

---

## The Influence of Political Actors on Millennial Votes: A Comparative Study of Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines

Angga Setiawan<sup>1</sup>, SiwachSripokangkul<sup>2</sup>, Muhammad Kamil<sup>3</sup>, KrishnoHadi<sup>4</sup> and  
IradhatTaqwaShidiqi<sup>5</sup>

Received

27/02/2563

Reviewed

19/04/2563

Revised

19/06/2563

Accepted

24/06/2563

### Abstract

Accompanying the rapid development of the times, we know the millennial generation has a very important role in the advancement of politics. Millennial generation political participation is seen as holding an excuse in changing the political agenda. This journal, discussing the role of the millennial generation in elections. Describe how politics in Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines, especially in the 2019 election. The method used in this study is a qualitative research method because it is considered by researchers to have characteristics that are following the existing problems. This paper departs from the existence of an extraordinary millennial role in the changing world of politics. The data collection techniques used in this study are first, literature study, which is collecting data sourced from books, literature, and statutory regulations that have relevance to the topic. This journal will discuss how political actors can influence the vote acquisition of millennials in the 2019 elections in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. The results found that political actors can influence the gain of Millenials vote, it's seen when political actors have many votes in the election. With their power and strategy, they can get Millenial's voice in the election.

**Keywords:** Elections, Millennial, Political Actors

### Introduction

---

<sup>1</sup> Department of Government Science, Faculty of Social Science and Politics, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Emial: anggaset83@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup> College of Local Administration, KhonKaen University, Emial: siwasri@kku.ac.th

<sup>3</sup> Department of Government Science, Faculty of Social Science and Politics, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Emial: kamil@umm.ac.id

<sup>4</sup> Department of Government Science, Faculty of Social Science and Politics, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Emial: krishno@umm.ac.id

<sup>5</sup> Department of Government Science, Faculty of Social Science and Politics, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Emial: iradhad89@gmail.com

Elections are a form of government concern to channel the importance of the voice of the community in political contestation throughout the world. The election is also the party the government has been waiting for the most and the people in the countries that hold it. Elections can have both good and bad impacts on actors playing in them, the government, and of course the community. Political actors who play in elections will not hesitate to risk their funds, time, energy, even ideology to their self-esteem to win the election (Suharni, 2009). The government will also be affected if the elected one is not a leader who has the credibility to lead an area, then the bureaucrats will be affected. Society will be the most highlighted part of the impact of the election, they will have good luck when the elected leader in the election is qualified, but will have the opposite fate when the elected leader is a leader who is just hungry for power. Elections in several democracies are used to choose who deserves to be President, Vice-President, Senate, Governor, and so on. Presidents in several republican countries must pass political contestation with other presidential candidates so that he gets the most votes and then becomes the president who has been directly elected by his people (Isra, 2009).

Different countries, of course, different systems of government adopted by these countries. Like Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines have their conciseness government systems. Indonesia has a Presidential Republican government system, where the President is both the head of state and head of government. The president in Indonesia must also win an election held by the KPU (General Election Commission) by being promoted by a political party that has formed a coalition with other political parties by obtaining the most votes in the presidential election. Thailand is a Constitutional Monarchy, where they are led by the King as the head of their country but the head of government is led by a Prime Minister. To become a Prime Minister in Thailand, the candidate must go through the election process organized by the ECT (Election Commission of Thailand). Likewise, the Philippines has the same system of government as Indonesia, namely the system of the Presidential Republic where the President serves as head of state and head of government. Presidential candidates who will nominate themselves in elections held by the COMELEC (Commission on Election) must obtain the most votes so that he wins and holds power as President. These three countries, both Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines have the same party system,

which is a multiparty system. Where if in the country grows more than two parties, it is called a multiparty system (Nirahua, 2009).

The elections held in each country certainly have different views to win the election. The methods applied alone are unique ways, of course, following the conditions of the state which holds the elections. Some countries use the military as their weapon to win the electoral process, other countries use public opinion to get the most votes, and some countries still use identity politics as a way to control the country. Stepping on an era that has changed, of course, the focus to win the election process has also changed. Turning to the era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 which is now reaching developing countries, millennial voices have begun to be contested by actors who want power. The struggle for the votes of millennials is now the attention of the contestants who are fighting for seats in the election. Many shunted if by winning the struggle for millennial votes they would win the election.

### **Research Objectives**

This paper wants to describe how the influence of millennial votes in elections in Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines, and how the influence of political actors in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines in obtaining millennial votes.

### **Research Methodology**

This paper uses descriptive explanatory research methods, namely where there are two combinations of descriptive methods and explanatory methods. The descriptive method in this paper is used to answer the question "what" and the explanatory method in this paper is used to explain the question "why" and "how". The technique of analyzing data qualitatively interpretatively, namely lifting ideographically various social phenomena and realities, the resulting theory has a strong foothold in reality, contextual and historical conciseness (Somantri, 2005: 64). Data sources in this paper were obtained by utilizing literature studies such as books, journal articles, magazines, news, online media, and other sources of information. This research using the bossism concept by John T. Sidel and writer starts the study from January 2020 until March 2020.

## Literature Review

The political dominance that occurred in the three Southeast Asian countries has become an international political concern because all three occur in countries that carry out elections in electing their government leaders. John T. Sidel noted the social events that have hit these three countries regarding politics in three countries, namely Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines. Authoritarian regimes in the three countries are explained through the theory of "bossism" which according to John T. Sidel was born from the structure of the country itself which created strong people to grow in it. The existence of strong people in each country does not rule out the possibility of giving birth to other strong people in the region. The structure of regional oligarchies in developing countries is getting stronger with the support of policies by the country itself such as the decentralization policy in Indonesia which establishes regional autonomy for each province even to the village level. Policies to give full rights to manage the area to regional leaders can provide opportunities for local leaders to become strong people in a country by abusing the full rights granted. Politics is still spinning on issues that are not yet substantial (power plays, conflicts between elites) also very much lies in the weak institutionalization of politics. The weakness of political institutions is of course also due to the chaotic system and weak political culture. Usually, our politics are still centered on the element of people (personalized politics) rather than institutions (institutionalized politics). The more prominent factor of people (even personalities) does not seem to have moved since the previous elections.

In discussing the political influence of political actors on the acquisition of millennial votes, it is certainly necessary to know about political behavior. Political behavior is an activity related to the process of making and implementing the process of making and implementing political decisions. Political behavior is also interpreted as a form of interaction between the community and the government, the interaction between governments, the interaction between groups with the community, as well as interactions between individuals and individuals in the process of making, implementing, and enforcing political decisions (Daud, 2015). This shows that political behavior can also determine how the political process takes place not only when the government will make policies, but also at the time of the political party that is the election. Political

behavior can determine how the electoral process runs because of behaviors related to other behaviors such as religion, culture, economy, and others. Political behavior in elections can be assessed using analysis of political actors, political actors have individual behavior that is very influential in the political process because political actors are usually individuals as government leaders and political leaders. The characteristics of political actors will greatly influence the acquisition of millennial votes because if millennial voters feel they are represented by these actors, then it is very likely that millennial votes will flow to the actor.

The acquisition of millennial votes which then became an opportunity to expand the net for the actors in each country became the main focus of this paper. The millennial generation, known as the generation born between 1980-2000, later became the main weapon in political contestation because they needed their voice. The millennial generation grows accompanied by the growth of smart gadgets such as computers, laptops, cellphones, and several other technologies. So that this generation cannot be separated and tends to have a high tendency towards technology and internet usage. The internet today is no longer a rare commodity but rather a primary necessity for the millennial generation

### **Effects of Millennial Votes in 2019 Election Contestation**

Voters in the millennial generation have their types and characteristics, the political attitude of the millennial generation is considered clear and firm. They dare to voice their voices, even though they have to contradict the older people around them and their parents. Millennial voters do not like leaders who are corrupt or who lie in the public sphere. Millennials prefer leaders who are assertive, friendly, and preoccupied with young people. Millennials have an inclusive spirit that is higher than the previous generation, namely the spirit to embrace all kinds of backgrounds, races, ethnicities, religions. Inclusive politics is a strategic way to participate in politics, democracy, and elections. This generation can be decisive for the course of the future Indonesian government because of course, they can first select the leaders who will be elected. These young men can access the internet to find out who the candidates will be chosen.

They can see the lunge of the candidates who will be chosen later by searching on the internet because of course, they are smart to access the internet and surf in it.

Indonesia		Thailand	Phillipines	
Have from all voters	41,48% Millenials	Have 33,29% Millenials from a total population	Have from a total population	41,57% Millenials

In Indonesia, the millennial generation is considered to have a very important role in terms of politics. In terms of politics, the millennial generation is valued that their votes must be taken into account and will be needed in the future. In the process of political education to achieve a good democracy, the millennial generation gets a more mature democratic learning process compared to the older generation. In the 2019 elections in Indonesia, it was found that the number of millennial voters born from 1980 to 2000 was 41.48% of the total voters. A large number of millennials in the voter list is in the spotlight for political observers as well as for potential rulers who fight on the electoral stage. Supported by data from the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) in 2017, it is stated that people between the ages of 17 and 35 are 49.52% of internet users in Indonesia (Firdaus, 2020). This means that millennial generation voters will be very meaningful for the 2019 election vote. However, on the other hand, the millennial generation has a record that will not be forgotten by political developments in Indonesia. Millennials tend to be vulnerable not to follow too much political development due to the stigma still attached to young people, namely that politics is a very boring activity, the affairs of parents, to too many expressions of hatred in it.

Just like Indonesia, Thailand has a very significant millennial population, according to the latest data obtained from the world meter amounting to 33.29% of the total population of Thailand. Such a large millennial population can certainly be very influential in the political process in Thailand which held elections in 2019 for the first time after a military coup in 2014 and the last election in 2011. Millennial voters are certainly very important for the running of the electoral process in Thailand because of course they are an educated generation and can certainly choose with certain criteria

not only because they represent millennials. But millennial has its role in Thailand's 2019 elections because they can change the future in their hands. Through the Future Forward Party, they channel their voices before being stopped by progressive military parties. Arguing to be the toughest competitor of the military party, the new party is considered to be an obstacle to the running of the military party. After earlier in the 2001 election the Thai Rak Thai party was frozen after the coup against Thaksin, then in 2011 was reincarnated with the name Pheu Thai Party which carried Yingluck who was none other than a younger brother of Thaksin who was also a major competitor of the military party (Sripokangkul, 2019). However, all that changed when now both have exile status abroad, they are threatened with prison if they return to Thailand. The Future Forward Party succeeded in claiming around 7 million voters from millennials who were expected to change the course of the Thai government going forward after winning elections in 2019. The Philippines, with a percentage of the millennial population of 41.57% of the total population, can certainly also be used by political actors in the process of winning the election. In May 2019, the Philippines held in-between national and regional elections to elect new MPs for their country. The dynastic politics continued from year to year after being left behind by memories of dictator Ferdinand Marcos. The political dynasty continued even when the current President of the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte, had a very important role in electoral politics in the Philippines. In elections that will produce new MPs as the President's control, of course, Duterte has a very vital role in providing support in the 2019 midterm elections. The main result that will be faced by all Filipinos is when opposition groups do not have the power to oppose political representation from Duterte's camp. That will result in all power in the country belonging to the Duterte coalition. Millennials have the support of the opposition to take part in the elections to elect new MPs, the aim of which is to suppress the victory of Duterte's stronghold in parliament. Millennials in the Philippines are interested in issues of corruption which have now become a disease in the Philippine government structure. Millennials that have been too often disappointed by corruption issues have withdrawn from participating in the political process in the Philippines, but that has not stopped organizations from supporting young voters from participating in the 2019 elections.

## Effects of Actors on Millennial Voice Acquisition

It cannot be denied if the political orientation that still relies on people (personalized politics) will be able to have a big impact on the vote acquisition of someone in the election. As was the case in Indonesia when the 2019 election campaign period took place with aspiring leaders with the zeal to hook millennial voters to vote for him. As happened in the elections in Indonesia in 2019, the election results that won the pair Jokowi dodo and Ma'ruf Amin as President and Vice President of Indonesia had many unique things to analyze. One of them is the number of millennial voters for the two presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Millennial vote acquisition accounts for around 40% of the total votes. The large percentage of votes contributed by millennials shows how important and valuable the votes of millennials are in the electoral arena, especially in presidential elections. The BBC said that both Jokowi dodo and Ma'ruf Amin and PrabowoSubianto and Sandiaga Uno both had high millennial votes. According to Kompas Research and Development, voting data from election results based on exit polls shows that the superior in the acquisition of millennial votes is the pair PrabowoSubianto and Sandiaga Uno. However, both have a small amount of difference in the acquisition of millennial votes from the age range of 17 years to 40 years. Data obtained by Kompas Research and Development indicate the acquisition of millennial votes for the two presidential candidates based on the age range of voters, namely 17 to 22 years, 22 to 30 years, and the last 30 to 40 years. In the statistics mentioned based on the exit poll, the Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno pair won the millennial vote by getting 13.5% of the Z generation or novice voters (17 to 22 years), 21.3% of the young millennial votes (22 up to 30 years), and finally 23.7% of votes from adult millennials (30 to 40 years). While the Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin pair received 12.2% of the Z generation or novice voters (17 to 22 years old), 20.4% of the votes were from young millennials (22 to 30 years), 23.7% of the votes from millennials (30 to 40 years old) (Statistic Data Committee on Election of Philippine. 2018).

Countries	Indonesia	Thailand	Phillipines
Political Actors	Prabowo-Sandiaga	Thanatorn	Duterte
Election Results	58.5% winning of millenials voters	6.265.950 voters	2.651.987 voters

This shows that the actors in each election have different influences depending on how they position themselves to attract millennials. The Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno pair won the acquisition of millennial votes because of several factors in it. The campaign factor that really determines how the election process itself is used by the coalition of PrabowoSubianto-Sandiaga Uno to get as many millennials as possible with a lot of moves in campus organizations, especially in PKS and PAN parties which are the coalition party that carries PrabowoSubianto- Sandiaga Uno in the 2019 Indonesian elections. In addition, many mentioned that the one who could draw the votes of the millennial generation itself was from the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs themselves. However, the Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno pair was represented by Sandiaga Uno who was a millennial figure. Sandiaga Uno is considered to represent millennials and is well known, especially among young entrepreneurs, where previously Sandiaga Uno was the chair of HIPMI (Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs Association). This is clearly beneficial for the Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno couple because it can boost their votes. But despite winning the millennial vote they still could not beat the overall vote of the election results won by the pair JokoWidodo-Ma'ruf Amin. Not only carried out by the couple PrabowoSubianto-Sandiaga Un, but the campaign against the millennial generation was also carried out by the pair JokoWidodo-Ma'ruf Amin who was engaged in the creative economy sector. The approach taken by the coalition couple is more moving to sectors that are loved by millennials, namely the start-up business, and the e-sports industry. However, even though it cannot really raise millennial votes, they can win the election. Likewise, in Thailand, it is different from Indonesia which is actually a democracy so that both incumbents and opposition can voice their voices without anyone hindering them. Actors are certainly very influential when in the electoral process because only the actors can represent millennial votes. Thailand has actors and parties that can represent millennial votes in the 2019 elections, the Future Forward Party led by Thanatorn who

is still 40 years old. Thanatorn is considered a new phase after the departure of the opposition regime's political actors namely Thaksin and Yingluck. Thanatorn is considered a symbol of freshness after Thaksin and Yingluck are exiled abroad. Thanatorn aims to receive millennial generation aspirations as well as novice voters. Thanatorn, a businessman in the automotive manufacturing industry in Thailand, considers that the military junta is the cause of a business downturn. In addition, he also considers that the junta is causing the destruction of democracy in Thailand and pushing the country into the abyss of authoritarianism. Millennials who in general have a view to making changes to the regime in Thailand assume that Thanatorn can represent their votes in the 2019 elections. As many as 7 million millennial voters are in the shade of the Future Forward Party which is a new party in Thailand. The party which radically wanted to reform its economic and military agenda then failed to become the winner of the most votes after it gained 6,265,950 votes, unable to defeat the pro-military party which gained the most votes in the election of 8,433,137. It did not end in defeat, then Thanatorn and his party were disqualified by the Constitutional Court because they were considered to want to overthrow the monarchy and use the party's logo which was considered similar to the Illuminati symbol. But Thanatorn's struggle should be appreciated when the new party established in 2018 with an anti-military ideology gained a lot of votes in the 2019 elections by focusing on millennial aspirations as its target.

Duterte, who is broadly a figure that is being discussed by various parties in the Philippines because some of his policies related to drugs are very controversial. Initiating the fight against drugs through policies that now make him have about 79% support from the people of the Philippines according to the Social Weather Stations. This scared the political opposition because in 2019 when elections were held to elect new MPs. Because if the elected parliament is a coalition of Duterte, then he can rule through the Executive and Judiciary. Philippine 2019 election results show the results that the coalition is the Anti-Crime and Terrorism Community Involvement and Support, Inc. or commonly called ACT-CIS won the election with the results of 2,651,987 votes out of a total of 47,296,442 (Cemelec). The results showed that President Duterte had a strong influence on the vote in the 2019 elections in the Philippines. Although he did not participate directly in the election, he showed how strong he was in the political process.

The victory of the coalition extends the record of political dynasties in the Philippines which is certainly familiar with its patronage. This victory also strengthened the political dynasty record of the Durtente family whose daughter is currently serving as mayor in the Philippines which is predicted to continue his father's political office in the presidential election in 2022, while the son of Duterte is trying his political path to get a seat in the Senate.

### **Discussion**

In these three countries, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines both have millennial roles that can encourage political actors supported by millennials to win the elections held. As in the elections in Indonesia, the results were won by Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin, but other results showed that millennials supported Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno with the results shown as described in the results section where Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno having millennial supporters with the figure of a young Sandiaga Uno can attract millennial attention to support him. Thailand, which has a millennial population of 33.29%, is also very influential on the vote acquisition of Thanatorn, the leader of the Future Forward Party which in the 2019 elections succeeded in getting 6,265,950 votes, although it was unable to win the election by obtaining votes that were only at odds with the winning party, however Political actors who can hook millennials with newly formed parties are not easy. Need a figure like a Thanatorn who can make millennials interested in supporting him in the election. Another calculated figure is in the Philippines, namely Duterte who can make 79% of his people support him after several movements he made. The influence of an actor here is seen when even though Duterte did not participate in the 2019 senate election in the Philippines, the influence of Duterte was seen when the coalition he supported won the election. From these three situations, we can know that the figure of political actors is very influential in the course of a political process, one of which is in attracting the votes of millennials.

## Conclusion

Political behavior is very important in the process of political success. The tendency to participate in the political process in each country can be seen in the way people choose their future leaders. Political actors are very influential as individuals who determine where the election process will be taken. From Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines we learn that each political actor has his own way of embracing the voice of the people. Some of them are channeled through campaigns conducted before the election agenda arrives. the Behavior of voters who in general still consider personalized politics as the best way than their institutions shows that until now political actors have a great influence on their votes in elections. The millennial generation consisting of beginner voters to adult millennials certainly also have their own views of the actors they will support in the election. Elections in Indonesia show that actors are influential in the campaign process by entering into campus organizations, or by representing millennial figures in a prospective leader. From Thailand, we learn that a person who represents millennials' voice can have a very significant impact on the newly growing party. In the Philippines, an actor can have an enormous impact when millennials expect a reform related to corruption, but a very powerful actor in the structure of the Philippine state can still defeat it with the strength he has gained to strengthen his political dynasty.

## Suggestions

Based on the conclusions that have been presented by the author, the author wants to provide useful recommendations so that later this paper will be useful for readers. Various movements are carried out by political actors to get votes from voters, ranging from how to campaign to several other movements such as policy, leadership style, and several other things. The influence of political actors who can make millennials interested in supporting them in elections is something that should be emulated because they show that the way politics is important is to win votes and then win elections.

## Reference

Daud, M. (2015). "Prediktor Perilaku Pemilih pada Pemilukada: Perspektif Psikologi Politik". *Jurnal Psikologi TALENTA*, 1 (1), 87-96.

Firdaus, M. R., & Adiprasetio, J. (2020). "Milenial, Pemimpin Politik, dan Debat Capres Indonesia 2019". *Tuturlogi: Journal of Southeast Asian Communication*, 1 (1), 43-66.

Isra, S. (2009). "Pemilihan Presiden Langsung dan Problematik Koalisi Dalam Sistem Presidensial". *Jurnal Konstitusi*, 2 (1), 107.

Nirahua, S. E. M., & SH, M. (2009). "Sistem Multi Partai Dalam Pemilihan Umum Di Indonesia". *KONSTITUSI Jurnal*, 2 (1), 84.

Somantri, G. R.. (2005). "MEMAHAMI METODE KUALITATIF". *Makara Seri SosialHumaniora*, 9 (2), 57-65.

Sripokangkul, S., & Cogan, M. S. (2019). "Political Demonology, Dehumanization, and Contemporary Thai Politics". *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review*, 19 (2), 115-130.

Statistic Data Committee on Election of Phillipine. (2018). *Senatorial Summary Statement of Votes (By Rank)*.  
[Online][https://www.comelec.gov.ph/?r=2019NLE/ElectionResults\\_SenatorialSummaryStatementofVotes](https://www.comelec.gov.ph/?r=2019NLE/ElectionResults_SenatorialSummaryStatementofVotes). [7 February 2020].

Suharni, I. (2009). *Humas Dalam Kampanye Politik: Studi Partai Gerindra Menghadapi Pemilu 2009*. Skripsi. FISIP, Pemikiran Politik Islam, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta.

