Social Stratification on the Political Participation of Generation Z Women in Pantai Bahagia Village and Medalkrisna Village, Bekasi Regency

Dhesi Andriyani[1], Sofyan Sjaf[2], Lala M. Kolopaking[3]

[1] Agricultural and Rural Development Communication Study Program, Faculty of Human Ecology, IPB University, Indonesia

[2,3] Department of Communication Science and Community Development, Faculty of Human Ecology, IPB University, Indonesia

ABSTRACT: This study aims to understand the relationship between social stratification and the political participation of Generation Z women in Pantai Bahagia Village and Medalkrisna Village, Bekasi Regency. The method used was a mixed-methods approach that combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The political participation of Generation Z women was measured based on the forms of conventional, non-conventional, cultural, and digital participation. The research results indicate that there is variation in political participation based on social stratification, with the lower strata tending to be more active in conventional political participation, the middle strata being more active in digital political participation, and the upper strata being more involved in election administration. This study highlights the importance of creating an inclusive political environment to enhance young women's political participation.

KEYWORDS: Digital Participation, Generation Z Women, Village, Social Stratification, Political Participation

I. INTRODUCTION

Political participation is a key indicator of a democratic political system that includes elections, accountable governance, majority decision-making, and principles such as civil liberties, legal equality, and the rule of law (Thakur, 2003; Zelič, 2022). In a democracy, the relationship between the government and citizens is the ability of the state to provide public services where the government serves its people. (Chan, 2001; Sjaf, 2014; Thakur, 2003). General elections (Pemilu) have become a platform for citizens to choose and evaluate their leaders and representatives (Kolopaking et al., 2020; Smyth, 2006).

In Indonesia, voter turnout in the 2019 elections reached 76.09%, with female participation at 50.1%, which was slightly higher than that of males (49.99%). Recent data show that, in the 2024 elections, the number of female voters (102,588,719 individuals) was also higher than that of males (102.218.503 individuals). A high level of participation reflects great enthusiasm; however, women's active participation in political forums, political education, and public policy formulation remains low (Lupien, 2021, 2022).

The low participation of women is influenced by various factors, such as education level, access to information, gender stereotypes, and traditional roles within the family and society. Regional inequality also affects women's political participation. Nevertheless, women's participation in elections can ensure that issues important to women are accommodated in public policy (Cronkleton et al., 2021) This research aims to understand the political participation of Generation Z women in Bekasi Regency, West Java. Generation Z, born between the mid-1997 and early 2012, is a age group of 13-33 years that has grown up in the digital era. They have easy access to political information through social media and the Internet as well as a high awareness of social and environmental issues (Djuyandi et al., 2020, 2023; Dodson & Papoutsaki, 2017). The political participation of Generation Z is influenced by their involvement in activism and the values of inclusivity and diversity(Deckman & McDonald, 2023a, 2023b; McDonald & Deckman, 2023).

In the political context, Generation Z demonstrates a higher level of education and broader access to information, which makes them more discernible in analyzing political information and participating based on a deep understanding (Djuyandi et al. 2023).

Social Stratification on the Political Participation of Generation Z Women in Pantai Bahagia Village and Medalkrisna Village, Bekasi Regency

However, challenges remain, such as gender barriers and socioeconomic inequalities, which can reduce the political participation of young women(Grasso & Smith, 2022; Holyoak, 2015).

This study highlights the importance of addressing specific gender challenges and creating an inclusive political environment to enhance the participation of young women from diverse social backgrounds. Based on previous research, factors such as age, gender, marital status, employment status, and financial resources influence young women's decisions to participate in the political process(Moraa, Lillian, & Josephine, 2021). Online activism and new media also play important roles in engaging young women in political discussions. (Schuster 2013). With a focus on the relationship between social strata and the political participation of Generation Z women in rural areas during the 2024 elections, this research is expected to provide a deeper understanding of the factors influencing the political participation of young women, as well as ways to overcome existing obstacles.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

A. Approach and Research Design

This study employed a mixed-methods approach that combines both quantitative and qualitative methods. Valeriani and Plano Clark (2021) emphasized that mixed methods are suitable for complex problems and are widely used in the social sciences. Aramo-Immonen (2013) stated that mixed methods can clearly articulate research design, including triangulation. Halcomb (2019) distinguished mixed methods from combined approaches and emphasized the explicit integration of qualitative and quantitative elements.

According to Vargas-Amezcua (2015), this approach provides a way to understand the complexity of social reality by using various methodological tools to obtain and analyze information. The quantitative method is used to describe the participation issues of Generation Z in village head elections, whereas the qualitative method provides deeper and more objective information. (Neuman 2011). This study employs a sequential explanatory strategy that involves the collection and analysis of quantitative data on the relationship between social stratification and the forms of women's political participation in elections. Based on these initial results, the second stage collected and analyzed qualitative data to investigate the political participation preferences of Generation Z women in elections.

B. Sampling Techniques and Informants

In the survey activities, respondents were selected using a sampling method through cluster sampling based on the sampling framework of Precision Village Data (DDP). The number of female voters according to DDP in Medalkrisna Village is 1,294, and in Pantai Bahagia Village, there are 2,411 individuals. The sampling framework was constructed based on the female population of Generation Z in Pantai Bahagia Village, which amounts to 1,156 individuals in Muaragembong District, and in Medalkrisna Village, which has 463 individuals in Bojongmangu District, Bekasi Regency, West Java. Forty respondents from each village were selected. The selected respondents met the following criteria.

1. Generation Z: Females.
2. Generation Z, who has the right to vote.
3. Generation Z is aged 17-24 years or older on the day of voting, married, or married.
4. Generation Z was selected based on educational participation preferences (not in school, elementary school, middle school, high school, or higher education).
5. Generation Z had a general understanding of the topic being researched. However, their knowledge is limited.

They were selected using cluster sampling from the population, which was the subject of this research. The stages for determining the cluster sampling are shown in Figure 2.

Social Stratification on the Political Participation of Generation Z Women in Pantai Bahagia Village and Medalkrisna Village, Bekasi Regency
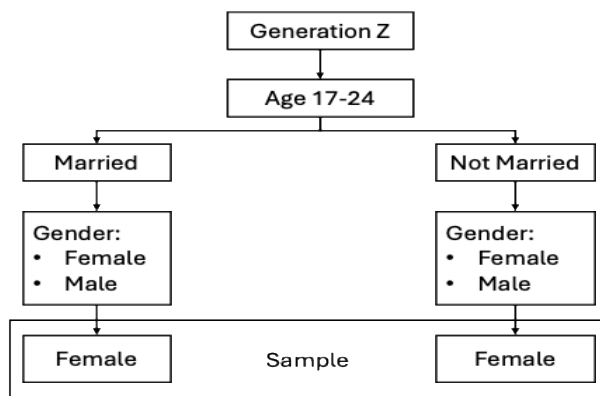

Figure 1: stages of sample determination

Figure 2 shows the stages of sample determination. Sample determination began by categorizing Generation Z and non-Generation Z in the Precision Village Data (DDP). Generations are categorized based on age and marital status, which are prerequisites for participation in elections. Subsequently, Generation Z is categorized by gender, distinguishing between males and females. In this study, the sample consists of female members of Generation Z who have voted in the 2024 elections.

In selecting informants, researchers often use selection criteria based on their knowledge and experience, while respondents can be randomly chosen from the population being studied. The selection of informants based on the criteria of female Generation Z voters in elections requires special consideration to ensure that the chosen informants adequately represent the demographic group in both villages.

C. Location and Time of Research

This research was conducted in Pantai Bahagia Village, Muara Gembong District, Bekasi Regency, West Java. Specifically, the research was conducted in two villages: Pantai Bahagia and Pantai Sederhana (figures 2 and 3). This village is a coastal area with fishermen as its livelihood, whereas Medalkrisna Village, located in Bojongmangu District, Bekasi Regency, represents an agrarian village with farmers as its livelihood. These two typologies are expected to illustrate the characteristics of political participation of Generation Z women in the 2024 elections.

Figure 2 Medalkrisna Village

Figure 3 Medalkrisna Village
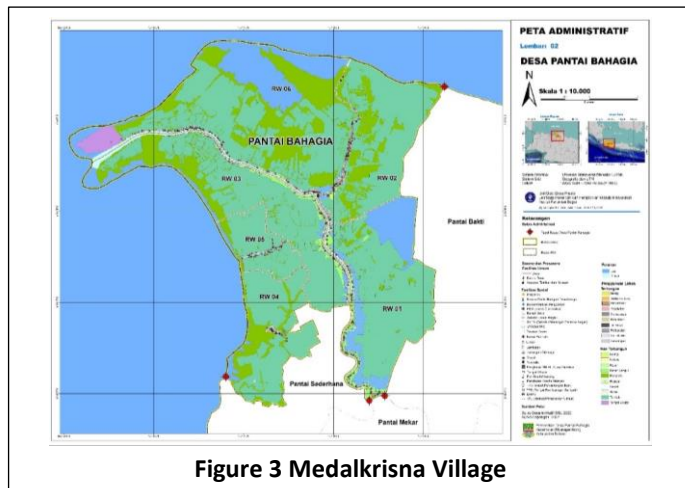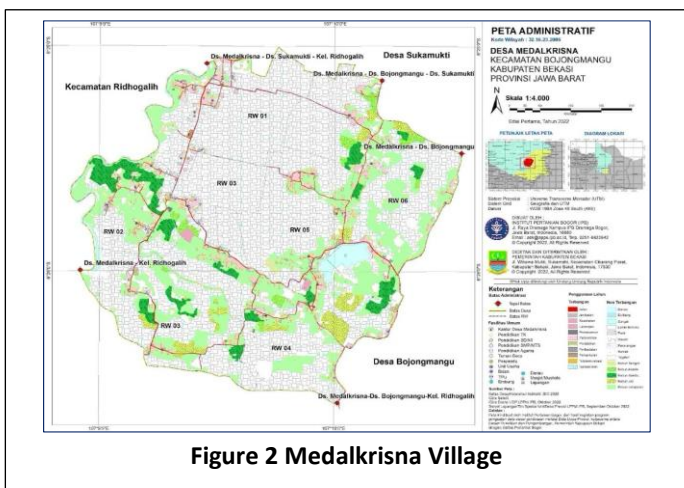
This location was selected purposefully with several considerations: first, the representation of coastal and agrarian village typologies was chosen to illustrate the characteristics of social stratification and political participation of Generation Z women in two different environments; second, the diversity of livelihoods influences the social stratification and political participation of women.

D. Data Collection Techniques

This study used both primary and secondary data. Secondary data used in this study were obtained from literature searches and documents relevant to previous research topics. Primary data were collected through quantitative methods. The tools used for collecting primary data in this study included questionnaires for quantitative data collection and interview guidelines for qualitative *data.*

Social Stratification on the Political Participation of Generation Z Women in Pantai Bahagia Village and Medalkrisna Village, Bekasi Regency

E. Data Analysis

The unit of analysis in household-based research refers to the level of participation of Generation Z women in household groups. Social stratification refers to the calculation of Law Number 13 of 2011 concerning the Handling of the Poor (Law 13/2011), where households are placed into layers based on the attributes of clothing, food, shelter, education, and employment. The Social Layering Categories (KLS), which consist of lower, middle, and upper, were obtained from the average scores of food, clothing, shelter, education, and employment, using the following formula:

$$\text{Social stratification} = \frac{\text{food} + \text{Clothing} + \text{Shelter} + \text{Education} + \text{Work}}{5}$$

The KLS scores were classified based on the following table:

1. If the KLS score was less than 1.94, it was classified as a lower layer.
2. If $1.97 \leq$ KLS score ≤ 2.55, it can be classified as a middle layer.
3. If the KLS score was >2.55, it was classified as an upper layer.

The categorization of social layers was determined using standard deviation with the following formula:

$$X = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} x_1}{n}$$

X is the average, xi is the value of the ith data point, and n is the number of data points. Subsequently, it was calculated using the standard deviation as follows:

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n}(x_1 - x)^2}{n}}$$

σ (sigma) is the standard deviation, xi_ is the value of the ith data point, and x is the mean. Subsequently, the limits of the standard deviation categories are determined as follows:

1. In the lower layer, the value below the geometric mean is subtracted from the standard deviation. This indicator is determined using the following formula:
   $x < x\text{-}σ$
2. The middle layer of values that lies between the geometric mean minus the standard deviation and the mean plus one standard deviation was calculated using the following formula:
   $x\text{-}σ \leq x \leq x\text{+}σ$
3. The upper layer, when the value is above the average, is added to one standard deviation using the following formula:
$x < x + σ$

The next step is to conduct a Spearman correlation test for all respondents in each category of social strata based on the forms of participation of Generation Z women using the following formula:

$$r_s = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$$

Where:

r_s = Spearman correlation coefficient.

d_i = difference in ranks between two variables.

n = Number of data pairs.

The results of the correlation test were categorized based on the strength of the relationship between the variables. A value of rs close to 1 indicates a strong positive correlation (the higher the social layer, the higher the political participation), whereas a value of rs close to -1 indicates a strong negative correlation (the lower the social layer, the higher the political participation). If rs is close to zero, the correlation is very weak.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Characteristics of Generation Z Women in the 2024 Election

The respondents in this study are female Generation Z voters in the 2024 elections, characterized by age, education level, marital status, and occupation. The respondents in this study totaled 80, with 40 Generation Z females from Medalkrisna Village and 40 from Pantai Bahagia Village, as presented in Table 1.

Social Stratification on the Political Participation of Generation Z Women in Pantai Bahagia Village and Medalkrisna Village, Bekasi Regency

Table 1. Characteristics of Generation Z Female Voters in the 2024 Election

Description	Respondent Characteristics	Medakrisna Village		Pantai Bahagia Village		Total
		Total	Percentage (%)	Total	Percentage (%)	
Gender	Male	0	0	0	0	0
	Female	40	100	40	100	80
Age	24-27	10	25	13	33	23
	20-23	21	53	18	45	39
	17-19	9	23	9	23	18
	12-16	0	0	0	0	0
Education Level	No Certificate of					
Marital Status	Completion Elementary	2	5	2	5	4
	School/Equivalent Junior High	2	5	0	0	2
	School/Equivalent Senior High	8	20	5	13	13
	School/Equivalent Bachelor's	26	65	27	68	53
	Degree/Diploma 4	2	5	6	15	8
	Merried	14	35	7	18	21
	Not Merried	16	40	32	80	48
	Divorce	0	0	1	3	1
Main Job	Working	8	20	3	8	11
	Not Working	32	80	37	93	69
Side Job	Having	2	5	0	0	2
	Does not Have	38	95	40	100	78

Table 12 shows that the characteristics of respondents in Medalkrisna Village with the highest number are in the age category of 20-23 years, accounting for 53% (21 individuals), while in Bahagia Beach, it is 45% (18 individuals). The second largest category is in the age group of 24-27, with Medalkrisna Village having 25% or 10 respondents and Bahagia Beach having 33% or 13 respondents. Furthermore, respondents in the age category of 17-19 years in Medalkrisna Village made up 23% or 9 individuals, while in Bahagia Beach, it was 23% or 18 individuals. This category represents female Gen Z voters as first-time voters in the 2024 elections. Meanwhile, the overall characteristics of female respondents are predominantly in the age category of 20-23, totaling 39 individuals, while first-time voters in the age group of 17-19 years account for 23% or 18 individuals. The data on first-time voters were reinforced by an interview with MN, who stated that:

"I feel nervous about voting this year because it's my first time participating." Actually, I have wanted to vote since 2019, but I wasn't old enough at that time. I wanted to vote for my idol candidate that year. "Finally, this year I was able to choose him, and I won." (WW, 29 Februari 2024)

The educational characteristics of female Generation Z respondents in the 2024 elections show that a dominant 65% or 26 respondents from Medalkrisna Village and 68% or 27 respondents from Pantai Bahagia Village hold a high school diploma, resulting in an overall 66% of respondents with a high school diploma. However, there are also Generation Z individuals who do not have a diploma or have dropped out, with two respondents (5 %) in both Medalkrisna and Pantai Bahagia Villages. Meanwhile, the percentage of female Generation Z voters with a bachelor's degree (S1/D4) in Medalkrisna Village is only 5% or two individuals, while in Pantai Bahagia, it is 15% or six individuals. Additionally, the percentage of respondents with a junior high school education in Medalkrisna Village was 20% or 8 individuals, and in Pantai Bahagia, it was 13% or 5 individuals.

The characteristics of female Generation Z respondents make them the youngest group of eligible voters for the 2024 election cycle. This generation is characterized by digital utilization, having grown up with the Internet and social media, which are significantly related to information consumption, political engagement, and decision-making processes. This characteristic provides an overview of the traits of Generation Z women in the formation of layers in Medalkrisna and Pantai Bahagia Villages.

Social Stratification on the Political Participation of Generation Z Women in Pantai Bahagia Village and Medalkrisna Village, Bekasi Regency

The social stratification system of Generation Z women has complex and diverse issues, where gender intersects with social layers, social hierarchy, and human generational development. This research examines how the position of women in society relates to various aspects determined by the Law on the Poor, including age, education, employment, clothing, food, and housing, as presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Percentage Based on Social Stratification of Generation Z Women in Medalkrisna Village and Pantai Bahagia Village

Social Stratification	Percentage of Social Stratification (%)		Total Percentage (%)
	Medalkrisna Village	Pantai Bahagia Village	
Lower Layer	5	38	21
Middle Layer	70	77,5	61
Upper Layer	25	17,5	18

Table 2 shows the social distribution of Generation Z women in Medalkrisna Village and Pantai Bahagia Village. In Medalkrisna Village, 5% of Generation Z women fall into the lower category, while in Pantai Bahagia Village, this figure is 38%. In the middle category, Medalkrisna Village has 70% and Pantai Bahagia has 77.5%. In the upper category, there were 25% and 17.5% Medalkrisna Village and Pantai Bahagia, respectively. The total number of Generation Z women surveyed in both villages was 80, with 40 individuals in each village.

The results of this study emphasize that the welfare level of Generation Z women in Medalkrisna Village is higher than that in Pantai Bahagia Village, indicating that Generation Z women in Medalkrisna Village may have better access to economic resources, education, and job opportunities. This can influence their position within the family, where they may play a more active role. The position of Generation Z women in the family is more dominantly characterized as family members, as identified in Table 14, which presents the employment status of women within the family.

Table 3 Employment Status of Generation Z Women in Families

Employment	Status in the Family (People)					
	Medalkrisna Village			Pantai Bahagia Village		
	Head of Family	Wife	Child	Head of Family	Wife	Child
Household Manager	0	12	0	0	7	0
Student/University student	0	0	10	0	0	18
Freelance workers	0	1	3	1	0	14
Not Working	0	1	9	0	0	0
Contract Employee	0	0	4	0	0	0
Amount	0	14	26	1	7	32

Table 3 shows that Generation Z women who are wives only work as housekeepers in Medalkrisna Village, with 12 women and 7 women in Pantai Bahagia Village, totaling 29 women. This indicates that the role of women in managing households remains dominant. On the other hand, in terms of education, there are 10 women in Medalkrisna Village and 18 women in Pantai Bahagia Village who are students or college students, totaling 28 women. This shows that many Generation Z women are preparing for the future through their education.

In the category of casual workers, there was one wife and three daughters in Medalkrisna Village, as well as one head of the household and 14 daughters in Pantai Bahagia Village, totaling 16 women. This indicates a significant difference in employment status between the two villages, with more women working as casual laborers in Pantai Bahagia. In the category of non-workers, there was one wife and nine daughters in Medalkrisna, with no data from Pantai Bahagia, totaling ten women. Meanwhile, in the category of contract employees, there were four daughters in Medalkrisna with no data from Pantai Bahagia, totaling four women.

The total number of respondents consisted of 40 women in Medalkrisna Village and 40 women in Pantai Bahagia Village, making a total of 80 women. Generation Z women in both villages play a larger role in the domestic sphere as household managers, especially wives. This status is more symbolic because, although they play an important role in the household, their contributions are more non-material or indirect to the family's economy. However, there is a significant difference in employment status between the two villages, where in Pantai Bahagia Village, more women work as daily laborers than in Medalkrisna Village. Most

Social Stratification on the Political Participation of Generation Z Women in Pantai Bahagia Village and Medalkrisna Village, Bekasi Regency

working women are young, indicating that the economic contributions of families are being increasingly taken up by the younger generation of women. A small number of Generation Z women are not working, with most of them located in Medalkrisna Village.

In addition, many Generation Z women who are students or college students indicate that they are preparing for the future. The number of Generation Z women who are students in Pantai Bahagia village is greater by 18 individuals compared in Medalkrisna village, which has only 10. In terms of educational attainment, Generation Z women in Pantai Bahagia are better off than those in Medalkrisna Village. However, the quality of education can be seen in Table 4, which shows the characteristics of education among women of different generations and their positions within the family, as illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4 Education Status of Generation Z Women in Families

| Education | Status Dalam Keluarga (jiwa) | | | | | | Amount |
| | Medalkrisna Village | | | Pantai Bahagia Village | | | |
	Head of Family	Wife	Child	Head of Family	Wife	Child	
No Certificate of Completion	0	1	1	0	1	2	5
Elementary School/Equivalent	0	2	0	0	0	2	4
Junior High School/Equivalent	0	5	15	1	2	9	32
Senior High School/Equivalent	0	6	0	0	4	17	37
Bachelor's Degree/Diploma 4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
No Certificate of Completion	0	0	4	0	0	1	1
Amount	0	14	26	1	7	32	80

Table 4 shows that the status of female Gen Z voters in both Medalkrisna Village and Pantai Bahagia Village is predominantly that of children, with 26 respondents in Medalkrisna and 32 in Pantai Bahagia. However, these data also indicate that many Gen Z women are already wives, with 14 in Medalkrisna and 7 in Pantai Bahagia. These data emphasize that Gen Z women play an important role in the family, both in the domestic sphere and in participation in elections. However, their roles are not materially recognized. Their roles are related to the status and symbolism within the family structure. This indicates the need to recognize and appreciate the contributions of women in various aspects of life, both at home and outside, as well as to support them in obtaining equal economic opportunities.

B. The Relationship Between Social Stratification and Forms of Political Participation in Elections

The social stratification system plays a crucial role in determining the level of political participation of Generation Z women. Social stratification, which includes aspects such as clothing, food, housing, education, and employment, often shapes young women's opportunities and obstacles in engaging in political activities. Generation Z women from higher social strata tended to have better access to political education. In contrast, those from the lower social strata may face greater obstacles. The relationship between social stratification and forms of social participation was tested using Spearman's rank correlation, as presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Relationship between social strata and forms of political participation.

| Forms of Political Participation | Correlation Test Results | | |
	Lower Layer	Middle Layer	Upper Layer
Conventional Political Participation	0,246**	-0,010	-0,466*
Non-Conventional Political Participation	-0,122	-0,039	0,153
Cultural Political Participation	0,159	0,170	0,120
Digital Political Participation	-0,389*	0,285**	-0,635*
Participation in Political Forums	0,111	-0,005	0,006
Participation in Election Administration	0,109	-0,188*	0,199**

Description:

** a positive relationship that is quite significant

* a negative relationship that is quite significant

Social Stratification on the Political Participation of Generation Z Women in Pantai Bahagia Village and Medalkrisna Village, Bekasi Regency

Table 3 shows that the relationship between the lower layer and conventional participation had a correlation coefficient of 0.246, indicating a positive relationship. A positive correlation value suggests that the direction of the relationship is unidirectional. This means that the increase in the number of lower layers of political participation is high in conventional participation, but its influence has not yet been sufficiently significant in the 2024 elections. Meanwhile, Digital Political Participation and the relationship between social stratification and digital political participation have a correlation coefficient of -0.388, indicating a moderate relationship in a negative direction. This means that an increase in the lower strata leads to a decrease in digital political participation.

The different relationship at the middle layer with digital political participation, with a correlation coefficient of 0.285, indicates a moderately positive relationship. This suggests that the higher social strata within the middle layer are associated with increased digital political participation among Generation Z women. This significant correlation with digital political participation may reflect the growing importance of digital platforms as a means of political engagement for Generation Z women in the middle layer.

Different tendencies are also seen in the upper social strata regarding the forms of political participation of Generation Z women. The relationship of the upper social strata has a positive correlation with electoral participation (0.199). Meanwhile, the relationship between social stratification (upper strata) and digital political participation, with a correlation coefficient of -0.635, indicates a strong negative correlation between upper social stratification and digital political participation. This means that the higher the social position in the upper strata, the lower is the digital political participation among Generation Z women, indicating a statistically significant relationship.

This finding emphasizes that each social layer has a different tendency to participate in the 2024 elections. For instance, the lower layer among Generation Z women is more involved in conventional political activities such as providing tools, volunteering for campaigns, and voting in elections. Meanwhile, the middle layer tends to utilize social media to seek information about political issues and candidates. Different tendencies are also observed at the upper levels related to the organization of elections, particularly those who serve as organizers, such as the Voting Committee (PPS) and the Group of Voting Organizers. (KPPS).

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This research explores the relationship between social stratification and the political participation of Generation Z women in Pantai Bahagia Village and Medalkrisna Village in Bekasi Regency. The research findings indicate significant variation in political participation based on social strata. Women from lower social strata tend to be more active in conventional political activities such as voting and attending political meetings. In contrast, women from the middle social strata are more involved in digital political participation, using social media and online platforms to voice political opinions and engage in political discussions. Women from the upper social strata are more engaged in election administration and participate as organizers and election officials.

Social stratification, which is defined by factors such as education, occupation, and economic status, plays a crucial role in shaping political participation. Women from lower social strata often face greater obstacles to political participation due to their limited access to information about opportunities to engage in the political arena. By contrast, those from higher social strata have better access to resources that facilitate their involvement in political activities.

The distinction between conventional participation and other forms of participation is crucial for understanding the political behavior of Generation Z women. Conventional participation includes voting, attending political meetings, and partisan campaigning. Digital participation includes engagement in political discussions on social media and digital platforms to access political information. This research highlights that although conventional participation remains significant, digital participation is increasingly becoming an important aspect of political engagement, especially among the middle and upper social classes.
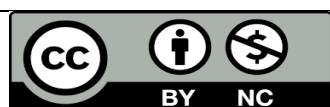
V. ACKNOWLEDGMENT

REFERENCES

1) Chan, S. (2001). *Liberalism, Democracy and Development*. *Liberalism, Democracy and Development*. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511491818

Social Stratification on the Political Participation of Generation Z Women in Pantai Bahagia Village and Medalkrisna Village, Bekasi Regency

2) Cronkleton, P., Evans, K., Addoah, T., Dumont, E. S., Zida, M., & Djoudi, H. (2021). Using participatory approaches to enhance women's engagement in natural resource management in Northern Ghana. *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, *13*(13). https://doi.org/10.3390/su13137072

3) Deckman, M., & McDonald, J. (2023a). Uninspired by Old White Guys: The Mobilizing Factor of Younger, More Diverse Candidates for Gen Z Women. *Politics & Gender*, *19*(1), 195–219. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X21000477

4) Deckman, M., & McDonald, J. (2023b). Uninspired by Old White Guys: The Mobilizing Factor of Younger, More Diverse Candidates for Gen Z Women. *Politics & Gender*, *19*(1), 195–219. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X21000477

5) Djuyandi, Y., Darmawan, W. B., & Jumroh. (2020). Political Participation of Sub Urban Society in Democracy Process (A Lesson from Sumedang, Indonesia). *Talent Development & Excellence*, *12*(1).

6) Djuyandi, Y., Darmawan, W. B., & Jumroh. (2023). Democracy and local political participation in Sumedang, Indonesia. *Journal of Public Affairs*, *23*(1). https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.2726

7) Dodson, G., & Papoutsaki, E. (2017). Youth-led activism and political engagement in New Zealand: A survey of Generation Zero. *Communication Research and Practice*, *3*(2), 194–211. https://doi.org/10.1080/22041451.2016.1228994

8) Grasso, M., & Smith, K. (2022). Gender inequalities in political participation and political engagement among young people in Europe: Are young women less politically engaged than young men? *Politics*, *42*(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/02633957211028813

9) Holyoak, R. E. (2015). *Young Women's Gendered Subjectivity and Agency in Social Movement Activism*. the University of Leicester, Leicester.

10) Kolopaking, L. M., Tonny, F., & Hakim, L. (2020). Relevansi dan Jejak Pemikiran Prof. Dr. S.M.P. Tjondronegoro dalam Pendidikan Sosiologi Pedesaan. *Sodality: Jurnal Sosiologi Pedesaan*, *09*(1), 42–54.

11) Lupien, P. (2021). Women and participatory mechanisms in Latin America: deepening democracy or more of the same? *Gender, Place and Culture*, *28*(9). https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2020.1817874

12) Lupien, P. (2022). Participatory Democracy, Democratic Education, and Women. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *54*(4). https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X22000517

13) McDonald, J., & Deckman, M. (2023). New voters, new attitudes: how Gen Z Americans rate candidates with respect to generation, gender, and race. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, *11*(2), 345–365. https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2021.1962372

14) Moraa, O. R., Lillian, C., & Josephine, O. (2021). Socio-economic Factors Affecting Participation of Young Women in Political Processes: Case Study of Nyamira South Sub County, Kenya. *Advances in Sciences and Humanities*, *7*(4). https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ash.20210704.11

15) Sjaf, S. (2014). *Politik Etnik: Dinamika Lokal di Kendari*. Jakarta: Pustaka Obor.

16) Smyth, R. (2006). *Candidate strategies and electoral competition in the Russian federation: Democracy without foundation*. *Candidate Strategies and Electoral Competition in the Russian Federation: Democracy Without Foundation*. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511510397

17) Thakur, R. (2003). Liberalism, democracy and development. *Choice Reviews Online*, *40*(10), 333–349. https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.40-6045

18) Wong, M. Y. H., & Wong, S. H.-W. (2022). Income Inequality and Political Participation: A District-Level Analysis of Hong Kong Elections. *Social Indicators Research*, *162*(3), 959–977. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-021-02863-9

19) Zelič, N. (2022). Civic Friendship, Democracy, and Fairness. *Prolegomena*, *21*(1). https://doi.org/10.26362/20220106