be wiser and smarter to read media content, especially social media. They understood that each candidate wanted to win this competition, but the informants expected more competition in ideas and programs because Indonesia needs leaders full of brilliant ideas to solve the country's problems.

CONCLUSION

This study found that the Phi generation did not hesitate to disagree with elders, especially if they had valid information. However, they would not show these different attitudes, especially to parents, because they still maintained manners. The Phi generation is aware of Indonesia's political situation, but they do not trust the current politicians yet, especially in the legislature. Phi generation who spend most of their free time on social media realises that they should have known the candidates for the next member of representatives in the political year, so they try to find information about them on Instagram and Twitter.

In addition to concluding remarks, this part also presents recommendation and implication of the finding as a whole, either intended to broaden methodological realm or to develop a theoretical framework, as such that it outreaches the users from broader societies. Moreover, it can also be added to the prospect of further studies into the next (based on result and discussion).

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