

THE FACTORS THAT CAUSE THE LOW PARTICIPATION OF PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE 2019 GENERAL ELECTION IN PAMURUS URBAN VILLAGE, SOUTH BANJARMASIN SUB DISTRICT – BANJARMASIN CITY

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ABSTRACT: *Political participation of the community in elections is very important in the democratic process. In general, the number of voters participating in the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential elections increased from 2014. The increase was from 69.58% to 81%. However, an interesting thing happened in Pamurus Urban Village, Banjarmasin District – the Banjarmasin City. The number of voter participation in the kelurahan can be said to be still low. For this reason, this study aims to identify the factors causing the low number of voter participation in the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential elections in Pamurus Urban Village. This research was conducted using a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. Data collected through interviews, observations, and documentation. Initial informants were selected by purposive sampling technique. Next, it will be determined by "snowball sampling". The data collected was analyzed using an interactive analysis model consisting of three stages, namely data reduction, data display, and drawing conclusion/verification. The results of this study indicate that the factors causing the low number of voter participation in the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential elections are as follows: (1) internal voter factors, such as the technical and employment issues, and (2) external factors related to administration, socialization, and politics. It is hoped that the results of this study can be utilized for consideration in formulating efforts to increase the number of voter participation in the presidential and vice-presidential elections in 2024.*

KEYWORDS: general election, political participation, presidential election, vice-presidential election

INTRODUCTION

Elections are a very important process in a democratic system. That is because the election is a procedure that must be carried out to ensure that the people have the freedom to give their mandate to those who are considered capable of carrying out the mandate (Wojtasik, 2013). Pursuant to Law Number 8 of 2011 concerning "Organizer of General Elections", Article 1 paragraph I confirms that General Elections, hereinafter referred to as Elections are means of exercising popular sovereignty which is held directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly in

the Unitary State Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Seeing the importance of elections at the state level, political participation in the form of voting rights in the electoral process automatically becomes very important. Because through these voting rights all people have the same position in determining their representatives in government (Somerville, 2011). The level of political participation will indicate whether a system of democracy is running in a healthy country or not (Berg, 2017). When viewed in the context of political participation in Indonesia during the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential elections, it can be seen that nationally the number of voters who use their voting rights reaches 81%, an increase in the number of voter participation that gives voting rights in the president of the presidential and vice-presidential election in 2014 which was only 69.58% (Rois, 2019). However, locally an interesting thing happened in Pamurus Kelurahan, where the number of voters who used their voting rights was still very low. It must be understood that the quality of an election will affect the quality of the elected leader (Norris, Frank, & Coma, 2013). The quality of the general election will be seen from the number of candidates and the number of voters who cast their votes.

Considering the importance of elections and political participation for the democratic process, this study aimed to identify the factors that caused the low voter participation in the 2019 resident and vice-presidential elections in Pamurus Urban Village. It is hoped that by knowing the factors that cause the low level of political participation, the government and related parties in political matters can find ways to increase the political participation of citizens in the Pamurus Kelurahan in the upcoming election.

METHODS

To obtain data for research purposes as well as the existence of representative results, it is necessary to have key informants who understand and are related to the problem being investigated. The key informants or initial informants were selected purposively (purposive sampling), while subsequently determined by "snowball sampling" that is selected on a rolling basis to indicate the level of information saturation. The research informants in conducting interviews included the following: Chairperson / Member of KPU Banjarmasin City, South Banjarmasin Sub-district Head, South Banjarmasin PPK Chairperson, Village Head of Inner Management, Pamurus Dalam Village PPS, Supervisory Internal Management Supervisory Committee, Internal Management KPPS of Inner Management, Community Leaders, Students and People who do not give their voting rights.

The data used in this study consisted of primary data and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from observations of the Participation of Presidential and Voter Voters in the 2019 General Elections in Banjarmasin City. Secondary data obtained in the form of books, journals, and other documents that support this research. Data collection is done through documentation and interview techniques. Researchers also use data collection techniques that are done with

documentation techniques. This documentation technique is used so that researchers have concrete evidence that supports the truth of the data obtained during conducting research. Documentation is carried out to obtain information that supports data analysis and interpretation. Then researchers also conducted interviews in the form. The interview is a data collection technique. The collection can be done directly that is face to face with the person to be interviewed or it can also indirectly by utilizing access to technology such as using the telephone, internet, and so on. In this study, researchers conducted interviews in person. Researchers conducted interviews with face to face with the Chairperson / Member of the KPU Banjarmasin City, KPPS Officers, Supervisory Committee, Community Leaders, and Students. Researchers also chat or phone with several people who are related and are beyond the reach of researchers.

Data analysis is performed when the data collection takes place, and after the data collection is completed within a certain period. to facilitate researchers in analyzing, this study also uses data analysis according to Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014), they suggest that the activities in qualitative data analysis are carried out interactively and continue continuously until completion so that the data is saturated. The measurement of data saturation is indicated by the inaccessibility of new data or information. Activities in the analysis include data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification..

RESEARCH RESULT

Internal Factors Causing Low Political Participation

Internal factors that are the cause of the low political participation in Pamurus Urban village in more inches can be classified into three, namely technical and occupational factors. The following is an explanation of the findings in this study.

Technical Factors

Based on data obtained from interviews with technical reasons the community did not exercise their voting rights because of illness, old age / elderly, and out of town. Interviews conducted by researchers with one of the members of the KPU of the city of Banjarmasin, Mr. M. Syafrudin Akbar, stated that technical factors such as the existence of the community on the day of voting affected by the disaster and also there are people who are in detention and some are indeed leaving out of town with certain needs. Based on the results of an interview with Mr. Sugiannor KPPS Pemurus Urban Village in the TPS 36 environment also mentioned that technical factors such as illness do exist in his environment. The people did not use their right to vote in the 2019 election in Banjarmasin City precisely in the District of South Banjarmasin. The entire Executive Board was caused by illness, so the people did not come to the polling station without the knowledge of the PPS officers. The same thing was also conveyed by Mr. Noorhefni Yudi Kesuma KPPS of Pemurus Urban Village in the TPS environment 35. The community did not attend the polling station because of illness.

As for other reasons the people at TPS 36 did not give their voting rights because they traveled out of town for a long time. The same thing was conveyed by Mr. Ahmad Kamaludin Panwaslu at TPS 59 who said that on Election Day, there were some people who traveled far away which had been planned by them. This was justified by the Village Chief in Mr. Arliansyah who said that there were indeed some residents who went out of the city or region on the day of voting for certain reasons.

Another factor that also causes people not to exercise their right to vote in the 2019 elections in Banjarmasin City, especially in the District of South Banjarmasin. This was conveyed by Mr. Ahmad Kamaludin Panwaslu at TPS 59, who said that this factor also affected the low participation of the community in giving their voting rights. The same thing was conveyed by Mr. Noorhefni Yudi Kesuma, KPPS, and Pemurus Sub-district in the polling station environment 35, which said that the age factor or the elderly who were also the causes were not entirely participating communities. Meanwhile, the dominant internal factors that cause people not to vote in elections are due to the elderly. The results of an interview with Banjarmasin City KPU Member, Mr. Syafrudin Akbar said that indeed this elderly factor became quite dominant because it was indeed a new regulation that had to be implemented that was different from previous elections that the committee (KPPS / PPS) came to the place of residence concerned to ask the person concerned to give the right to vote is accompanied by the committee. In contrast to the present organizing committee does not come to the place of residence concerned again but concerned may be represented by family or companion also to give their voice rights.

Work Factor

The factor that caused the community not to vote in the 2019 general election in Banjarmasin City precisely in the South Banjarmasin Subdistrict the Overall Management In was due to occupational factors. Some because of work, some did not get permission from the company and guard the shop. The difficulty of leaving work is a factor in the abstentions in the 2019 general election. This was conveyed by the Village Chief of the Inner Board namely Mr. Arlinasyah who said the community did not give their voting rights because of work factors. The same thing was conveyed by Banjarmasin City KPU Member Mr. Syafrudin Akbar who said that the reason people did not give their voting rights was that they preferred to work to make money rather than come to the polling station. This was justified by Mr. Sugiannor KPPS of Pemurus Urban Village in the TPS environment 36. People prefer to work rather than come to the polling station because of their assumptions, giving them the right to vote does not affect their lives. The same thing was conveyed by Mr. Noorhefni Yudi Kesuma KPPS Pemurus Village in the TPS environment 35. Assumptions of the people who are more concerned with work than voting to determine our representatives in government. The above was confirmed by Mr. Ahmad Kamaludin Panwaslu at TPS 59. That the average community did not attend the polling station because of their work. The interview conveyed by the Head of RT 39 Mr. Zainal Hakim is not much different from what was conveyed by the resource persons above.

Meeting the necessities of life is indeed an obligation to the family but also, we have an obligation to the State by one of them giving the right to vote in elections. Work is a factor in the existence

of people who do not choose to be justified by Zainal who works in a warehouse in one of the companies in Banjarmasin. Not getting permission from superiors or bosses at work also caused Iwan not to give his voice in the 2019 elections. The importance of work is also a factor in why people still do not give their voting rights alias abstentions in the 2019 general election in Banjarmasin City especially in South Banjarmasin District, Pemurus Dalam Village.

External Factor

In terms of external factors, the findings in this study indicate that external factors include administrative factors, socialization, and political factors. Following is an explanation of each of these external factors.

Administrasion Factor

Based on the results of the interview, the reason the voters did not vote because they moved residence, people who have died, and did not get an invitation from the village election executive committee. According to one of the members of the Banjarmasin City KPU, Mr. Syafrudin Akbar said that the administrative influence on the low level of public participation in the elections is quite significant in 2019. Based on the results of the interview above the error in updating the data so that there are voters who have a double voter list, people who moved residence, and people who died but are still registered in the DPT. But it is also not merely left alone by organizers both at the Regency / City level to the village level. As an organizer, KPU also updates the data several times to ensure that and for the community described above, it is outside the will of the organizer even though it is the right of every citizen who has fulfilled the requirements. In addition to the factors conveyed by one of the members of the Banjarmasin City KPU regarding double voters, voters who moved residence and voters who died. This administrative factor also concerns voters who do not get invitations, so they do not use their voting rights, as stated by the Head of RT 39 Mr. Zainal.

A statement not far different was also made by the Village Head of the Village in Mr. Arliansyah who said that the administrative factor was very influential on the low political participation. Based on some of the opinions above about the community, it will not be presented if there is no invitation justified by Mrs. Wahidah, one of the people who did not come because they did not accept the invitation. The same thing was conveyed by Firman who did not attend the polling station because he did not get an invitation. Administrative factors as discussed above are indeed one of the reasons why people do not come to the polling station to give their voting rights. But according to a member of the Banjarmasin City KPU, Mr. Syafrudin Akbar said that the mistakes as mentioned above have been minimized by organizers.

The administrative factors that also make people not give their voting rights such as ID cards are not in accordance with the domicile. This is also a factor that is quite dominant in the city of Banjarmasin. Administrative problems never escape from the General Election which is held every five years by the government. So, the administrative problems are also one of the factors that cause people not to exercise their voting rights. According to Law No. 1 of 2015 Article 59 Residents

who have the right to vote and have not been registered in the Permanent Voter Register (DPT) can register themselves as Voters to the PPS to be recorded in the Additional Voters Register. However, many people do not register in the DPT.

Socialization Factor

From the results of interviews conducted there are things that cause people not to vote in terms of the socialization of factors. In accordance with the opinion conveyed by Mr. Syafrudin Akbar Banjarmasin City KPU member about this socialization factor, the same opinion was conveyed also by Mr. Sugiannor KPPS Pemurus Urban Village in the TPS environment 36. Opinions conveyed by Banjarmasin City KPU Members and KPSS of the entire Pemurus said that in clear they carried out their responsibilities as organizers of elections well. The socialization they carried out was more for the public to want to use their voting rights, in addition to the socialization carried out by the KPU of the City of Banjarmasin also in the form of notification regarding the voting date. One effort and form is to increase public participation in. The General Election Commission (KPU) of Banjarmasin City also conducts socialization to students, which they are considered as intellectuals who are expected to be able to embrace the public especially to be able to invite the public to participate and contribute to the 2019 elections. The socialization was carried out at one of the State campuses in Banjarmasin City, Lambung Mangkurat University (ULM). The hope of this socialization is done to students so that they as intellectuals can be an example in the community to participate actively in politics especially in giving voting rights in elections.

However, the socialization carried out is still considered lacking, especially the socialization from political parties. This, of course, impacts people's ignorance of the candidate and also the candidate's vision and mission. This made Herma not attend the polling station when asked why she did not use her right to vote. Based on interviews with several people who are directly related to the election and also the community above, it is clear that they are not getting enough information about the programs or vision and mission they want to offer to their potential voters, so they do not use their voting rights. And if there is deep socialization from the candidates or the candidate's success team to the community, most likely the people who did not vote because this factor could change their mind and want to use their voting rights. Under Law, No. 1 of 2015 Article 58 Candidates must submit their vision and mission based on the Provincial Long-Term Development Plan or Regency / City Long Term Development Plan orally or in writing to the public.

Political Factors

The next factor is political factors that are included in external factors. In this factor, there are several indicators that are the reason why people do not exercise their right to vote in the 2019 elections in Banjarmasin City. The following describes the results of the interview from the representative of the interviewee.

One of the opinions expressed by Banjarmasin City KPU Member, Mr. Syafrudin Akbar, was about how the influences of public trust in the government on the low level of political participation during the 2019 elections. In this case, it said that public mistrust of the candidates is also a factor

in abstentions in elections. The community assumes that whomever their leaders and representatives are in government does not have an influence and effect on their lives.

A similar matter was conveyed by the Head of RT 39 Mr. Zainal Hakim in Pemurus Urban Village In about the factors causing many people who did not exercise their right to vote in the 2019 election, especially Pemurus Urban Village Dalam, South Banjarmasin District. The same opinion was also conveyed by Mardianoor Student of Banjarmasin ULM who said that a small portion of the public did not believe in the candidates, both those who were incumbent or newcomers in this election contestation. The absence of real changes given by their leaders and representatives is the reason they do not give voting rights. Based on the explanation of the opinions of KPU members, Lurahs, RT heads, and students above, where they thought that there was a crisis of trust felt by the community in the South Banjarmasin District the 2019 elections could represent their voices to convey aspirations to the government going forward.

Lack of community motivation to give their vote in the 2019 election was also conveyed by Mr. Arliansyah Head of Village Management. The lack of community motivation towards candidates is the reason for people wanting to vote for abstentions.

A similar figure was expressed by one of the community leaders, Mr. Zainal Hakim, Head of RT 39, Pemurus Urban Village Dalam, regarding the factors that influenced why people did not attend the polling station in the 2019 general election to give their voting rights. Saturated with elections in which a handful of people assume there is no significant change in their lives whomever the leaders and candidates who sit in the seat of power in government. This was conveyed by Mr. Arliansyah Head of Village Management. From some of the opinions above, it can be found that there is a red thread of political factors that cause low voter participation in Pemurus Urban Village Dalam, South Banjarmasin District, there are 3 things, i.e. The first is not trusting the candidates, the second is lacking motivation, and the third is saturated with elections.

Public distrust with the candidates who ran in the election made some people choose not to attend the polling station to give their voting rights. The existence of this crisis of confidence is caused by the candidates themselves especially prospective incumbents who advance again. Promises offered previously did not materialize in the last 5 years during his tenure. People's aspirations are not heard by themselves choose. This makes a sense of "deterrent" by the community itself to reelect or choose other candidates, which paradigm they already assume that everything is the same. The candidates who advance in the elections also reduce the motivation of the people to vote. There are no new faces and hopes that are suitable and truly hear their aspirations and fight for them. This lack of motivation is not far from the lack of significant results given by their representatives in the past 5 years. The saturation of the election felt by a handful of people is the tip of this political factor. Saturated with the promises of the candidates, saturated with old faces that also do not provide maximum results for the aspirations in the struggle, and the electoral system is complicated and tiring to be a "scourge" of its own for the community.

DISCUSSION

From the explanation of the above research findings, there are several important things that can be discussed in this study regarding the factors that cause the low political participation of the community in Pamurus, such as:

Voters are sick

The results of this study indicate that the state of illness is one internal factor that makes people unable to attend the polls to give their voting rights. The results of this study are in line with the results of previous studies which also found that the state of public health was proven to influence political participation. For example, such as the results of research conducted by Pacheco and Fletcher (2015), where people with poor health tend to choose not to participate in political affairs even in terms of voting rights. The possibility of being absent during the election will be very large if the voter is suffering from a chronic illness. From the results of Reijo Sund, Wass, Mattila, & Martikainen's research (2017) conducted in Finland, it was found that chronic diseases such as neurodegenerative brain disease, alcoholism, mental disorders, cancer, and asthma have an influence on the level of voter participation during elections. Likewise, with the results of research conducted by Gollust and Rahn (2015) who found that in the 2008 presidential election the people who had heart disease were less likely to exercise their suffrage. The results of the study were also supported by research conducted by Denny and Doyle (2007), who found that the health condition of voters and dissatisfaction with health services had a relationship with voter non-participation in general elections. Another interesting thing about health factors is the smoking habit is also a factor that can make voters absent during the election because these habits also greatly affect the health conditions of voters Kelleher, Timoney, Friel, & McKeown (2002). Pacheco dan Fletcher (2015) also said that the health in question was not only their health or physical and mental condition at the time of the election, but from their research, they also found that their health when they were little also affected because health at a young age would affect intelligence which in turn contributed to their economic situation in adulthood. In addition, for novice voters, mental health such as depression regarding political conditions and confusion in making choices were also found to be one of the factors that reduced the desire to participate in political activities, especially voting in the electoral process (Ojeda, 2015). Furthermore, viewed from physical health and mental health, in elections in Canada, it was found that physical health affects political participation at national and regional levels, whereas mental health has more influence on elections at the regional level (Couture & Breux, 2017).

Work is a More Important Priority

Economic factors, namely family income greatly affect political participation. From the results of this study, it was found that many residents did not give their voting rights on polling day because they preferred to work. From the interviews also found that families who have a mediocre income tend to choose to work at the general election, because for those not working means not being able to eat. Thus, those who have a mediocre income tend to have lower levels of political participation and lower levels of trust in prospective leaders. (Alelaimat, 2019). In other words, poverty will make people feel no need to be involved in the political process (Parvin, 2018). If you look at the

case, one of the things that need to be considered in increasing public political participation is in poverty alleviation.

Not Optimal Socialization

To make a choice, the availability of information is very important for prospective voters. From the results of this study, it was found that the socialization regarding the implementation of the voting and appeals to come to give voting rights had been carried out, but for some people, it was not so optimal to be able to provide information about candidates and what was the importance of giving voting rights for their lives. In fact, the availability of information has been proven empirically to influence political participation. In this digital age, when compared between printed information and information available online, information through the internet is more influential for those who are not involved in politics practically and reinforces the choices they have believed through information obtained online (Nam, 2011). Therefore, the dissemination of information via the internet is highly recommended because it is able to assist the public in obtaining information so that they can make their choices and strengthen their desire to participate in elections (Meesuwan, 2016). This influence will be stronger for novice voters, and not so influential for experienced voters (Ohme, Vreese, & Albaek, 2018). So, it can be said that the use of technology, especially the internet, has the potential to influence the outcome of elections and political participation (Tolbert & Mcneal, 2003). In addition, the existence of online information media and social media helps information accountability and information balancing (Zhuravskaya, Petrova, & Enikolopov, 2020). Thus, the public will get balanced information and be able to make their choices according to their conscience choices and social media is a potential application for forming polarization and preparing novice voters to participate in elections (Ohme, 2019).

The use of social media on a relative basis by political actors also has a very important role in influencing the political participation of novice voters in the digital age, especially for novice voters (Zhu, Chan, & Chou, 2019). Examples of the influence of the internet on political participation can be seen from the elections in America, where news on online media and Facebook proved to be able to influence political participation, as well as elections in Hong Kong which show that Facebook information also affects the political participation of novice voters (Chan & Guo, 2013). It needs to be understood that teen voters are a generation of Millennials who cannot be separated from the internet and social media (Dalle & Ariffin, 2018). The use of social media is very effective as a media for political discussion, as has been done in China through the WeChat application so that potential voters get a lot of information about politics through this application. (Pang, 2018). By getting information and discussing on social media about politics can motivate young voters to participate in elections (Chen & Chan, 2017). Seeing this reality, then for the next election period all parties involved in the election process must be more active in providing information online through social media to the community in Pamurus Urban Village.

Lack of Confidence in Government and Party Leaders

Trust is one of the main keys in increasing political participation, both trust in the government and trust in the leadership of political parties and their cadres. From the results of this study, it was found that one of the reasons why people did not vote was because of their low confidence in the available candidates. The results of this study are similar to the case in Jordan, many voters do not exercise their rights because they do not trust the presidential and representative candidates who are elected in the general election and they feel that their economic situation will remain the same even though whoever wins (Alelaimat, 2019). Trust in government and participation is formed from the results of personal experience within the respective voters (Oosterhoff, Kaplow, Layne, & Pynoos, 2018). Distrust of political leaders and the government is usually caused by the government's failure to meet the needs of society and political promises that are not realized (Falade, 2014). In addition, corruption cases are also one of the reasons why people's trust in the political elite has decreased, which leads to low political participation (Mahmood, Sohail, Mushtaq, & Rizvi, 2014). In addition, distrust of the democratic system is also one of the reasons why a person does not participate in political activities such as voting during elections, as in the case of Chile and Spain (Sola-Morales & Hernández-Santaolalla, 2017).

However, there is an interesting thing about trust towards prospective leaders, which is found that prospective leaders who have a low pitched voice have an influence on voter trust because they are considered stronger, have the greater physical ability, are more competent, and have greater integrity greater than (Klofstad, Anderson, & Nowicki, 2015). So that prospective leaders who have low pitch votes have greater opportunities to be trusted to be leaders (Klofstad, Anderson, & Peters, 2012). This can also be used as a consideration in selecting candidates to be shown to prospective voters, in addition to being competent it turns out that political parties must also be considered other aspects in their cadres to attract political participation of citizens.

When viewed at the general elections elsewhere, then there are several other factors that also cause the low political participation of the community. As is the case in South Africa, the case of political attacks against women political cadres, making many women there who do not want to be involved in the political process (Mlambo & Kapingura, 2019). The results of the study were also supported by research conducted by Falade (2014) who conducted research in Nigeria, where research also found that women in Nigeria also had a low level of political participation. The low political participation of women in Africa is caused by gender inequality that still occurs so that women feel reluctant to get involved in the political process (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2011). Thus, political activities and membership in political parties in Africa always dominated by men (Coffé & Bolzendahl, 2010).

In addition, the level of education was also found by some researchers as being able to influence political participation. Research conducted by Berinsky & Lenz (2011), which found that the level of education has an influence on political participation, but they argue that the effect is not a single influence. An environment with a community with a high level of education tends to have a higher

level of political participation compared to an environment with a community with a lower level of education (Aars & Christensen, 2018).

Parent's political participation will also affect the political participation of children or novice voters, where the case in Italy shows that parents' choices will affect the child's choice and the effect of maternal political participation is found to be more dominant than the father's political participation of the child (Sania & Quarantab, 2015). Similar results were also found by Cicognani, Zani, Fournier, Gavray, & Bornd (2012), namely the political participation of parents and social interaction will affect the political participation of novice voters. Furthermore, the role of parents is very important in shaping a sense of social responsibility in children and it is a social responsibility that will later play an important role in shaping children's political participation motivation (Schmid, 2012). This is also supported by the results of research conducted by (Marzana, Marta, & Pozzi, 2012). In addition, adolescence to adulthood is a very important period in shaping one's outlook on politics (Eckstein, Noack, & Gniewosz, 2012), so that the role of parents for novice voters is crucial in their political participation.

CONCLUSION

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the factors that caused the low political participation in terms of voting rights during the election of the President and Vice President of Indonesia in Pamurus Kelurahan include internal and external factors. Internal factors include the state of voter health and job demands. Meanwhile, the external factors are dominated by administrative factors, socialization, and main political factors in terms of the trust. From the results of this study, it can be said that the parties involved in the electoral process, especially political parties and cadres who are candidates, must be more active in giving outreach and building public trust. While from the government side, administrative control needs to be carried out so that there are no problems or difficulties in the administration that make people unable or reluctant to take care of these administrative problems which will have implications for their low political participation.

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