Democracy Among The Millennials (A Phenomenology Study On Democracy Dialectics In The Millennium Age Among University Students In West Java)

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ABSTRACT
Political system in Indonesia is never change eventhough Indonesia has through reformation era. Indonesia has Pancasila as a perspective or ideology that it can be used by politician to creating program. Politic is not only how to got a position, but it is talked about how to make relationship between country and the publics, or between country and other countries. In the digital era, politician has alternative media to share their vision, idea and program with their constituents especially millennials. The millennials are potensial voters and they are using digital media to reach information including political message. This research are using phenomenology approach because this research are exploring perspective millennials about democracy, how millennials understanding the political situation and the millennials experiences in politicial communication and how millennials are giving a definition about politic and democracy. The millennial informants of this study were not fully satisfied with the implementation of democracy. It was evident in the fact that there were many cases of fraud and cheat in general election process and that people's aspiration had not been fully facilitated in policy making processes. In spite of the practice of democracy that was not fully implemented, there was a benefit of democracy in political landscape, i.e. the freedom of speech, especially through digital media. In selecting media as sources of political information, informants considered several criteria, including the way the media delivered the messages, characteristics, and reputation of the media.

Keywords : politic; democracy; millennials; media; communication

1. INTRODUCTION

The Reformation era (*Reformasi*, post-Soeharto period in Indonesia) seems to be identical with unbridled freedom, in which freedom is seen as detached from social responsibilities, laws, and moral ethics, in both state and society. Globalization has brought about various changes in Indonesia. However, most of those changes are responded with hedonistic, pessimistic, and materialistic behaviors. Pragmatic behaviors and transactional politics practices have become more prominent and democratic values of the nation, particularly *Pancasila* Democracy, are diminishing. Democracy is now filled with discourses

on 'demoralization', with no meaning at all. In fact, democracy in Indonesia is now carried out through instant contestation that disregards social and moral values.

Reformation is a double-edged sword. On one hand, reformation era promises meaningful changes that will bring about new and better social order. On the other hand, reformation has dragged the nation down with multi-dimensional crises that keep emerging. These crises have caused conflicts that put Indonesian people in poor condition. Power struggle and development efforts that only focus on physical development have forgotten one important aspect that should be improved, i.e. education based on national values and characteristics. Bad experiences in the New Order era, in which *Pancasila* was often reinterpreted and reduced to suit the interest of those in power, had plunged the nation into an abyss of crises. Cases of corruption, collusion, and nepotism were found in all lines of lives, from the governmental offices to the society in general. In the political years, the desire for power 'displayed' by political elites, with all their freedom and without any regard to ethics and morality of power, has diminished the important values of reflection and substance of the politics itself. Instead of scientific and academic reasoning, people preferred to use mechanical reasoning in the form of 'justification in the name of social prejudice' on behalf of excessive identity claim, including social, religious, and cultural identities.

In recent days, the narratives of politics is no longer a beauty to be observed through deep argumentation perspective. It is more of an anomaly that splits everyone in a sectarian way, in which haters and lovers are very divided in a dichotomy. In turn, the potentials for multi-dimensional social conflicts will always be inevitable. Such potentials for conflicts have become a latent risk. The developed political rhetoric is one that disregards conscience and intellectuality. Political jargons emerging in daily rhetoric have turned into domination and hegemony and keep moving from one group to another.

In the context of democracy, the public will find it easier to suspect any phenomenon and the mass media have been an effective agent of information, changes, and socialization. The dialectics of democracy is a process to provide a public space for the people to criticize and to have a dialogue about the extent of government elites' seriousness in managing the public's trust in them. The seriousness of the government in realizing justice through good governance and good government is a prerequisite for the practice of democracy. Even though there is no 'holistic' democracy that can satisfy everyone, democracy as a process can at least provide the best access for the people to control the institutions that govern the nation, to ensure that they do not carry out any practices that damage the people's life. The high rate of illiteracy, poverty, ignorance, and unemployment, coupled with the high cost of education and various social problems are an antithesis or social irony in the country's practice of democracy. At the same time, the nation's political elites and businessmen are 'role-playing' in the name of power and authority.

The pillars of democracy nowadays seem to keep weakening, not because of external forces but because of the internal parasites in the form of political elites. The symbiotic relationship between the political machine and the media machine, which was expected to strengthen the construct of democracy, is becoming a virus that damages the noble values of democracy itself. Hopefully, no one will blame the people for the declines in the country anymore. Everyone should realize that it was the rotten politicians that should be blamed, not the common people who have very limited political awareness.

Democratic freedom of millennials has become a new lifestyle, and it potentially can destroy the nation's character as a *Pancasila*-based nation, so that multi-dimensional crises keep emerging every day. Multi-dimensional crises are emerging in the form of moral degradation, diminishing nationalism and patriotism among various social elements, particularly among the youth and university students. The diminishing nationalism and patriotism values will lead to the loss of national character, which in turn will threaten the

existence of the Republic of Indonesia. Character education, especially about nationalism and patriotism, is the primary capital to build the nation. Without character education, the nation will break down on its own. Therefore, every party is expected to look at themselves to prevent the youth and students from losing their cultural values, nationalism, and patriotism.

Among the ways to maintain nationalism and patriotism are by maintaining and conserving the good values inherited from the forefathers and by producing the best works for the country. It is reasonable that nowadays various movements are emerging, aiming to consistently bring the nation back to its *Pancasila* basis, as a reaction towards various worrying social phenomena in the nation. Those phenomena are further promoted by the development of globalization movement that has brought Indonesia to a state of ideological anomaly, which has caused the nation to get farther from its ideological culture and noble characters that put high value on religious values, modesty, and politeness.

This nation is attempting to reach another ideology, which is a mirage. It looks beautiful from afar but is far from appropriate for the people. It will even bring the nation to a point of moral degradation that will destroy it. The great fallacy in people's mind is that modernization is identical to westernization. Westernization is a process of becoming like the 'Western' countries without exception. The advancement of those Western countries seems to be so perfect and it was caused by their liberalism-capitalism ideology. With the fallacy, people believe that to be modern and advanced, they have to follow the ideology. That is why every cultural, political, and social element from 'the West' is so tempting to Indonesian people, to the point that it becomes the source of truth. In fact, most Indonesian people nowadays have embraced the hedonistic lifestyle, which derives from the liberalism-capitalism ideology. Indonesian people mainly practice the materialistic aspect of hedonism, i.e. they love materialistic things excessively. This practice is what damaging the nation's ideology.

Live reports in the media about power abuse practices in the government have become more common, more open, and more transparent. This reality not only confuses the public and consumes a lot of their energy but also shows them how globalization of democracy has brought about a great impact. The weak justice system in the governmental practice is now shown as it is. Public deception that government elites are practicing has been a hot topic in media publication and public discussion. Structural crime in the government is so bad that the people are doubting whether the nation is truly built under the principle that justice is just for everyone.

Considering those background, the present study aims to discover university students' attitude towards democracy, millennial students' comprehension on political communication dynamics in Bandung City, and their communication experiences in terms of the meaning of democracy.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

The present study employed qualitative method, using phenomenology study approach. This approach was selected deliberately with consideration that university students had unique role as academics who were agents of social changes and future generation of the nation. Data was collected through (1) in-depth interview to gain primary data from the subjects concerning democracy among millennial university students, (2) observation to collect data in the field about the number of students, student organizations, and cases emerging in the universities; and (3) study of literature pertaining to the findings relevant to the study.

Data was analyzed in the following procedure. The researcher began with describing the experiences of the research subjects/informants (students, lecturers, university staff) concerning millennial democracy in Bandung City. The researcher then found statements in the interviews about informants' experiences concerning the phenomenon, selected significant

and similar statements, and put the statements in a clear and not redundant list. The next step was categorizing the statements into narratives of experiences and events. The researcher then reflected upon the descriptions using imaginative variation or structural description to discover all possible meaning, perspectives, and types of references about the phenomenon, and constructed a description about informants' experiences. The researcher further constructed a holistic description about the meaning and essence of informants' experiences. Based on the research background about democracy experiences and meaning among millennial students, the research was conducted in several public and private universities in Bandung City.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Students' Attitude about Democracy

This study found that students know that democracy is a governmental system that puts emphasis on the people. An informant stated that: "Democracy, as far as I know, is a system in which the nation is governed from the people, for the people, and by the people" (Tegar, Interview, 2020). Another informant said that: "Democracy is a cause fought by the students to obtain justice or equality for the people…" (Raja, Interview, 2020). The latter statement indicated that students defined democracy as an attempt to fight for people's right, particularly their right of equality. In addition to people's right and equality, democracy was also defined as a form of justice that every citizen should obtain.

Informants considered that democracy had been implemented in Indonesia's governmental system, and it had developed over time. However, the practice of democracy had not been fully implemented. It was evident from various policies that were advantageous only for certain parties while ignoring people's right to equality. As an informant argued: "… however, in its practice, many interests were beneficial for an oligarchy, such as law bills that only concerned with the prosperity of investors rather than the people" (Tegar, Interview, 2020). In line with that, another informant stated that the people's aspiration was not well communicated so that the resulting policies only benefited certain parties. The informant said "The practice of democracy in Indonesia is not well implemented. It is evident in that many aspiration [of the people] are not properly listened to and catered" (Nabila, Interview, 2020). In addition, the practice of general election, as a symbol of democracy, was also not well implemented. An informant claimed that there were many cases of fraud and cheat in general election process. These findings indicated that students deemed the practice of democracy was not congruent with its meaning, which was based on justice, equality, and sovereignty of the people.

Even though the practice of democracy was not optimal, the informants argued that there were some positive impacts of democracy in Indonesia's political landscape. An informant stated "… in terms of people's interests, [the practice] exists in several aspects, such as in how villages are [governed], village policies are promoted from bottom up" (Tegar, Interview, 2020). This statement implied that in the bottom-up policy-making process in villages, people's aspiration played a role in political decision making.

Another positive impact of democracy according to the informants had to do with freedom of speech. As an informant observed, "The positive impact is that we have the control over the government. So, we are able to supervise how the government is operated through our votes, either using the board of representatives or social media and mass media" (Zulkifri, Interview, 2020). This statement indicated that freedom of speech and the development of digital media had encouraged every individual to express their opinion and even to criticize the government. However, freedom of speech should be practiced with consideration. The informants, who were millennials, deemed that freedom of speech had the potential to damage

the individual if they were not careful in expressing their opinion and aspiration through social media.

Freedom of speech as a positive impact of democracy in Indonesia's political practice could serve as a control measure towards the operation of executive, legislative, and judiciary institutions of the nation. Concerning this, some informants viewed that in the practice, those governmental institutions often issued conflicting policies and seemed to demonstrate a certain lack of coordination across institutions. An informant stated "… the three institutions [show] lack of coordination, from the executive and the legislative. Sometimes the policies [issued] by executive institution are challenged and opposed by the legislative institution, and vice versa. Those institutions need to work on their coordination" (Tegar, Interview, 2020). In line with that, another informant argued that some policies the institutions issued had to be revised. She said "[Their] function is to ensure people's prosperity. However, many aspects need to be fixed and revised so that the governmental goals can be accepted by the public effectively" (Novia, Interview, 2020).

In terms of various policies issued and implemented by government institutions, informants argued that democracy had not worked as intended or expected by the people. An informant outlined "The current government under Jokowi has been [in power] for two periods. I think many political promises that Jokowi made have not been realized, particularly his jargon of mental revolution during the first period. In practice, his government focused mainly on the development aspect" (Tegar, Interview, 2020). This statement indicated that informants viewed that many government's promises had not been realized. It also implied that the government issued controversial policies which demonstrated that the communication between ministers were unable to facilitate people's aspiration regarding those policies.

In line with that, another informant stated "…to return to the point of the policies issued by the executive and legislative [institutions] nowadays, I do not particularly support them. Corruption is still all over the government. Policy making is unreasonable and inappropriate. I just lost respect to them" (Wahyu, Interview, 2020). This statement implied that in practice, democracy implementation was still afflicted by corruption, collusion, and nepotism, which was far from what the people expected.

Informants' dissatisfaction towards democracy practices was also evident in various statements made by informants who were disappointed with the performance of the Board of Representatives and the Regional Board of Representatives. An informant argued that the members of those boards had often made policies that did not suit what the people needed. In other words, they legislated controversial laws while at the same time postponed the discussion on laws that the public deemed important and necessary. The informant stated "… the people feel that they are not represented by them [members of Boards of Representatives] and up to now, the Board of Representatives keeps discussing such controversial laws and postponing the discussion on laws that I think are urgent [for the people]" (Tegar, Interview, 2020).

Similar statement was also made by another informant: "Some [members of Board of Representatives] may have represented people's aspiration, but some others have not. [The latter] have not demonstrated any useful performance" (Nabila, Interview, 2020). In terms of Board of Representatives' function as a board that facilitated public aspiration, informants believed that the members of that board had no implemented that function. In short, they had not implemented democracy in its entirety. The informant argued "… many members of Board of Representatives are prioritizing the interest of their political party instead of prioritizing the people's interests" (Tegar, Interview, 2020). Similarly, another informant claimed "I think the members of legislative institution have not represented Indonesian people."

Millennial University Students' Comprehension of Political Communication Dynamics in Bandung City

Concerning their understanding of political communication dynamics, the informants received information from online news portals and social media. Some informants followed political news pertaining to certain issues, such as education or a legal case of a political figure. Some informants were able to select online news portals, such as *Narasi Hukum, Kumparan,* and *Tirto.id*, as sources of political information. This was confirmed by an informant: "I usually follow news accounts. For instance, [I follow] *Narasi Hukum, Kumparan*, and *Tirto.id*" (Yunadita, Interview, 2020). Another informant was also able to analyze satirical political information obtained from online media. The informant outlined:

"I read not only straight news but also satirical ones. I become more aware of national political issues from those satirical and sarcastic articles. For instance, articles I got from *Mojok.co*, [about] national political issues, democracy [issues] that I think is current hot topics and that I find easy to follow and understand are satirical or sarcastic news articles" (Zulfikri, Interview, 2020).

From this statement, it was concluded that when a news item was delivered in satirical and sarcastic tone, it might interest the informants to look for political information. It was because some informants were reluctant to access political information because the delivery was considered worrying. Informants accessed political news through social media and seldom received political news from mass media such as television and radio. It was because the millennials were characterized by their close proximity with the digital world. Informants accessed political news through social media and online news portal more than through traditional media. In terms of selecting media as a source of political information, informants were able to do analysis about the media's credibility. As an informant described,

"…for majority of Indonesian people, TV is still the main source to access political news because I believe there is at least one TV in every house that everyone can access together. Meanwhile news [obtained] through gadgets is rather limited, in terms of access, to certain groups [of people], such as the youths" (Tegar, Interview, 2020).

From this statement, it could be inferred that mass media such as television was more accessible by the people, while political news sources from social media were limited to certain group of people, such as the millennials. Another informant stated that information obtained from social media was sufficient to satisfy their political information needs, because social media offered different perspective in delivering political news which allowed for better understanding compared to that of mass media such as television and radio. The informant argued,

"[Information] in the internet is more up-to-date and suits [my] needs more. [It is because] if I only know certain political information from the news in TV or radio, my understanding of that information may not be as good as when I read [about it] in news portal. So, the way I get different perspective is not [from] news written in serious manner but [from] news written in sarcastic or joking manner [like] from *mojok*.co"" (Zulfikri, Interview, 2020).

Another informant provided an analysis of television and radio use in accessing political information. The informant stated that television as a media provided more political information than radio. In general, informants used radio to access music, rather than to find political information. As the informant described, "Concerning radio, probably because I am a millennial, I listen to radio for music references, so that it contains little news value compared to news in television" (Raja, Interview, 2020).

From various types of media utilized for accessing political information, informants stated that they selected reliable mass media as a source of political information by, among others, the way the media delivered the political information to the public. As an informant outlined,

"[Concerning] mass media, for television [I got information from] programs such as Mata Najwa or Indonesia Lawyer Club. [Pertaining to] whether or not [viewers] believe [the information], [the programs] lean more towards debating an issue. They let the viewers to decide, but [the programs ensure that] the speakers in those programs are people with credibility" (Tegar, Interview, 2020).

Based on this statement, it could be surmised that television programs such as *Mata Najwa* or Indonesia Lawyer Club invited speakers or sources who were experts in their own fields to discuss certain political issues so that the public could obtain information from credible sources. In addition, another factor that influenced informants in selecting the source of information was the reputation of the media itself. Some informants stated that it was important that the mass media was considered neutral and independent in delivering information to the public. As an informant suggested, "[There are] other alternatives such as Kompas TV, NET TV, and SCTV, whose news are delivered in a relatively more neutral disposition, in my opinion" (Zulfikri, Interview, 2020). However, there were informants who considered mass media such as television was untrustworthy in terms of informing the public about political elites' performance that did not facilitate people's aspiration; "[I] don't believe them [TV news] and am reluctant to understand the issue because in reality I am not satisfied with the political elites' performances" (Wahyu, Interview, 2020).

It has been discussed that informants preferred online media as their main source of political information. Informants chose several social media an online news page to access political information, including *Vise.com*, *Tirto.id*, and *Kumparan*. Informants selected these social media as information sources with consideration to the writer on the social media news pages. In other words, news that included the name of the writer on the page had more reliability and accountability. As stated by an informant, "*Vise.com, Tirto.id*, or *Kumparan*. I tend to trust social media more. Firstly because they are very updated, and secondly because in those social media there are the names of the writers [of the news]" (Tegar, Interview, 2020). This statement indicated that information provided in social media was more updated compared to that in mass media. IN addition, informants also stated that political information was delivered in a more in-depth way in online news pages. An informant outlined, "Media such as *Tirto.id* provided more in-depth news" (Yunadita, Interview, 2020).

However, several informants also noted that it was important to be careful when looking for information in online news page or social media due to the existence of 'buzzers', i.e. people who were utilized by certain political interest to direct, lead, and skew public's view concerning an issue. Thus, people should be wise in selecting media for political information source, particularly digital media. Informants claimed that political 'buzzers' were utilized to lead public's opinion towards certain direction that benefited certain political elites. This phenomenon was particularly worrying because even the government followed suit in using buzzers to respond to an issue in social space. This practice clearly had adversary effect to democracy.

In addition to 'buzzer' phenomenon, communication behavior of netizen (internet users) concerning political information was also investigated in this study. Indonesian netizen, according to informants, played a role as a voice to criticize the government. However, there were many netizens who were unable to fully digest a political information. In other words, many netizens still lacked the critical thinking skill to wisely respond to an information. These internet users still easily fell to believe in false news or hoax, or being provoked by political buzzers. This sometimes caused them to use inappropriate words or expressions in social media, which could be accessed by millions of people, when expressing themselves. Informants also believed that some netizens seemed to seek for attention from the public by giving comments using controversial expressions or provocative wordings. Such practice should be avoided because Indonesia now has an ITE Law that regulates freedom of speech in social

media. Considering the political landscape of today, many netizens had expressed their disappointment, or even become apathetical, in response to political elites' behaviors.

Pertaining to political elites' behaviors, informants argued that those behaviors would depend on, and greatly influenced by, the ideology that a political party believed in. In other words, behaviors of political actor would depend on the ideology of the actors' political party. This affected informants' trust towards the political elites. Since every party had its own agenda and interests, it was difficult to trust any political policy that a party implemented. An informant stated.

"…about trusting or not, I don't really trust political parties, because most of political parties are the same. Almost all of them only consider the interests of their party and [act] with the shared ideology of the party" (Tegar, Interview, 2020).

Another informant also stated that the political system in Indonesia, that was comprised of various political parties, tended to be confusing. It was hard to understand the objectives of an action or policy that political elites implemented because those actors were part of a political party.

Experience in Communication and Meaning of Democracy

General election was often dubbed 'a celebration of democracy' because it allowed the people to express their aspiration by participating in the general election. In terms of experience in communication and meaning of democracy, most informants had participated in a general election, ranging from one time to three times. Based on their experiences, informants argued that the general election had not been implemented well. An informant stated,

"…in terms of general election implementation, there are many things to be evaluated. I once participated in a seminar held by General Election Supervisory Agency in which the same thing was expressed. In Indonesia, the fund for general election increased significantly since 2014 because the general elections [in national and regional levels] were carried out at the same time. However, in its implementation, many [aspects] were not effective" (Tegar, Interview, 2020).

With that statement, the informant implied that the implementation of general election was not effective and was not worth the cost the nation spent for it. In a similar tone, another informant stated "I only used my right to vote without being absolutely sure with whom I chose [in general election]" (Wahyu, Interview, 2020).
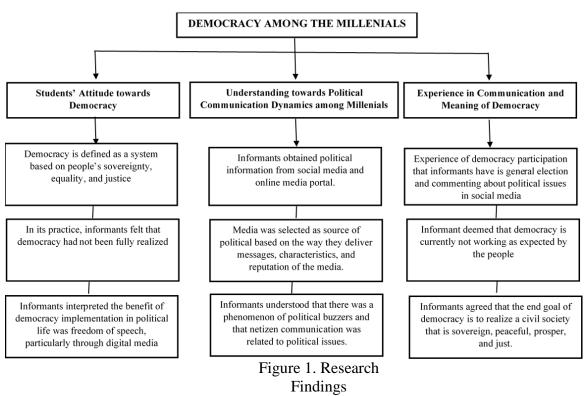
In addition to participating in general election, some informants also have other experience in practicing democracy in the form of commenting on political issues through social media. It is stated by an informant:

"I have been interested in politics since 2017, and I have been taking my part in commenting about it. In fact, I was once provoked and joined in the [social media] war during regional general election of DKI, in which I believed in a rumor that one of the candidates discrediting a particular religion" (Tegar, Interview, 2020).

Another informant did not participate directly in commenting about political issues. However, she demonstrated participation in democracy by analyzing political communication of the elites. She described "[I] observed the situation during Covid-19 pandemic, I examined it from how the government conducted communication [about the issue], as well as looked at the positions of several political elites who gave statements considering the pandemic" (Yunadita, Interview, 2020). Based on these statements, it could be concluded that millennials were interested in political issues even though not all informants directly practiced democracy by expressing their opinions.

Based on their experience with democracy, informants considered that the end goal of democracy was to realize a civil society that was sovereign, peaceful, prosper, and just. Regarding this, an informant stated "…when democracy can be considered successful, well [when] civil rights are satisfied and [when] the representatives of the people truthfully do their

duties in representing the people" (Tegar, Interview, 2020). Similarly, another informant said "Basically, democracy's goal is to realize peace, but in practice, democracy sometimes divides [people]. In fact, many of my friends have conflicts with their families because of democracy" (Raja, Interview, 2020).

Figure 1. Research
Findings
Source: Researcher's Documents

Democracy can be defined as an attempt of the people to participate in government activities in a way that is free and responsible, in which there is a rule that does not give any opportunity for oppressing the marginalized people [1]. Based on that description, millennials as informants in this study had appropriate understanding of democracy. They defined democracy as a system that governed people's equality based on social justice and public sovereignty. This is in line with the findings of a study on political communication that stated that democracy in Indonesia kept developing towards democracy based on people's sovereignty, freedom of speech, and human rights [2].

The benefit of democracy implementation that informants felt was freedom of speech. Freedom of speech is not only a realization of every citizen's right, but also a controlling function towards the government. This is in line with the findings of previous study [3] that freedom of speech is a fundamental thing that should be developed in social life because a democracy that puts high value in respecting people's freedom of speech will promote a nation's development. Informants' behaviors that demonstrated democracy through freedom of speech were mainly shown via social media, which is in line with the findings of a study [4] that relates the impulsive nature of adolescents with their careless use of social media for expressing their opinions. Moreover, social media is an open space that can be accessed by anyone anytime, which enables and encourages the informants to practice democracy by expressing their opinions through social media.

Freedom of speech is practiced to express people's dissatisfaction with the performance of political elites. The findings of this study indicated that informants were dissatisfied with the condition of democracy nowadays. Many policies did not suit what people needed and did

not prioritize justice. This was inseparable from the characteristics of the youth, i.e. having noble character and avoiding immoral political practices [5]. In other words, the critical attitude that informants demonstrated in practicing democracy should be continuously developed because young people were considered to be able to act based on the values of truth while maintaining their self-commitment and keeping good political communication.

Based on the findings of this study, informants accessed information via social media and online news portals. This is congruent with the findings of Harris, Wyn & Younes [6] that the youth (adolescents) are a group that cares a lot about political issues. Considering that these millennials are inseparable from the digital world, it is not surprising that the findings showed that informants accessed political news through social media and online news portals. Similar thing was also found in a study about the use of social media and political culture among the millennials. The characteristic of social media, i.e. can be used practically, allowed it to become an effective medium for political campaign. In addition, social media provided many political knowledge and acted as an introduction for millennials to participate in democracy activities [7]. A positive value of digital media use in democracy practices was that it served as a means for democracy consolidation in a nation and to encourage the people to participate in policy making process [8].

Informants in this study not only accessed political news but also commented on political issues using social media. This is a realization of cyber democracy in which every individual possesses the same opportunity of political expression through social media [9]. Informants' experiences, which were inseparable from digital media, in implementing democracy were proof that internet played a significant role in democracy development in Indonesia. This is in line with the findings of a previous study that social media was more than a vehicle for freedom of speech. Social media could satisfy people's needs and rights for the truth. Without freedom of access towards information, it would be difficult to achieve transparency in government performance or policy making process [10].

4. CONCLUSION

Democracy is defined as a system of people's sovereignty, equality, and justice. However, in its practice, the millennial informants of this study were not fully satisfied with the implementation of democracy. It was evident in the fact that there were many cases of fraud and cheat in general election process and that people's aspiration had not been fully facilitated in policy making processes. In spite of the practice of democracy that was not fully implemented, there was a benefit of democracy in political landscape, i.e. the freedom of speech, especially through digital media. In selecting media as sources of political information, informants considered several criteria, including the way the media delivered the messages, characteristics, and reputation of the media. These criteria applied to both digital and mass media. Informants' experience of democracy participation was through general election and through commenting on political issues via social media. Informants agreed that the end goal of democracy was to realize a civil society that was sovereign, peaceful, prosper, and just.

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