

West Sumatran political participation in the 2019 Presidential Election

Noval Prasetyo^{a*}, Asrinaldi Asrinaldi^b, Aidinil Zetra^c

Universitas Andalas. Jl. Situjuh No.1, Jati Baru, Kec. Padang Timur, Kota Padang, 25129, Indonesia

^a novalprasetyo0@gmail.com; ^b aidinil@soc.unand.ac.id; ^c asrinaldi@soc.unand.ac.id

* Corresponding Author

Abstract: Levels of voter participation in West Sumatra for the 2019 Presidential Election increased, accompanied by increased scores in corruption perception and life satisfaction. This study aims to determine the relationship between corruption perceptions, life satisfaction, and political participation. The approach used is a quantitative survey method, with the number of respondents being 1000 voters in the 2019 Presidential Election. This research has found that the levels of political participation in West Sumatra are considered quite good. However, this finding is also a warning to the government and its apparatus because only six points above average. This warning also applies to candidates, political parties who propose candidates, as well as existing political systems and institutions which aid in implementing the people's will (democracy).

Keywords: Perception of Corruption, Life Satisfaction, Political Participation, SEM

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Introduction

The recent phenomenon of decreasing levels of public political participation in Indonesia's General Election (Pemilu) is cause for concern (Surianto, 2018). As a democracy, the people's political participation in elections is a form of evaluation and control over the leaders or the administration of government (Liando, 2016). According to Almond, Verba, and Sidney, political participation is at the heart of democracy (Olsson S. A., Corruption and Political Participation, 2014). Low or complete lack of public political participation betrays a problem with democratic practice (Febriantanto, 2019).

Elections that are held with full participation by the community provide legitimacy to the candidate or candidates who are elected. Political participation is an expression of the freedom of citizens when exercising their political rights, manifested in forms such as: protests, non voters (golongan putih/Golput), apolity and voting (Kuncoro, 2018). Until now, voter attendance in general elections, which generally tends to decline over time, has been the main indicator of people's political participation as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Voting Participation Rate in Election 2004 - 2014

No.	Year	Participation Rate		Non Voters (golput) Average
		Legislative Election	Type of Election Presidential Election	
1.	2004	84.1%	- first round 78.2% - second round 76.6%	18.85%
2.	2009	70.9%	71.7%	28.7%
3.	2014	75.11%	70%	25-30%

Source: Processed from Panji Surianto, 2020.

The average level of participation of the Indonesian people over three elections, based on Table 1, has decreased to 70%. This situation coincides with the emergence and strengthening of 'non voters' (golput). Any increase or decrease in the level of voter participation in elections can be influenced by various factors, such as: socio-economic factors (population size, population stability, economic development), political factors (proximity to the polling place, perceptions of

developing political issues, campaign implementation, divisions in politics), institutional factors (election system, mandatory voting, recent/latest elections, registration requirements, electoral structure), and individual factors (age, education, political interests, civic responsibility) (Solijonov, 2016).

Many researchers have examined why political participation in elections may rise and fall in various parts of the world. Some of these studies include: (Shapiro & Winters, 2008) about political participation and life satisfaction in several Latin American countries, (Inman & Andrews, 2009) corruption and political participation in several new democracies in Africa, (Flavin & Keane, 2012) life satisfaction and political participation in the United States, (Olsson S. A., Corruption and Political Participation, 2014) perceptions of corruption and political participation in 33 countries of the world, and (Zheng, Liu, Huang, & Tan, 2016) life satisfaction with perceptions of corruption and political participation in China.

Several previous studies carried out in Indonesia include: (Wahyudi, et al., 2013) about the role of trust and satisfaction in democracy on university student political participation in Riau Province, (Fitriah, 2014) *personal values* and *internal political efficacy* on political participation of novice student voters, and (Febriantanto, 2019) the dominant factors that affect the level of participation of people with disabilities in the Yogyakarta's Head Region Election (Pilkada) of 2017. However, this research was not able to clarify which factors affect increases and decreases in the level of voter participation, making it imperfect.

The General Election (Pemilu) held on April 17, 2019, was different from previous Indonesian elections. In terms of implementation, the 2019 General Election was designed to elect members of the Legislative Council (Pileg), as well as to elect both President and Vice President (Pilpres). In terms of budget, the 2019 Election was held at an increase of 61% to Rp.25.29 trillion, compared to the 2014 Election which spent Rp.15.62 trillion (CNN Indonesia, 2019). In terms of results, the level of public participation in the 2019 General Election increased by an average of 81% (Kompas.com, 2019), compared to the previous election in 2014 which was only 70% (Kompas.com, 2014).

Table 2. The Participation Rate of the People of West Sumatra in the 2019 General Election

No.	County/City	Total DPT	Participation Rate
1.	Pesisir Selatan Regency	331260	81.6%
2.	Solok Regency	281,902	74.5%
3.	Sijunjung Regency	156.595	81.4%
4.	Tanah Datar Regency	276,615	72.7%
5.	Padang Pariaman Regency	313,987	69.5%
6.	Agam Regency	365,029	71.5%
7.	Limapuluh Kota Regency	265,161	81.0%
8.	Pasaman Regency	199,836	81.5%
9.	Mentawai Islands Regency	63.103	80.5%
10.	Dharmasraya Regency	143.907	89.0%
11.	South Solok Regency	114.161	83.1%
12.	West Pasaman Regency	250,723	88.1%
13.	Padang city	592,162	80.0%
14.	Solok City	47,418	86.4%
15.	City of Sawahlunto	45,778	85.2%
16.	Padang Panjang City	38,781	82.5%
17.	Bukittinggi City	81,447	78.0%
18.	Payakumbuh City	88,849	84.4%
19.	Pariaman City	61.523	84.3%
	Total	3,718,237	79.0%

Source: Processed from West Sumatra KPU (2019)

Interestingly, voter participation in the 2019 Presidential Election improved strongly West Sumatra. The participation rate there rose to 79% (KPU Sumatera Barat, 2014), compared to 65.19% in 2014 (KPU Sumatera Barat, 2019). This is particularly notable because the Election Commission for the Republic of Indonesia (KPU RI) only targets a national participation rate of 77.5% (Kompas.com, 2018). Previously, the Indonesian Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu)

warned that West Sumatra Province was an area prone to low voter participation (Antara.com, 2019). Increased voter participation amongst the people of West Sumatra as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2 shows the average level of public participation and its distribution by district/city in West Sumatra in the 2019 Presidential Election. According to a report by Transparency International Indonesia before the 2019 Presidential Election, there had at this time been an increase in the corruption perception index score throughout Indonesia. The survey report stated that from 12 cities surveyed proportionally, the corruption perception index of West Sumatra (represented by Padang City) increased from 50.0 in 2015 to 63.1 in 2017 (Suyatmiko & Ratnaningtyas, 2017). This study proposes the question: Does the increase in the corruption perception index score in West Sumatra have a correlative relationship with the increase in public political participation in the 2019 Presidential Election?

In addition to the increase in the corruption perception index, based on the monthly report on the Socio-Economic data of West Sumatra Province, the life satisfaction index score of also increased. The life satisfaction index score of the people of West Sumatra increased from 66.79 in 2014 to 70.42 in 2017 (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Sumatera Barat, 2019). This study also proposes the following question: Does the increase in the life satisfaction index score also have a correlative relationship with increased voter participation from West Sumatran people's in the 2019 Presidential Election?

Corruption Perception, Life Satisfaction, and Political Participation

Based on the results of previous studies, it can be said that that perceptions of corruption and life satisfaction have an influence on the rise and fall of political participation. This study is academically important because it aims to analyse and describe the relationship between the variables of perception of corruption, life satisfaction, and political participation using the *Structural Equation Modelling* (SEM) method. This method is an analytical approach that combines *factor analysis*, *structural models* and *path analysis*. (Sugiyono, 2010)

Practically, the results of this study will contribute to a model of Indonesian political participation that is empirically proven through the data collection process. The resulting political participation model can be used by various stakeholders, especially election organisers, as the *leading sector* responsible for the rise and fall of political participation rates. It could also prove useful for candidates who run for office, political parties that carry candidates, and other political systems and institutions which supplement democracy.

Corruption Perception and Political Participation

Corruption is generally interpreted as an act of abuse of public power for personal gain (Hamdani, Kumalahadi, & Urumsah, 2017). Theoretically, it is also stated that corruption does not only have an impact on the economy and social life (Pulok & Ahmed, 2017). It also has a negative impact on political life as it reduces public interest in political participation, disrupting the quality of democracy and making it difficult to achieve social equality (Judge, McNatt, & Xu, 2011).

The results of the research conducted by (Inman & Andrews, 2009) states that the perception of corruption has a positive influence on political participation. Political participation in this study is seen as the act of voting and protesting, in order to punish and fight corrupt practices that occur in the Government and its apparatus.

A similar study was also conducted by (Olsson S. A., Corruption and Political Participation, 2014), stating that the perception of corruption has a negative influence on political participation. Political participation in this study is seen from voting in elections, voter attendance, and institutionalised participation. The results of this study revealed that corrupt behaviour that was raised by the government and its apparatus had a negative effect on political participation.

Distrust appears to be a negative influence on perceptions of corruption, from the public, to government and its apparatus, as well as all existing political institutions and systems. The community considers that the expected *output* of political participation will not be achieved because corruption weakens the internal political efficacy of the community, and the existing

political institutions and systems (as the chosen medium of government and its apparatus) are as corrupt as the government and its apparatus in exercising power.

Life Satisfaction and Political Participation

Life satisfaction is the main psychological construction that functions as an individual's subjective assessment of the conditions of life based on their personal standards (Huebner, Suldo, & Gilman, 2006). Theoretically, someone who is satisfied with their life tends to participate in community organisations and is generally more concerned with social and political issues than those who are less satisfied (Veenhoven, 1988).

In (Shapiro & Winters, 2008) research, the authors initially hypothesised that, by participating, individuals would find happiness as a reflection of the satisfaction in their lives. Instead, they found that individuals who already feel happy tend to participate more in politics. They also found that even if a general election was required by the government, it would not necessarily increase a person's life satisfaction.

(Flavin & Keane, 2012) firmly stated in their research that life satisfaction has a positive influence on political participation. According to their study, life satisfaction had thus far been ignored by most scholars in studies related to political participation. The results of their research argued that individuals who tend to be satisfied with their lives will participate in social affairs, including political affairs.

The people who have satisfaction in their lives will try to participate to live together and a positive response emerges formed in themselves. The achievement of various needs and personal interests, will trigger a positive attitude to be involved in striving for similar situations or conditions for others. This is what then guides the individual to take the initiative through the paths they can try, and the opportunities are there by participating in politics. The achievement of various personal needs and interests will trigger a positive attitude, resulting in seeking similar situations or conditions for others. This then leads the individual to take initiative through the channels they can pursue; the opportunity is there to participate in politics. Therefore, the hypotheses built in this paper are:

H1: Perception of corruption had a negative effect on public political participation in the 2019 Presidential Election in West Sumatra

H2: Life satisfaction had a positive effect on public political participation in the 2019 Presidential Election in West Sumatra.

Referring to the explanation above, the model to be offered can be seen as shown in Figure 1.

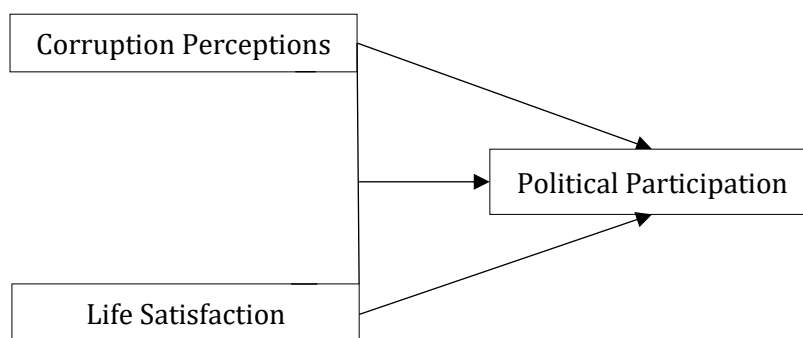


Figure 1. The proposed model of political participation

Methods

The approach used is quantitative with survey methods and explanatory research design. Survey research is research that takes a sample from one population and uses a questionnaire as the main data collection tool (Singarimbun, 1989). The number of respondents was 1000 people

who participated in the 2019 Presidential Election, selected using a *multistage random sampling technique*. The data was then analysed using SEM 22.0 software.

Result and Discussion

The Level of Community Political Participation in the 2019 Presidential Election in West Sumatra

Based on the results of measurements carried out according to Table 3, the average score of respondents' answers was 2,913 with a conversion index of 58.2 in the "good enough" category. This category shows that the level of political participation of the people of West Sumatra, analysed using the variables of corruption perception and life satisfaction, is notable because the results of the descriptive analysis show that the political participation of the people of West Sumatra is in the "good enough" *range* and only six points from the average threshold.

The measurement results contained in Table 3 also show that of the three variables to predict the level of political participation, the lowest value is precisely the political participation variable. The three instruments measuring the level of political participation used only got an average score of 1.913 with a conversion index of 38.26, which was categorised as "low". The results of the level of political participation of the people of West Sumatra in the 2019 Presidential Election is illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. The Level of Political Participation of the People of West Sumatra in the 2019 Presidential Election

No.	Instrument Variables and Statements	Average	Conversion	Information
1.	Corruption Perception Level			
	- In my opinion, on many occasions, government officials are involved in embezzling money	3.26	65.2	Doubtful
	- Government officials do not carry out work in accordance with predetermined mechanisms	3.23	64.6	Doubtful
	- Acts of corruption by government officials also involve business actors, the private sector, and so on	3.76	75.2	Agree
2.	Life Satisfaction Level			
	- The life I live is in accordance with the ideals	3.26	65.2	Doubtful
	- I have obtained very good living conditions	3.39	67.8	Doubtful
	- So far I've got the things that are important in the life that I've lived	3.55	71	Agree
3.	Political Participation Rate			
	- I participate in finding votes for candidates or political parties in elections	1.99	39.8	Don't agree
	- I participate in advocating the formation of a winning team	1.91	38.2	Don't agree
	- I take part as a leader in a political group/organisation	1.84	36.8	Don't agree
	Average	2.91	58.2	Pretty good

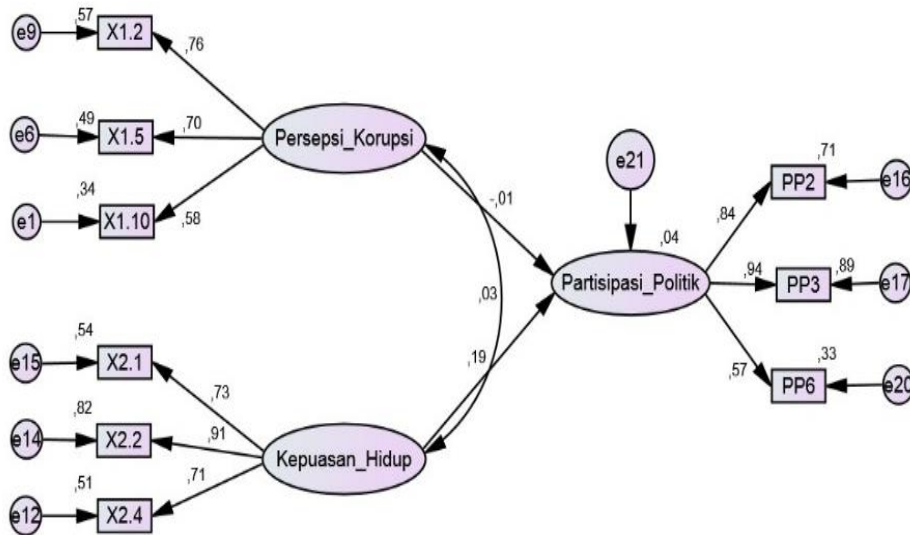
Source: Processed from research primary data, 2021

Table 3 also shows the results of descriptive measurements of the other two variables used. The measurement results show that the variable level of perception of corruption with the three instruments used shows an average respondent score of 3.41, with a conversion index of 68.33 which is in the "high" category. The variable level of life satisfaction with the three instruments used shows an average respondent score of 3.4, with a conversion index of 68.0, also in the "high" category.

The instrument of the research variable that received the lowest score was PP6, with the statement: "I am a leader in a political group/organisation". This instrument received an average score of only 1.84 respondents, with a conversion index of 36.8 (the "Disagree" category). Meanwhile, the instrument that got the highest average score of respondents' answers was X1.10 with the statement "Actions of corruption by government officials also involve business actors, the private sector, and so on." This statement received an average respondent's score of 3.76, with a conversion index of 75.2 (the "agree" category).

The low interest of the public to participate in politics by becoming a leader in political groups/organisations (according to the PP6 instrument) is due to the existence of a corrupt *image* attached to political party institutions (Oktaryal & Hastuti, 2021). People assume that political parties are the source of all acts of corruption, meaning that if they are involved in becoming a member or leader of a political party, it means that they are involved in the acts of corruption that occur. There is even an assumption that corruption cases that occur are carried out in an organised and systematic manner by political parties, through their cadres who occupy positions in the government.

The presidential election as an implementation of democracy has implications for the number of parties who try to involve themselves, in their capacity not as individual citizens who have the right to vote. Forms of business and business groups, as well as interest groups, are usually involved, meaning this condition has the potential to trigger corruption by the Government (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi, 2011). As candidates who in fact are promoted by political parties, candidates for President and Vice President who want to take part in the election must pay attention to the political parties that will be used to gain them the support of voters. *The output path diagram* (path diagram) of the model generated with SEM 22.0 software is as shown in **Figure 2**.



Source: Primary data of SEM processed research, 2021

Figure 2. Output Path Diagram Path of SEM Analysis Results

The model using the *goodness of fit index* (GOFI) or the criteria for the suitability of the proposed model formulation based on *the output path diagram* in Figure 2 and Table 4 is declared fit. This can be seen from the fact that the *loading factor values* required by SEM in Figure 2 above have been fulfilled. As a data analysis technique, SEM makes it possible to provide suggestions if the proposed model still does not meet the provisions of the *goodness of fit index through the modification indices* table. Large indicator values according to the *modification indices* table must be eliminated or correlated with other indicators, so that the model fits. The results of the model evaluation using the *goodness of fit index* (GOFI) are illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4. Model Evaluation with *Goodness of Fit Index* (GOFI)

GOF size	Test results	Expected value	Information
Chi-square	31,943	Expected small and 0	Fit
Probability	0.128	0.05	Fit
RMSEA	0.018	0.08	Fit
TLI	0.996	0.90	Fit

Source: Processed from research primary data, 2021

The Relationship between Corruption Perceptions and Political Participation of the People of West Sumatra in the 2019 Presidential Election

Based on the results of the research conducted, it can be seen that the level of perception of corruption has a negative, but not significant, effect on levels of political participation. This is based on the results of the SEM analysis of the three corruption perception level instruments, which have an estimated value of -0.020 path influence on the level of political participation. This estimation value is negative, which means that the perception of corruption has a negative effect on political participation. Meanwhile, the insignificant effect of the perception of corruption is seen from the P value (significance) of 0.701, which is greater than 0.05 (α 5%).

The findings of this study are in line with the opinion expressed (Olsson S. A., Corruption and Political Participation, 2014); that the perception of corruption has a direct negative influence on political participation. Allegations that corruption has been carried out by the government and its apparatus have weakened the efficacy and political trust of the people, as well as the emergence of the assumption that existing political institutions and systems are no longer responsive, transparent or inclusive of the people's will.

Public distrust of the incumbent presidential and vice-presidential candidates, namely Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin respectively, due to high perceptions of corruption, caused this pair to lose support in West Sumatra for the 2019 presidential election. This study has found that West Sumatran political participation in the 2019 Presidential Election mainly "voting" is more directed to the opponents of Joko Widodo - Ma'ruf Amin, namely the pair of presidential and vice presidential candidates Prabowo Subianto - Sandiaga S. Uno.

The Relationship of Life Satisfaction with the Political Participation of the People of West Sumatra in the 2019 Presidential Election

The level of life satisfaction has a positive and significant direct effect on levels of political participation. This is based on the results of the SEM analysis of the three life satisfaction level instruments, which have an estimated path effect value of 0.214. This estimation value is positive in the sense that life satisfaction has a positive effect on political participation. A significant effect is indicated by the P value (significance) and by the symbol ***, which means it is smaller than the 0.05 level of significance (α 5%).

These findings are in line with the opinion (Flavin & Keane, 2012) that life satisfaction has a positive and significant influence on levels of political participation. Citizens who tend to be happy because of the satisfaction obtained in living their lives will involve themselves in more social and organizational activities than those who are dissatisfied. Because the individual's assessment of living conditions is in accordance with their own personal standards, they will psychologically construct positive behavioural responses to various aspects of life.

Based on the results of measurements of the level of life satisfaction carried out, the average score of respondents' answers was 3.4 with a conversion index of 68.0 which was paired with the "high" category. The strongest life satisfaction instrument is X2.24 which has the statement: "So far I have got the important things in the life I live", with a score of 72.0. The statement of this instrument implies that the feeling of pleasure, joy or happiness felt by the people of West Sumatra has contributed positively in maintaining the decline in political participation due to the negative influence of perceptions of corruption.

Positive personal emotions that are characterised by feelings of pleasure, joy or happiness are indeed able to influence the political decision-making that a person makes (Healy, Malhotra, & Mo., 2009). According to Andrew J. Healy, et al, feelings of pleasure that arise not because of government activities, such as winning at local sports, can increase one's happiness. The tendency of voters to vote for the incumbent candidate in the days leading up to the upcoming election is affected by this feeling of happiness, and effectively benefits from increasing voter preference for the re-election of the incumbent candidate.

However, the advantages mentioned for the incumbent, as researched by Andrew J. Healy, et al, do not apply in the context of the 2019 Presidential Election in West Sumatra. As evidenced, Joko Widodo, paired with Ma'ruf Amin, did not get satisfactory support in West Sumatra. In fact,

the support obtained by the incumbent candidate was far lower than in the presidential election held in 2014.

The findings in this study also confirm the positive and significant effect that life satisfaction contributes to political participation, when it is correlated with perceptions of corruption which have a negative effect on political participation. The opinion conveyed by Wen-wen Zheng, et al (2016), was that the negative influence generated by the perception of corruption is not significant on political participation, because it has been successfully suppressed by life satisfaction, which has a positive and significant effect. According to them, life satisfaction plays a role as a buffer to reduce the level of political participation, when the level of perception of corruption against the government and its apparatus is low.

This explanation implies that in order to increase public political participation in political activities or processes, it is important for candidates to better understand the socio-psychological conditions of the community, namely: perceptions of corruption and life satisfaction. If prospective leaders exercise their power in a responsive, transparent and inclusive manner, and with this power they can provide and maintain the satisfaction of their constituent's lives, the political participation of the community can increase in the elections held.

Conclusion

Based on the results of this study, the proposed model of political participation is declared acceptable (fit). Perception of corruption has an insignificant negative relationship with political participation, while life satisfaction has a significant positive relationship with political participation. This indicates that the perception of corruption as a social problem, as well as life satisfaction as a personal assessment, have formed a model of public political participation, especially with regards to the West Sumatran participation in the 2019 Presidential Election.

The results of the assessment of the model on political participation of the people of West Sumatra in the 2019 presidential election obtained a score of 58.2 in the "low" category. The results of the SEM analysis show that if the perception of corruption has an effect on reducing political participation by weakening political efficacy, then life satisfaction is able to support it with the resulting positive influence, meaning that political participation remains in shape even though it is at a low level of assessment.

Perceptions of corruption affected political participation amongst West Sumatrans in the 2019 Presidential Election in forms such as: being involved in being the leader of political organizations/groups, participating in advocating the formation of a winning team, and participating in finding votes for candidates or political parties in the election. Meanwhile, life satisfaction had the opposite effect, meaning that the political participation of the people of West Sumatra in the 2019 Presidential Election increased.

This study is limited to discussing the relationship between the variables of perception of corruption, life satisfaction, and political participation with regards to a model of political participation by people of West Sumatra in the 2019 Presidential Election. Further research can add other variables that reflect local views and values that live and develop in West Sumatra.

The assessment of the level of political participation of the people of West Sumatra, with a score of 58.2 and categorized as "low", should be a warning to the government and its apparatus. The results of this assessment need attention from many parties, because it is only six points above the average. This warning also applies to every candidate who runs, political parties that propose candidates, as well as existing political systems and institutions that implement popular (democratic) sovereignty. Because Indonesia uses a democratic system, people's political participation is the core (heart) of democracy.

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