



## Analysis of the Understanding and Political Awareness of New Voters in the 2024 Election: A Siyasah Dusturiyah Perspective

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### ABSTRACT

*Due to their significant influence, new voters have a dynamic political orientation and are crucial targets in elections. In the 2024 General Election, Generation Z and millennials will dominate the voter demographic, comprising 56.45% of 204 million voters, thus holding substantial potential in determining election outcomes. This study examines new voters' political awareness and participation in the Cibeunying Kidul Sub-district, focusing on the influence of political understanding, environmental support, family socialization, and political education. This research employs a juridical-empirical approach using interviews and participatory observation to gather data from new voters aged 17-21. Findings indicate that new voters' political awareness is heavily influenced by family habits and guidance, highlighting the need for more intensive political education. Some new voters exhibit apathy due to distrust in the political system. Therefore, the role of the KPU (General Election Commission) in socializing elections to new voters is crucial to enhance their participation. From the siyasah dusturiyah perspective, political participation is part of obedience to the leader and a mandate that must be fulfilled. Elections in Islam resemble deliberations to select a leader who will be sworn in. New voters' participation in elections aligns with the amar ma'ruf nahi munkar principle. Enhanced political awareness among new voters will increase their participation in elections, thereby strengthening the quality of democracy in Indonesia.*

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## 1. Introduction

General elections are essential in a democratic system that allows citizens to elect their leaders and representatives.<sup>1</sup> In Indonesia, as regulated in Article 22E paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution, general elections are held to fill the highest executive seats (President and Vice President), legislative seats at both central and regional levels (House of Representatives and Regional People's Representative Council), as well as to fill representative seats. Regional (Regional Representative Council).<sup>2,3,4</sup> Therefore, general elections are not only an indicator of democracy,<sup>5</sup> but it is also a means of realizing accountable and representative government.<sup>6</sup>

In the 2024 general election context, new voters, especially Gen Z and millennials, play an important role because they represent more than half of the total existing voters. Gen Z and millennials are individuals aged between 17 and 37 years; they are predicted to be the largest voter groups in the 2024 election.<sup>7</sup> Based on KPU data, around 56.45% of the 204 million voters<sup>8</sup> are this young generation. Their participation is very significant because it can influence the overall election results. However, the participation of new voters is often

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<sup>1</sup> Mushaddiq Amir, "Keserentakan Pemilu 2024 Yang Paling Ideal Berdasarkan Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia," *Al-Ishlah: Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum* 23, no. 2 (2020): 115–31, <https://doi.org/10.56087/aijih.v23i2.41>.

<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Mutawalli et al., "Legislative Elections: An Overview of Closed Proportional System," *Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Hukum Dan Syariah* 8, no. 2 (2023): 93–109.

<sup>3</sup> Irfan Amir, *Hukum Konstitusi Dan Kelembagaan Negara* (Mata Kata Inspirasi, 2022).

<sup>4</sup> Jusuf Wanandi, "The Indonesian General Elections 2004," *Asia-Pacific Review* 11, no. 2 (2010): 115–31, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1343900042000292588>.

<sup>5</sup> Amanda B. Edgell et al., "When and Where Do Elections Matter? A Global Test of the Democratization by Elections Hypothesis, 1900–2010," *Democratization* 25, no. 3 (2018): 422–44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2017.1369964>.

<sup>6</sup> Alex Cahyono et al., "Analisis Kritis Terhadap Penerapan Presidential Threshold Dalam Pemilihan Umum 2024; Perspektif Hukum Normatif Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Supremasi* 13, no. 2 (2023): 1–14.

<sup>7</sup> Irma Yusriani Simamora et al., "Peran Generasi Z Di Pemilu 2024 Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 8, no. 1 (2024): 5918–22, <https://www.jptam.org/index.php/jptam/article/view/13306>.

<sup>8</sup> Based on the KPU's decision, the number of DPTs in the 2024 election is as many as 204,422,181 (two hundred four million four hundred twenty-two million one hundred and eighty-one) voters. This is stated in "Keputusan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 301 Tahun 2024 Tentang Perubahan Kedua Atas Keputusan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 857 Tahun 2023 Tentang Penetapan Rekapitulasi Daftar Pemilih Tetap Tingkat Nasional Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2024" (2024).

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influenced by various factors, including political understanding, family socialization, and the political education they receive.<sup>9,10,11</sup>

Previous research has examined various aspects of political participation, including the role of social media, political socialization, and political education in influencing the political awareness of new voters. For example, Wardhani's (2018) research highlights the significant influence of political education on the political participation of millennial voters.<sup>12</sup> While research by Razaqa et al. (2022) shows that social media influences new voters' perceptions of political issues and candidates.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile Siregar et al. (2023) emphasizes the importance of political education in increasing millennial political participation and awareness.<sup>14</sup> In the same year, Setiawan's (2023) research found that the political participation of new voters in the elections showed a more rational and critical political awareness of Indonesia's future leaders.<sup>15</sup>

Although various previous studies have provided in-depth insight into the role of social media and political education in increasing the political participation of new voters, research still needs to be done regarding the analysis of the political understanding and awareness of new voters from the perspective of *Siyasah Dusturiyah*. Therefore, this study raises a theme, "*Analysis of the Understanding and Political Awareness of New Voters in the 2024 Election: A Siyasah Dusturiyah Perspective*," which seeks to fill the existing gap

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<sup>9</sup> Charles Lees and Rodrigo Praino, "Young Voters, Older Candidates and Policy Preferences: Evidence from Two Experiments," *International Political Science Review* 45, no. 2 (2024): 278–98, <https://doi.org/10.1177/01925121221139544>.

<sup>10</sup> Heru Dian Setiawan and TB. Massa Djafar, "Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Muda Dalam Pelaksanaan Demokrasi Di Pemilu 2024," *Populis: Jurnal Sosial Dan Humaniora* 8, no. 2 (2023): 201, <https://doi.org/10.47313/pjsh.v8i2.2877>.

<sup>11</sup> Riska Sarofah, "Pengaruh Pendidikan Politik Gen Z Dan Millennial Terhadap Upaya Mewujudkan Pemilu Serentak Tahun 2024 Yang Berintegritas," *Jurnal Ilmu Politik Dan Pemerintahan* 9, no. 1 (2023): 70–79, <https://doi.org/10.37058/jipp.v9i1.7219>.

<sup>12</sup> Primandha Sukma Nur Wardhani, "Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Pemula Dalam Pemilihan Umum," *Jupiis: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 10, no. 1 (2018): 57, <https://doi.org/10.24114/jupiis.v10i1.8407>.

<sup>13</sup> Maghrifa Kafka Razaqa, Fadlian Rafa Prawira, and Gunawan Santoso, "Pengaruh Media Sosial Terhadap Orientasi Politik Pemilih Pemula Siswa Pada Pemilu," *Jurnal Pendidikan Transformatif (Jupetra)* 01, no. 02 (2022): 132–41.

<sup>14</sup> Adena Nurasih Siregar, "Pendidikan Politik Sebagai Wujud Peningkatan Partisipasi Dan Kesadaran Kaum Milenial Dalam Pemilu Serentak 2024," *Jurnal Generasi Ceria Indonesia* 1, no. 2 (2023): 103–8, <https://doi.org/10.47709/geci.v1i2.3180>.

<sup>15</sup> Setiawan and Djafar, "Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Muda Dalam Pelaksanaan Demokrasi Di Pemilu 2024."

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by exploring the political and constitutional dimensions from a more holistic and contextual perspective towards new voters in the 2024 elections.

This research focuses on novice voters' political understanding and awareness in Cibeunying Kidul District, Bandung City. This subdistrict was chosen because it has a large population of young voters and shows variation in levels of political participation. This research aims to identify the factors that influence the political participation of new voters and understand how the *siyasah dusturiyah* perspective can be applied in this context.

This research is important because of its innovative approach, combining structural and agent analysis with the religious perspective of *Siyasah Dusturiyah*. This research not only identifies the factors that influence the political participation of new voters but also provides a deeper understanding of how Islamic values can motivate political participation. The results of this research provide significant contributions both theoretically and practically.

Theoretically, this research enriches the literature on political participation by including the perspective of *Siyasah Dusturiyah*, which previously received less attention. This research shows that factors such as political education, the role of social media, and religious values significantly influence the political participation of new voters, which can form the basis for future research in a similar context.

Practically, this research's findings can be a reference for policymakers and political practitioners in designing more effective and inclusive political education programs that consider relevant religious values. In addition, the results can help improve political campaign strategies by utilizing social media and political education to invite new voters to participate actively in the democratic process. Thus, this research contributes to increasing the political participation of new voters and strengthening the quality of democracy in Indonesia.

## **2. Legal Material and Methods**

This research uses a juridical-empirical approach that combines normative legal analysis with empirical observations to understand the application of legal norms in authentic contexts and their influence on the behavior of new voters. Data was collected through interviews, participatory observation during election outreach activities, and

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analysis of official documents related to political participation. The study sample included new voters aged 17 to 21, and election officials selected purposively to ensure representation that reflected variations in levels of participation and political awareness.

Data were analyzed using qualitative analysis techniques with a thematic approach to identify main themes such as political understanding, family socialization, political education, and the role of the KPU. Triangulation of data from various sources was carried out to increase the validity and reliability of the findings. This method allows researchers to gain in-depth insight into the factors that influence the political participation of new voters from a *siyasah dusturiyah* perspective, making an essential contribution to increasing the political participation of new voters and strengthening the quality of democracy in Indonesia.

### 3. Results and Discussion

#### 3.1. The 2024 Election, Political Awareness and Participation among the Young Generation: A Study of Beginner Voter Participation

Political participation refers to the involvement of individuals in political processes aimed at influencing government decisions or policies. This form of participation includes various activities, from voting in general elections, participating in campaigns, becoming a political party member, and being involved in protests or political discussions. Understanding the dimensions of political participation is very important to analyze the role of citizens in the democratic process comprehensively.<sup>16</sup>

The dimensions of political participation can be broadly categorized into conventional and non-conventional participation. Conventional participation includes activities such as voting, participating in campaign activities, joining political parties, and communicating with government officials. Voting is a fundamental aspect of democracy, allowing citizens to elect their representatives. Unconventional participation includes more informal and often more direct methods of influencing political outcomes. This includes

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<sup>16</sup> Widodo Dwi Putro, "Democracy Crisis and the Rise of Datacracy," *Padjadjaran Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 11, no. 1 (2024): 53–75, <https://doi.org/10.22304/pjih.v11n1.a3>.

engaging in protests and demonstrations, signing or starting petitions, and participating in boycotts.

In the election context, the political participation of new voters plays a vital role in determining election results. New voters, usually aged 17-21 years, have the right to vote for the first time. The direction of their political goals is dynamic and can change according to the conditions and factors that influence it.<sup>17</sup> However, their participation is essential to reflect the aspirations and perspectives of the younger generation. The presence of first-time voters is auspicious in every general election because they can accommodate potential election participants to achieve the desired strategic position.<sup>18</sup> Anyone who succeeds in attracting the attention of these groups can benefit, while a lack of support from them will be detrimental to the goals to be achieved in the election.<sup>19</sup>

In Indonesia, following law no. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, Article 1 paragraph 34 underlines that the right to vote begins to be recognized by the state for the first time when individual citizens are 17 years of age or older. However, there are exceptions for individuals who are not yet 17 years old. The right to vote is recognized and can be used in election contests if they are married or have ever been married. Therefore, in the current context, new voters have never participated in previous elections (2019 elections) and will exercise their right to vote for the first time in the 2024 elections.

Their participation in the 2024 elections is the first step to understanding. Being involved in the country's democratic process, by the principles of the constitution and constitutionalism.<sup>20</sup> Quoting Heywood's view, elections are a two-way process that allows interaction between the government and the people and between elites and the masses.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Katharina Eckstein et al., "Activating Effects of Elections: Changes in Young Voters' Political Engagement over the Course of an Election Year," *Frontiers in Political Science* 6, no. April (2024): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2024.1302686>.

<sup>18</sup> Maulida Rita Widyana, "Strategi Partai Gelora Sebagai Partai Baru Menuju Pemilu 2024 Untuk Memenuhi Parliamentary Threshold," *Jurnal PolGov* 4, no. 1 (2022): 125–68, <https://doi.org/10.22146/polgov.v4i1.3861>.

<sup>19</sup> Benben Fathurokhman, "Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Pemula Dalam Pemilihan Umum (Pemilu)," *Journal of Research and Development on Public Policy* 1, no. 1 (March 25, 2022): 51–59, <https://doi.org/10.58684/jarvic.v1i1.68>.

<sup>20</sup> Yusrin Yusrin and Salpina Salpina, "Partisipasi Generasi Millennial Dalam Mengawasi Tahapan Pemilu 2024," *Journal on Education* 5, no. 3 (2023): 9646–53, <https://doi.org/10.31004/joe.v5i3.1842>.

<sup>21</sup> Irfan Amir and Mustafa, *Aspek Hukum Dan Dinamika Pemilihan Umum Di Indonesia* (Jakarta Selatan: Kreasi Cendekia Pustaka (KCP), 2021). Hal 69

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Elections serve as a procedure for general accountability or political control and an essential channel of political communication.<sup>22</sup> Through elections, people can convey their aspirations, and the government can listen and respond to people's needs. Thus, elections function as an essential channel of political communication.<sup>23</sup>

The 2024 election, particularly the presidential and vice-presidential elections, represents an intriguing and keenly anticipated contest for the Indonesian people. A considerable amount of political maneuvering was observed. The Constitutional Court, which serves as the ultimate arbiter in electoral disputes,<sup>24</sup> was involved in the proceedings from an early stage, and its decision was met with considerable controversy. The Constitutional Court is testing the constitutionality of the minimum age limit for election candidates. By the stipulations outlined in the electoral legislation, Article 169, paragraph q, establishes the minimum age requirement for those seeking the offices of President and Vice President at 40. However, in Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023, the Constitutional Court ruled that the age requirement may be waived if the individual seeking office has previously served as a regional head elected through a general election.<sup>25</sup>

As a consequence of the Constitutional Court's decision, for the first time in history, there is one pair of presidential and vice presidential candidates whose deputy is still under 40.<sup>26</sup> This signifies that vice presidential candidates are belonging to the millennial generation, that is to say, the generation born between 1980 and 1994. The presence of vice

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<sup>22</sup> Saiful Risky, Sholahuddin Al-Fatih, and Mabarroh Azizah, "Political Configuration of Electoral System Law in Indonesia from State Administration Perspective," *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi* 6, no. 1 (2023): 119–30, <https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v6i1.7940>.

<sup>23</sup> Sigit. Pamungkas, *Perihal Pemilu* (Laboratorium Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2009), 158.

<sup>24</sup> Ahmad Siboy, "The Integration of the Authority of Judicial Institutions in Solving General Election Problems in Indonesia," *Legality: Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum* 29, no. 2 (2021): 237–55, <https://doi.org/10.22219/ljih.v29i2.15608>.

<sup>25</sup> Muhammad Rinaldy Bima and John Tumba Jacob, "The Age Threshold for Presidential Nominations in the Perspective of Dignified Justice Theory: Why Is There a Court of Family (Mahkamah Keluarga) Issue?," *Jurnal IUS Kajian Hukum Dan Keadilan* 11, no. 3 (2023): 403–22, <https://doi.org/10.29303/ius.v11i3.1301>.

<sup>26</sup> Gibran Rakabuming Raka is a vice presidential candidate who was born on October 1, 1987 (meaning he was 36 years old at the time of registration) and was promoted by the Advanced Indonesia coalition (Gerindra Party, PAN, Golkar, and Democrat) to accompany Prabowo Subianto as a presidential candidate in the 2024 election.

presidential candidates from this millennial generation introduces a novel dimension to the dynamics of Indonesian politics, offering fresh perspectives and energy.

On the other hand, as mentioned at the beginning, the millennial and Gen Z generation groups dominate voter data in the 2024 general election. If the millennial generation refers to those born from 1980 to 1995, then the Gen Z group are voters born from 1995 to the early 2000s. Referring to the Permanent Voter List data stated in General Election Commission Decree Number 301 of 2024,<sup>27</sup> The number of DPT is 204,807,222 voters. Of this number, 66,822,389, or 33.60% are voters from the millennial generation. Meanwhile, voters from Generation Z numbered 46,800,161 or 22.85%. If these two generations are combined, they will dominate voters in the 2024 elections, reaching 56.45% of the total number of voters.<sup>28</sup> At the local level, an analysis of the data from the recapitulation results of new voters in Cibeunying Kidul District reveals that out of a total of 83,533 voters,<sup>29</sup> 7,797 were new voters distributed across 335 polling stations. The detailed data on the distribution of new voters is presented in the following table.

**Table: Results of Updated Voter Data in Cibeunying Kidul District**

No	Urban Village	The number of polling stations	New Voters
1	Cicadas	47	220
2	Cikutra	69	215
3	Padasuka	53	398
4	Pasirlayung	64	133
5	Sukamaju	36	6.560
6	Sukapada	66	271
<b>Total</b>		<b>335</b>	<b>7.797</b>

Source : PPK Cibeunying Kidul Kecamatan

Based on the table above, the data distribution for new voters in Cibeunying Kidul District is mainly in Sukamaju Urban Village. There were 6,560 new voters from a total of

<sup>27</sup> Keputusan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 301 Tahun 2024 Tentang Perubahan Kedua Atas Keputusan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 857 Tahun 2023 Tentang Penetapan Rekapitulasi Daftar Pemilih Tetap Tingkat Nasional Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2024.

<sup>28</sup> Nabilah Muhammad, "KPU: Pemilih Pemilu 2024 Didominasi Oleh Kelompok Gen Z," Databoks, 2023, <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2023/07/05/kpu-pemilih-pemilu-2024-didominasi-oleh-kelompok-gen-z-dan-milenial>.

<sup>29</sup> "Keputusan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Kota Bandung Nomor 213 Tahun 2013 Tentang Penetapan Rekapitulasi Daftar Pemilih Tetap (DPT) Kota Bandung Provinsi Jawa Barat Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2024," 2024.



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36 polling stations. This was followed by Padasuka Urban Village, with 398 new voters from 53 polling stations. Sukapada Urban Village, with 271 new voters from 66 polling stations. Cicadas Urban Village, 220 new elections from 47 polling stations. Cikutra Urban Village has 215 new voters from 69 polling stations. Finally, in the Pasirlayung Urban Village, 133 new voters were registered at 64 polling stations.

These figures, as presented, show that the millennial generation and Gen Z have great potential to create change and provide positive participation in political decision-making. Their active participation in elections not only reflects increased political awareness but also the ability to influence policy strategies and issues that arise in society.

Thus, the 2024 election will not only be an event for democracy but also a means to involve more elements of society, including the younger generation, in the political process and state decision-making. This shows that political awareness among the millennial generation and Gen Z can bring about significant changes in Indonesian politics, encouraging a shift towards more inclusive and future-oriented politics.

Nevertheless, in terms of numerical representation, the influx of new voters has the potential to bring about significant shifts in the political landscape of Indonesia. Nevertheless, empirical evidence demonstrates that despite the numerous initiatives and strategies implemented by the General Elections Commission (KPU), the Government, and the Indonesian Ulema Council to enhance voter awareness and active participation, there persists a prevailing apathy and concerted efforts by certain groups to undermine political participation among voters, particularly among new voters. For instance, on social media, there have been calls made to adopt the stance of "not exercising your right to vote or abstaining from voting".<sup>30</sup> This phenomenon is not exclusive to the national level; it is also observable at the local level, including in Cibeunying Kidul District, Bandung City, in 2024.

Yusuf,<sup>31</sup> a Widyatama University student, said several of his fellow students chose

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<sup>30</sup> BBC News, "Hantu Golput Di Pemilu 2024 Dan Fatwa Haram MUI - Mengapa Memilih Golput Dan Apa Dampaknya?," *BBC News Indonesia*, 2023, 1–15, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c99211y1e9go>.

<sup>31</sup> Results of an interview with Muhammad Yusuf, Student at Widyatama University Bandung. June 28, 2024 at 13.00 WIB

not to exercise their right to vote by "abstention." According to him, this choice of attitude is part of a response to dissatisfaction with the existing political system. This is because there is a growing opinion among students that the current election only legitimizes and benefits certain groups' interests, and abstention is considered part of a political attitude. However, this Widyatama University student stated that he rejected this view. He says choosing to "abstain" is an irresponsible political attitude and only looks at the negative side. In fact, according to him, participating in the current political system is more challenging and has a more significant influence than having to abstain from voting because of his egocentrism.

In alignment with Yusuf's perspectives, another Widyatama University student, Sefira, espouses that disillusionment with the extant political system should not preclude one's participation in electoral processes. Instead, it should catalyze more active engagement and the utilization of one's voice to advocate for desired reforms.<sup>32</sup> Political participation is not merely about exercising one's right to vote; it encompasses many avenues for engagement. Elvis Bisong Tambe<sup>33</sup> identifies four dimensions of political participation: (i) voting; (ii) forming a coalition with other people to raise an issue; (iii) meeting with leaders and council members; and (iv) participating in "protests." Furthermore, carrying out demonstrations or expressing one's position is also part of the freedom of expression guaranteed by the constitution.<sup>34</sup> In light of these dimensions of political participation, Sefira posits that Generation Z, who are intimately acquainted with technology, can use social media platforms to convey suggestions and criticism directed at the government, political parties, and other election participants.<sup>35</sup> These activities constitute an integral aspect of political participation.

Apart from college students, interviews were also conducted with high school

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<sup>32</sup> Results of an interview with Sefira Putri, a student at Widyatama University, Bandung, on 28 June 2024 at 13:30 WIB.

<sup>33</sup> Elvis Bisong Tambe and Elizaveta Kopacheva, "Age and Political Participation in Africa's Electoral Regimes," *Representation* 60, no. 1 (2024): 97–115, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2023.2173281>.

<sup>34</sup> Sayuti, Ghina Nabilah Effendi, and Illy Yanti, "Freedom Of Speech Without A Direction: Criticism of the Promotion of Freedom of Speech in Indonesia," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 23, no. 1 (2023): 121–44, <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v23i1.1389>.

<sup>35</sup> Katharina Heger and Christian P. Hoffmann, "Feminist Women's Online Political Participation: Empowerment through Feminist Political Attitudes or Feminist Identity?," *Journal of Information Technology and Politics* 20, no. 4 (2023): 393–406, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2022.2119320>.

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students who were 17 or older and were about to exercise their right to vote for the first time. The results of interviews with several students show that most students need help understanding and comprehending the essence of holding elections, and even among them, some students are reluctant to participate in elections. For example, Hamdani<sup>36</sup> and Oksa<sup>37</sup> felt they did not understand and comprehend the essence of the implementation of elections. Political participation and choices are both based on directions from their parents that must be followed, namely choosing candidates according to their parent's choice. Muhammad Arya also expressed a similar view. However, his political choices were not based on the direction of his parents; according to him, his political choices tended to be influenced by his friends (his environment).<sup>38</sup> This behavioral pattern shows that the level of political awareness of novice voters is correlated with their political participation. The lower an individual's understanding of politics, the more his political choices will be influenced by his environment, as it were pressure from a group, threats, coercion, or appeals from the surrounding environment.

The interviews above indicate that political understanding and awareness among high school students still need to improve. Political attitudes and participation are predominantly influenced by their environment. New voters tend to follow their parents' political choices. Meanwhile, students in college are more critical, and their political attitudes tend to be based on a deeper understanding. Therefore, the Bandung City General Election Commission, as the implementer of each stage of election implementation, is required to carry out more intensive and informative outreach to increase participation and political awareness of novice voters, especially for high school students in Cibeunying Kidul District. This is in line with what several other high school students conveyed, for

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<sup>36</sup> Results of an interview with Hamdani, a student at the Atikan Sunda Foundation High School, Bandung, on 25 June 2024 at 14:50 WIB

<sup>37</sup> "Results of an interview with Oksa, a student at the Atikan Sunda Foundation High School, Bandung, on 25 June 2024 at 15:00 WIB.

<sup>38</sup> Results of an interview with Muhammad Arya, an Atikan Sunda Foundation High School student, Bandung, on June 25, 2024, at 15:15 WIB.

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example, Revina.<sup>39</sup> Neiyasa<sup>40</sup> and Muhammad Sandy<sup>41</sup>. They hope the Bandung City KPU will visit schools directly and carry out socialization and political education to increase students' understanding of elections.

Responding to this, the Chairman of the Cibeunying Kidul District PPK, Wahid Amar<sup>42</sup>, conveyed that the Bandung City KPU has made efforts and efforts to increase awareness and political participation of new voters by collaborating with various agencies to hold activities in schools and universities, including incorporating election material into several civics lessons or courses, as well as classes informal or discussion groups. Another strategic program carried out by the Bandung City KPU is using social media as a forum for disseminating election information. Social media was chosen considering that the millennial generation and Gen Z are growing along with the development of social media; their daily lives must be connected to social media. However, according to Sandy, election information obtained from electronic media and social media tends to be an invitation or appeal to exercise the right to vote when voting.<sup>43</sup> According to the slogan "be a smart voter," they also need more comprehensive information regarding the essence of holding elections.

Based on the results of the explanation above, novice voters in Cibeunying Kidul District tend to be easily influenced in determining their political choices. This is due to their characteristics: they are still vulnerable and unstable and lack adequate political education. This shows that new voters may need more stability and independence in making political decisions, making them more susceptible to external influences, such as intensive campaigns or persuasion from certain parties. In addition, the influence of the immediate environment plays a vital role in shaping the political choices of new voters. Let us compare the influence of the community, educational, and family environments. We see that the family environment is more dominant in influencing novice voters' political attitudes and

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<sup>39</sup> Interview results with Revina, an Atikan Sunda Foundation High School student, Bandung, on June 25, 2024, at 15:24 WIB.

<sup>40</sup> Results of an interview with Neysa, an Atikan Sunda Foundation High School student, Bandung, on June 25, 2024, at 15:37 WIB.

<sup>41</sup> Results of an interview with Muhammad Sandy, an Atikan Sunda Foundation High School student, Bandung, on June 25, 2024, at 15:50 WIB.

<sup>42</sup> Interview , on June 19, 2024

<sup>43</sup> Interview , on June 19, 2024

choices. New voters' political choices tend to follow the political choices of their parents. Because it is in the family environment that communication reactions occur where novice voters capture information and issues more influential than what they get from the school environment, peers, and others."

### 3.2 New Voters in the Perspective of Siyasa Dusturiyah

Siyasa dusturiyah is a science that discusses society, status, rights, and obligations of citizens, as well as rules and laws based on religious principles to guarantee the well-being of the people. In addition, the problem discussed in siyasa dusturiyyah is the relationship between the government (ruler) and the people or citizens of the country, as well as the institutions that exist in society and the country.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, in the context of siyasa dusturiyah, power is seen as a trust that must be carried out with complete moral and humanitarian responsibility, in line with the principles of Islamic democracy. Power is not just the authority to rule but also the responsibility to serve and protect the rights of the people.<sup>45</sup> Good leaders must understand that their every action and decision will be held accountable before God and society, so they must act with integrity and justice, and on the one hand the people are required to obey their leaders. This is by the Word of Allah SWT in Q.S An-Nisa verse 59, which emphasizes the importance of obedience to leaders who adhere to the law of Allah and the Messenger.

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولَى الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ  
إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًا

*It means:*

*“O ye who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the messenger and those of you who are in authority; and if ye have a dispute concerning any matter, refer it to Allah and the messenger if ye are (in truth) believers in Allah and the Last Day. That is better and more seemly in the end. (Q.S An-Nisa : 59)*

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<sup>44</sup> Atjep Dzajuli, *Fiqh Siyasa Implementasi Kemashtatan Umat Dalaam Rambu-Rambu Syariah* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2003).

<sup>45</sup> Habib Ismail, Dani Amran Hakim, and Muhammad Lutfi Hakim, “The Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers under Fiqh Siyasa Dusturiyah,” *Lentera Hukum* 8, no. 1 (2021): 151–74, <https://doi.org/10.19184/ejhl.v8i1.18725>.

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However, in the history of human civilization, especially in today's modern countries, not all leaders of a country run their government according to the principles of a legal state with integrity, justice, and prosperity. Government is not aimed at the welfare of the people but rather at the interests of specific groups (oligarchs) who control the government. Abuses of power such as corruption, collusion, and nepotism that occur in almost all walks of life are proof of how the trust given by the people is misused.<sup>46</sup> So by the principles of constitutionalism, power as a mandate must be limited both from the authority aspect and from the 'time' aspect of how long power can be held/entrusted to individual citizens who are appointed as leaders. For example, from the perspective of the Indonesian state, before the 1945 Constitution was amended, the president and vice president held office for five years and afterward could be re-elected vide Article 7. The implication was that Suharto, Indonesia's second president known as an authoritarian president, held office for 32 years. Moreover, Based on this experience, the provisions of Article 7 were changed to confirm that the president and vice president hold a term of office for five years and can be re-elected to the same position for only one term. This means that this provision limits a citizen appointed as president of Indonesia to only being able to hold office for a maximum of 10 years based on the post-amendment constitution of the 1945 Constitution.

Regarding the above thinking, of course, until now, no one has denied that the right to vote and general elections are essential elements in statehood that are used to limit power and ensure that power is not abused but is used for the general well-being. Elections become a vehicle that gives the people the power to determine the direction of policy and choose the leader they consider most capable of carrying out the trust correctly based on the values held in *siyasah dusturiyah*. Leaders elected through a legitimate and democratic process must carry out their duties reasonably, transparently, and accountable. They must ensure that every decision is in the public interest and based on Sharia principles that support social justice and community well-being.

In this context, new voters have a vital role. They are a new generation that brings hope and a fresh perspective to the democratic process. The active participation of new

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<sup>46</sup> Irfan Amir, "Constitutionality of Wiretapping by KPK in Optimization of Red-Handed Catch Operations," *Al-Bayyinah* 6, no. 1 (2022): 34–52, <https://doi.org/10.35673/al-bayyinah.v6i1.2625>.

voters in the 2024 elections shows they are ready to take responsibility as citizens who care about the nation's future. By participating in the 2024 elections, new voters will exercise their rights as citizens and carry out the responsibilities mandated by religious teachings. The word of Allah SWT in Surah An-Nisa verse 58:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُكُمْ أَنْ تُؤَدُّوا الْأَمَانَاتِ إِلَىٰ أَهْلِهَا وَإِذَا حَكَمْتُمْ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَنْ تَحْكُمُوا بِالْعَدْلِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ نِعِمَّا يَعِظُكُمْ بِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ سَمِيعًا بَصِيرًا

It means:

*"Indeed, Allah commands you to render trusts to whom they are due, and when you judge between people, to judge with justice. Indeed, Allah instructs you in the best way. Indeed, Allah is All-Hearing and All-Seeing."*

In addition to the law of choosing or appointing leaders, which is an obligation, Allah SWT has ordered that guardianship be given to those who deserve it. From the verse, it is clear that with the concept of Islam, political participation is a form of handing over guardianship to a candidate who has trustworthiness and is by Islamic values. Thus, *siyasah dusturiyah* emphasizes the importance of fair and responsible leaders and active participation from all levels of society, including novice voters.

Based on the review above, the participation of new voters is an essential aspect of various political systems worldwide, including from the perspective of *siyasah dusturiyah* (Islamic nomocracy). However, *siyasah dusturiyah* offers a different approach to encouraging new voter participation than other political systems, such as liberal democracy and socialism.

In liberal democracies, new voter participation is emphasized through civic education and extensive campaigns to raise political awareness.<sup>47</sup> New voters are encouraged to be actively involved in the general election process as part of their human rights. However, liberal democracies often face challenges such as political apathy and distrust of the political

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<sup>47</sup> Courtney L. Juelich and Joseph A. Coll, "Rock the Vote or Block the Vote? How the Cost of Voting Affects the Voting Behavior of American Youth: Part of Special Symposium on Election Sciences," *American Politics Research* 48, no. 6 (2020): 719–24, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X20920265>.

system, which can reduce turnout among new voters.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, *siyasah dusturiyah* emphasizes the importance of new voter participation as part of religious and moral responsibility, which can provide additional motivation for voters to participate actively. In the Islamic concept, this is called *deliberation*, which prioritizes the *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* principle. Religious organizations, teachers, and parents are vital in guiding and educating new voters so that they understand the importance of political participation and love for their country. These benevolent messages are in line with Allah SWT's commands in Q.S Al-Imran verse 104:

وَلْتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ ۗ وَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ

*It means:*

*“Moreover, let there be among you a group of people who call to virtue, enjoin what is good, and forbid what is evil; they are the fortunate one*

For example, these benevolent messages are implemented in campaigns by religious organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, which often include moral and religious messages to encourage young voters to participate in elections. This provides additional motivation for new voters to participate actively, not only as a right but also as a moral and religious obligation. The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) has issued a fatwa stating that not voting or "abstention" is haram.<sup>49</sup>

In a socialist political system, new voter participation is organized through a strong party structure and intensive political education. New voters are invited to participate in the political process through mass organizations and collective activities.<sup>50</sup> However, the socialist system is often criticized because it monopolizes political views and reduces individual freedom of choice. In contrast, *siyasah dusturiyah* provides space for freedom of opinion and consultation (*shura*), an essential principle in Islamic politics. new voters are

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<sup>48</sup> David Broockman and Joshua L. Kalla, "Candidate Ideology and Vote Choice in the 2020 US Presidential Election," *American Politics Research* 52, no. 2 (2024): 83–96, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X231220652>.

<sup>49</sup> Ahmad 'Ubaydi Hasbillah, "Fatwa Haram Golput Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi Hukum Islam," *Yudisia* 6, no. 1 (2015): 1–23.

<sup>50</sup> Shensi Yi, "Centralism, Localities and Leadership: The Politics of the Chinese Socialist Youth League in the Early 1920s," *Historical Research* 94, no. 263 (2021): 136–57, <https://doi.org/10.1093/hisres/htaa032>.



invited to participate in inclusive and transparent political dialogue, ensuring a wide range of views are represented. The words of Allah SWT, which show the importance of deliberation and freedom of opinion in decision-making, as well as a gentle and inclusive attitude in managing collective affairs, can be referred to in Q.S Al-Imran verse 159:

فَبِمَا رَحْمَةٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ لِنْتَ لَهُمْ ۖ وَلَوْ كُنْتَ فَظًّا غَلِيظَ الْقَلْبِ لَانْفَضُّوا مِنْ حَوْلِكَ فَاعْفُ عَنْهُمْ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ فَإِذَا عَزَمْتَ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ ۚ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ

It means :

*So, by the grace of God, you (Muhammad) are gentle towards them. If you were harsh and hard-hearted, they would turn away. Therefore, forgive them, ask for forgiveness, and consult with them. Then, when you have made a decision, put your trust in God. Indeed, God loves those who put their trust in Him."*

The uniqueness of *siyasah dusturiyah* lies in the combination of sharia principles with the political process. New voters are taught to understand that their participation in elections is a right and a mandate that must be carried out with full responsibility. The principles of justice (*'adalah*) and general welfare (*maslahah ummah*) are the basis for determining fair and responsible leaders. This is different from other political systems, which may emphasize the benefits of specific individuals or groups without considering the general welfare.

In addition, *siyasah dusturiyah* emphasizes political education based on Islamic values, which helps novice voters understand the importance of political participation in a religious and moral context. This education is about election procedures and the ethical and moral values that must be adhered to in choosing leaders. It provides a robust framework for new voters to make wiser and more responsible decisions, unlike other systems that may focus only on technical and procedural aspects.

Another advantage of *siyasah dusturiyah* is the existence of a consultation mechanism (*shura*), which allows broader participation. In this system, new voters can contribute directly to decision-making through consultation with leaders and community figures. This creates a strong sense of shared ownership and responsibility, often lacking in other political systems. This participation ensures that political decisions taken reflect the will and interests of society as a whole.

Lastly, *siyasah dusturiyah* offers a holistic approach to integrating political life with spiritual and moral values. New voters are taught to see political participation as part of worship and devotion to Allah. This provides a solid spiritual motivation to participate in politics responsibly and ethically. In contrast to other political systems, which may be more secular and materialistic, *siyasah dusturiyah* provides more profound meaning and higher goals for the political participation of novice voters.

Overall, the comparison between *siyasah dusturiyah* and other political systems shows that *siyasah dusturiyah* offers a unique approach and has many advantages in encouraging the participation of novice voters. Combining Sharia principles with the political process, providing political education based on Islamic values, and providing an inclusive consultation mechanism, *siyasah dusturiyah* can create more meaningful, responsible, and fair political participation.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The political participation of new voters is essential in every election, especially with the dominance of Generation Z and millennials in the 2024 elections. New voters have a dynamic political orientation and are influenced by factors such as family, environment, education, and mass media. This research shows that new voters' political awareness is strongly influenced by family habits and guidance, as well as the need for more intensive political education. Effective and innovative outreach is needed from the General Election Commission (KPU) to increase their participation. New voters must also understand the importance of their participation in Islamic principles, which emphasize trust and obedience to leaders to benefit the people. Therefore, new voters must be encouraged to participate actively in elections, exercise their rights and responsibilities as good citizens, and contribute to the country's democratization process. This research contributes by providing insight into the factors that influence the political participation of new voters and provides practical recommendations for increasing that participation. Future research could explore more specific political education strategies for different demographics of new voters.

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