



Political Behavior of Millennial Voters

(A Social Reality Study on the 2024 Legislative Election in Lowokwaru District, Malang City)

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ABSTRACT

Political behavior of voters is one of the issues that is always interesting to discuss by both experts and political practitioners. Political behavior determines whether or not a legislative candidate is elected in the election, and also determines the victory of a political party. One of the voter groups with a very large number is millennial voters. Millennial voters are generation Y or the middle group of generation X and generation Z voters who have different political behavior from other groups. This study was conducted to describe and analyze the political behavior of millennial voters in Lowokwaru District, Malang City in the 2024 election. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach. Meanwhile, data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews with many millennial voters from various educational backgrounds, jobs, and places of residence. The theory used to analyze this study is the theory of political behavior proposed by (Harrop & Miller 1987). According to both of them, the political behavior of voters is shaped by three factors; sociological, economic, and political factors. This study describes the existence of sociological, economic, and political factors in the behavior of millennial voters in Lowokwaru District, Malang City in the 2024 election. However, this study also found that there are other factors that shape voter behavior, namely psychological factors and political communication, especially social media that shape the behavior of millennial voters. Empirically, this study contributes to election implementation policies, especially for political parties and the General Election Commission, millennial voters can have their political behavior shaped based on the five things above. Theoretically, this study corrects the theory of political behavior of Harrop & Miller 1987 voters which states that there are only three factors that shape voter behavior, namely social, economic and political. Meanwhile, for millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, there are also other factors that shape the political behavior of voters, namely psychological factors such as the attitudes and actions of legislative candidates, and political communication carried out, especially on social media.

Keywords: Millennial Voters, Rational Choice, Sociological Voters.

1. INTRODUCTION

Millennial voters belong to a demographic that is highly susceptible to various political issues. This vulnerability exists because millennials are at an age where they are easily influenced. According to multiple perspectives on millennial voters, the young voter category falls within the age range of 24-44 years. This stage of life is crucial for identity and character formation. During this period, individuals undergo a process of self-discovery, which includes forming social groups. As they seek their identity and affiliations, millennial voters become highly susceptible to various influences, including political interests and issues.

Millennial voters are known to be creative, socially connected through digital platforms, and highly confident. However, excessive confidence can become destructive in political contests, particularly if it disrupts their emotional maturity. This can lead to a disregard for morality, ethics, and politeness in their social and political behavior (Saputra & Firdaus, 2023). As active users of social media, millennial voters are vulnerable to media harassment and cybercrime, both of which negatively impact their cognitive maturity. Over time, social media has evolved beyond being a platform for online interaction; it has also become a crucial tool for political communication. Political discourse on social media is strategically designed to influence perceptions and ultimately shape the behavior of millennial voters, the most active demographic on these platforms. While other age groups also use social media,

millennials remain the predominant users (Prasetyanti, 2017). Consequently, they are more susceptible to misinformation and fake news.

Social media serves as the most effective medium for spreading both information and disinformation, including hoaxes. The Indonesian Ministry of Communication and Informatics has reported a significant rise in the spread of fake news (Damayanti et al., 2019). A 2018 survey conducted by the Ministry of Home Affairs' Research and Development Agency found that 44% of hoaxes were undetectable to the Indonesian public. Another study by the Indonesian Telecommunications Society in 2017 revealed that social media was responsible for 92.4% of fake news distribution, followed by websites (34.9%) and messaging applications (62.8%) (Delmana, 2023).

According to official government data, from 2018 to March 2023, Indonesia recorded 11,357 cases of fake news or hoaxes. Of these, 1,355 cases—over 10%—were related to politics (Kominfo RI, 2023). In 2018, there were 997 reported hoaxes, but the number surged to 3,356 in 2019, with 916 of these being political hoaxes. This sharp increase coincided with Indonesia's 2019 legislative and presidential elections, as well as the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2020, the number of hoaxes dropped to 1,984, almost a 50% decrease. The figures remained high in 2021 (1,773 cases) and 2022 (1,698 cases).

Table 1. Data on Fake News/Hoaxes in Indonesia in the Last Five Years

Year 2018	Year 2019	Year 2020	Year 2021	Year 2022
997 cases	3,356 cases	1,984 cases	1,773 cases	1,698 cases

(Source: Andik, 2024).

The figures presented by the Ministry of Communication and Informatics are quantitative, based on the number of identified cases. However, the extent of distribution and repetition has not been precisely explained. Every fake news or hoax related to politics has been disseminated repeatedly, and the pattern of spreading fake or false news follows a chain distribution. This was revealed by Edwin Arief Sosiawan and Rudi Wibowo. In 2019, there was an escalation in the spread of hoaxes compared to 2014. The dissemination of hoax news occurred on social media platforms such as YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and WhatsApp. Hoax news follows a chain distribution, and there is a reproduction of previously existing hoaxes. The amplification of hoax news is highly effective through social media (Sosiawan & Wibowo, 2019). The spread of hoaxes multiplies because they are deliberately aimed at influencing the target audience's thoughts, subsequently shaping their behavior. This causes many recipients of hoaxes to be easily provoked into spreading the information to their peers, leading to the rapid and widespread dissemination of hoaxes (Rahadi, 2017).

Additionally, there is a permissive attitude toward fake news or hoaxes. According to a survey conducted by Katadata Insight Center (KIC) in collaboration with the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kemenkominfo) in 2021, 26.3% of respondents considered fake news to be a moderate issue. However, an increasing number of respondents viewed hoaxes as a minor problem, with 14.3% in 2021 compared to only 9.2% in 2020 (Dihni, 2022). Furthermore, 11.9% of respondents admitted to having spread hoaxes in 2021, an increase from 11.2% in the previous year (Jayani, 2022).

Apart from fake news or hoaxes, another issue that poses a significant threat to millennial voters is transactional politics or vote-buying. Vote-buying can be initiated by political parties, campaign teams, and political brokers. However, it can also stem from the initiative of voters themselves (Saenong & Aris, 2023). In Yogyakarta, 60.91% of voters admitted to being offered vote-buying, either in cash or goods. Among them, 49.75% stated that they would accept money from political party members or campaign teams, although they were not necessarily committed to voting for the candidate who provided the money (Purwanto et al., 2023). The mobilization of millennial voters for political purposes is often not purely driven by their willingness to participate in political activities but rather influenced by pragmatic political interests, financial incentives, or other material benefits (Syamsu et al., 2022).

Amidst the apathy and political indifference of millennial voters, including their disinterest in elections and political parties, the number of millennial voters continues to increase significantly. This is evident from the Indonesian Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas) in 2017, which reported that the millennial generation comprised approximately 88 million people or 33.75% of Indonesia's total population. This proportion is larger than that of previous generations, such as Generation X at only 25.74% and the Baby Boomers and Veterans combined at just

11.27%. Meanwhile, Generation Z accounted for around 29.23%. This demographic shift follows Indonesia's general trend of transitioning from a rural to an urban society (BPS, 2017).

Similarly, the number of millennial voters in every election since 2004 has continued to increase significantly. In the 2004 election, the number of young voters was 27 million, or 18%. In the 2009 election, this figure rose to 37 million, or 21%. The number continued to grow in the 2014 election, reaching 50 million, or 30% of the total electorate. By the 2019 election, the number of millennial voters had increased to 85 million, accounting for 45% of the total electorate. In the 2024 election, the number of millennial voters saw a drastic rise to 113 million, surpassing 56% of the total electorate. This figure now represents more than half of the total eligible voters.

Table 2. Growth in the Number of Millennial Voters in General Elections in Indonesia

Year 2004	Year 2009	Year 2014	Year 2019	Year 2024
27 million	37 million	50 million	85 million	113 million
18.4%	21%	30%	45%	56.45%

(Source: Andik, 2024).

According to Muhammad Asfar, there are three common approaches used to explain voter behavior. First, the sociological approach. This approach is also known as the traditional approach, as it views voter behavior as being heavily influenced by social characteristics such as occupation, education, and so on. It also considers social groupings, such as age (young-old), gender (male-female), religion, and others. These factors are considered significant in shaping political behavior.

Second, the psychological approach. In this approach, three aspects influence the decision to vote or not: emotional attachment to a political party, orientation towards issues, and orientation towards candidates.

Third, the rationality approach. This approach assumes that voters will choose the candidate who provides the greatest benefits while minimizing losses (Asfar, 2006).

The rationality approach has significantly developed in voter behavior studies. This is related to what voters gain when they support a particular candidate. Voter motivation in making choices can be based on the principle of behavior that considers cost and reward. This principle is similar to economic principles, which weigh profit and loss in every transaction (Cottam et al., 2012). Political parties and legislative candidates competing in elections typically do not rely on a single approach when engaging with voters. Instead, they tend to adopt multiple approaches to gain sympathy and support.

In Malang City, East Java, the number of millennial voters is also quite significant for the 2024 general election. According to available data, approximately 250,000 millennial voters will have the right to vote in the 2024 election in Malang City. This figure accounts for nearly 50 percent of the total permanent voter list (DPT) for the 2024 legislative elections, showing an increase from the 2019 general election, where the number of millennial voters was 172,035.

The large number of millennial voters in Malang City, East Java, does not necessarily mean that they will fully exercise their voting rights in the 2024 election. Millennial voters are vulnerable to abstaining or not voting. This was evident in the 2019 election, where more than 40 percent of millennial voters abstained. One of the reasons for abstention was their perception that voting was unnecessary (Sas/Kid, 2019). Additionally, calls for abstention circulated, including banners promoting abstention in Malang City. One such banner was displayed on the Pedestrian Overpass (JPO) in the Kayutangan Heritage area of Malang City. The banner read, "2024 Abstain, a Realistic Choice in Response to the Death of Justice in +62" (Fahmi, 2023). For the 2024 election, the Malang City General Election Commission (KPU) has set a target for voter participation above 70 percent (Alfaruq, 2023). Besides being prone to abstention, millennial voters are also susceptible to money politics, as they are considered a floating mass without firm political affiliations or shared values with any political party (Ahmad, 2023).

The significant number of millennial voters has drawn attention from political parties. As a result, political parties in Malang City have nominated legislative candidates from the millennial generation. The Gerindra Party claims that out of the 45 legislative candidates registered, 50 percent are millennials. Similarly, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Malang City has nominated 45 legislative candidates, with at least 35 percent coming from the millennial generation (Nur, 2023). The United Development Party (PPP) has also implemented a similar strategy. Of the 45

legislative candidates registered by PPP for the 2024 election, 60 percent are millennials. When converted into numbers, this means PPP has 27 millennial candidates in Malang City (Wicaksana, 2023).

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), the winning party in Malang City during the 2019 general election, is striving to maintain its millennial voter base. One of its efforts includes fulfilling the 30 percent quota for female legislative candidates, including millennial female candidates (Sujatmiko, 2023). Similarly, the National Awakening Party (PKB), the second-place winner in the 2019 general election in Malang City, is also working to retain millennial voters. Of the 45 legislative candidates PKB registered with the Malang City Regional General Election Commission, half are from the millennial generation. By fielding millennial candidates, PKB aims to secure 12 seats in the Malang City Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) in the 2024 election (Egatya, 2023).

Millennial voters in Malang City also face various election-related issues. One of the main concerns is their vulnerability to identity politics. Identity politics can trigger aggressive and controversial behavior among social media users, particularly when linked to leadership changes in elections. This suggests that a higher level of identity politics can stimulate individuals to act counterproductively, violate privacy, and engage in controversial behavior on social media (Harsono, 2023).

Although millennial voters in Malang City are vulnerable to abstaining from voting in the general election, their proportion, which reaches 50 percent in the 2024 election, makes them a key factor in the election's success. This was stated by Asep Nurjaman, a Political Science expert from Muhammadiyah University of Malang (UMM). According to Nurjaman, the participation and political awareness of the millennial group in Malang City have shown significant progress. This is evidenced by the involvement of millennials as prospective legislative candidates in every political party, reaching 40 percent. The presence of millennial candidates in each political party is expected to attract millennial voters and encourage them to participate in the 2024 election rather than abstaining. The mobilization of millennial voters by millennial candidates is also facilitated by the widespread use of social media, which is highly familiar to millennial voters. Millennial candidates must effectively convince their voter segment (Novrian, 2023). This study specifically examines the voting behavior of millennial voters in response to legislative candidates in Lowokwaru District, Malang City, East Java, during the 2024 legislative election.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Voter Behavior Theory

Harrop and Miller's Voter Behavior Theory. The voter behavior theory was introduced by Harrop and Miller. According to them, voter behavior is closely related to three key factors. First, the social aspect. The social dimension in political behavior is broad, encompassing various elements such as social environment, interactions and relationships, religion, gender, ethnicity, and age. Second, the economic aspect. This factor also has a wide scope, not only related to income and employment but also to economic class and material aspects, including financial resources. Third, the political aspect, which includes political issues, political programs, election campaigns, and the popularity of party leaders (Harrop & Miller, 1987). Socioeconomic issues play a decisive role in voter behavior. This is explained by Italo Colantone and Piero Stanig. The results of general elections in 15 Western European countries between 1988 and 2007 indicate that at the individual level, Chinese imports in specific regions influenced voters' political choices, including in the United States. At the regional level, stronger import shocks led to increased support for nationalist and isolationist parties. Additionally, there was a rise in support for radical right-wing parties, along with a general shift of voters toward the right (Colantone & Stanig, 2018). A similar trend was observed in Poland in 2015, where Polish citizens who were negatively impacted by direct economic exposure were more likely to abandon the ruling government and support the largest opposition party, which successfully leveraged the economic shock to expand its electoral coalition without alienating its core voters (Ahlquist et al., 2020).

2.2. Political Theory

Putnam's Political Theory. Robert D. Putnam views political theory as part of elite political culture, which is more inclined to be referred to as ideology, as it encompasses the values, beliefs, and habits of political participants within a political system. The beliefs, values, and habits of political participants are influenced by what political elites uphold, practice, and consider customary. These ideological and cultural elements are then transmitted from the political elite to their political participants, forming a political network. Over time, this political culture solidifies into

a political ideology, which is expressed through politicians' speech styles and ways of thinking. This is evident in how politicians discuss and formulate policies on issues such as poverty. What politicians think and discuss at various levels is influenced by ideological motivations and political conceptions based on the parties to which they belong. The same process applies to subsequent generations, including young politicians who emerge from existing political circles and are shaped by the prevailing political culture and ideology (Putnam, 1971). The political culture practiced by politicians also impacts the political culture at the local level. The majority of the community, which consists of local-level voters, tends to adopt the political culture established by politicians, ensuring the retention of their voter base. This political culture, which influences both politicians and local communities, is seen as an interactive social process where mutual influence occurs. The interaction between politicians, their partisans, and local communities is key to the persistence of partisan traditions. This process can serve as a means to mobilize support from potential partisans (Putnam, 1966).

2.3. Political Behavior Theory

According to Herbert Simon, humans are rational beings, and every action they take is related to a specific goal they seek to achieve. Human actions are driven by diverse objectives rather than a single goal. Human behavior is shaped by knowledge, thoughts, and beliefs (Simon, 1995). Rational human behavior bears similarities to economic transactions (Simon, 1986). According to Stanley Feldman, political theory is not only related to individual behavior but also to the cultural norms of a community or society concerning a political issue. Political beliefs, which in turn shape political behavior, are influenced by political culture and determine political choices—whether they are rational or pragmatic, prioritizing personal interests (Feldman, 1982). Therefore, political behavior cannot be separated from internal and external factors. Internal factors include preferences and tendencies based on information absorption, while external factors shaping political behavior stem from individual interactions with others or their surrounding environment (Farrell & Petersen, 1982). Decision-making in politics also relates to specific individual aspects such as psychological factors (McDermott, 2004). According to John Harsanyi, political behavior cannot disregard the role of structures or social institutions in shaping individual political behavior. An individual's political behavior results from the internalization of values that prevail in the social environment (Harsanyi, 1969).

2.4. Actor Theory

According to Brian McNair, political actors are individuals within a political organization, political parties, public organizations, pressure groups, and even terrorists. McNair also considers the media as a political actor, referring to both media institutions and individuals working within them (McNair, 2011). Meanwhile, Dan Nimmo defines political actors as individuals who engage in political discourse or operate within political settings, such as politicians, professionals, and activists (Nimmo, 2000). Actor theory is closely linked to Erving Goffman's dramaturgy theory. Goffman posits that in dramaturgy, actors perform on a theatrical stage, adopting different behaviors and roles when they are on stage versus behind the scenes. The theatrical stage consists of two areas: the front stage and the backstage. Individuals exhibit different characteristics in front-stage and backstage settings. In his book *The Presentation of Everyday Life*, Goffman states that dramaturgy is a fundamental theory explaining how individuals present themselves in social interactions. He emphasizes face-to-face interactions or co-presence, where individuals can stage any “performance” for others, but the impressions received by the audience may vary (Goffman, 1959). Thus, in political communication, the impact is not only influenced by political messages but also by the presence of political actors, including their charisma, credibility, and appeal, among other factors (Arifin, 2010).

2.5. Rational Choice Theory

According to Antunes Rui, political behavior is directly correlated with rational choice theory. This can be explained through the principles of rational choice theory. Rational choice theory is closely linked to economic theories of voting behavior, as introduced by Anthony Downs (1957) in his work *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. This theory, commonly referred to as rational choice theory, seeks to explain electoral behavior based on economic principles. It builds upon Kenneth Arrow's (1951) work in political economy, which connects economic parameters—such as resources, goods, and technology—to political outcomes or choices. The premise is simple: if rational choice assumptions can explain market behavior, they can also explain political functions. This theory establishes a direct

analogy between consumers and voters, as well as between companies and political parties. Just as companies aim to maximize profits and consumers seek to maximize utility, it is theorized that voters strive to maximize the utility of their votes while political parties work to maximize electoral gains through their political proposals (Antunes, 2010).

2.6. Behaviorism Theory

The behaviorism theory pioneered by George Herbert Mead attempts to simplify human behavior and considers it distinct from animal behavior, as humans are regarded as thinking beings. According to Mead, human behavior consists of three aspects:

- 1) Action. Mead views behavior as part of a broader social life, which includes mental processes.
- 2) Observation and Hidden Processes. While Mead acknowledges the importance of observable behavior, he also believes there are hidden processes that cannot be ignored. He focuses more on establishing empirical behavioral science related to real-world events.
- 3) Actor. Humans do not think passively, and their behavior is influenced by external factors. According to Mead, there is a significant difference between human and animal behavior. The distinction lies in human mental capabilities, which enable them to use language to differentiate between stimulus and response. In response to a stimulus, the actor is more active, dynamic, and creative.

2.7. Social Exchange Theory

The exchange theory discusses how individuals in a particular social order provide or exchange goods of value. In this context, the objects exchanged are not tangible but rather intangible items. Additionally, the concept of exchange includes interpersonal statements about pain, life burdens, and the achievement of something (Wirawan, 2014). According to Cook and colleagues, social exchange theory is influenced by other theories such as pragmatism, utilitarianism, behaviorism, and functionalism. Skinner's behaviorism also plays a role in shaping social exchange theory. According to behaviorism, understanding an animal's personality can lead to insights into human behavior. The concept of mentality is not favored by behaviorists, as human thoughts cannot be directly observed. Similar to animals that seek benefits and avoid punishment, humans also strive to maximize benefits and reduce costs (Cook, 2013). The primary focus of social exchange theory is observable behavior rather than subjective processes. Consequently, a relationship can only occur if both interacting parties gain benefits from it. To achieve societal well-being, every party involved must be allowed to pursue their self-interest through mutually agreed exchanges. Emile Durkheim argued that exchanges cannot occur without social interaction. Social exchange theory originates from Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity (Nasikun, 1984).

3. RESEARCH METHODS

The approach used in this research is a descriptive qualitative approach. Descriptive qualitative research aims to describe the complex and multidimensional behavior of millennial voters. Additionally, qualitative research can also explain the actions of political actors in Indonesia, particularly in Lowokwaru District, Malang City, East Java. According to André Queirós, Daniel Faria, and Fernando Almeida, one of the advantages of qualitative research is its ability to explain complex phenomena while also providing meaning to actions within a specific context (Queirós et al., 2017). This study focuses on two aspects. First, the political behavior of millennial voters, which includes voter political attitudes, voter political actions, and voter political decisions. Second, the factors that shape the political behavior of millennial voters. The second focus is derived from the voter behavior theory proposed by Harrop and Miller. The first factor is social, which includes the social environment, interactions and social relationships, religion, gender, ethnicity, and age. Sociological aspects such as shared religion, education, occupation, and race also play a role. Voters of this type are referred to as traditional voters or those exhibiting traditional voting behavior. Traditional voters prioritize socio-cultural proximity, values, origin, ideology, and religion as key determinants in their voting decisions. The second factor is economic, which consists of economic class, occupation, income, material wealth, money, and other financial aspects. The third factor is political, which includes political issues, political programs, election campaigns, and the popularity of party leaders (Harrop & Miller, 1987).

The primary informants in this study are individuals with specific behaviors relevant to the research subject. The research subjects are individuals or groups who are clearly and visibly observed in the study. The research subjects

consist of millennial voters who participated in the 2024 general election and are between the ages of 24 and 44. They include traders, housewives, employees, entrepreneurs, and others who are registered as voters in Lowokwaru District, Malang City, East Java. The millennial voters selected as informants are those who exercised their voting rights in the 2024 election..

Table 3. Informants Interviewed in Depth

No	Initials	Work	Gender	Education
1	DP	Housewife	Woman	SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
2	GT	Self-employed	Woman	SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
3	AR	Catering business	Woman	SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
4	DN	Housewife	Woman	SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
5	JH	Self-employed	Man	Bachelor
6	CD	Doctor	Man	Master
7	RN	Salon business	Woman	SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
8	SA	Craft business	Man	Islamic Boarding School
9	UY	Accessories business	Man	Islamic Boarding School
10	MA	Self-employed	Man	Bachelor
11	FP	Private sector employee	Man	SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
12	RS	Contractor	Man	Bachelor
13	SN	Small beverage business	Man	SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
14	AT	Meatball business	Man	SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
15	ZA	Self-employed	Man	Bachelor

(Source: Andik, 2024).

The data analysis in this study refers to the data analysis model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana. According to Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, data analysis is conducted in four stages: data collection, data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. Data collection is followed by data condensation, which involves organizing the collected data, selecting, and filtering relevant data that align with the research topic. Next, the data is presented according to the research focus, which is derived from the theoretical framework used in the study. The final stage is conclusion drawing, which includes formulating research hypotheses based on the conducted analysis (Miles et al., 2014).

4. DISCUSSION

The political behavior of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City in the 2024 election shows active political behavior in the form of voting during the election by coming to the polling stations (TPS). In addition, many voters who come to the TPS during the election are also actively inviting voters to vote in the general election, including inviting voters to vote for legislative candidates who will be elected by voters who actively invite other voters to vote. Empirically, voters who actively invite other voters to vote are fewer in number than voters who actively invite other voters to vote for their chosen legislative candidates.

4.1. Political Behavior of Millennial Voters

4.1.1. Political Attitudes of Millennial Voters

Voter attitudes refer to psychological tendencies related to responses to perceived stimuli. According to Sawrey and Telford, political attitudes consist of several elements. First, political attitudes involve a tendency to react to an object, leading to actions related to that object, whether approaching or avoiding it. Second, attitudes are associated with ideas that indicate beliefs, thoughts, and convictions toward specific goals. Third, affective attitudes relate to particular emotions. Attitudes are rational and selective, making them difficult to change, especially in the short term. However, this does not mean that attitudes cannot change or be modified. Attitudes can transform both in the short and

long term. Many factors influence changes in political attitudes, including knowledge, religion, culture, experience, and interactions with others and the surrounding community (Sawrey & Telford, 1971).

This aligns with the views of Robert Gagne and Briggs Leslie, who state that attitudes are an individual's tendency to respond in a certain way to stimuli present in the social environment. Attitudes reflect an inclination to approach or avoid, exhibiting positivity or negativity toward various social conditions, including institutions, individuals, situations, ideas, concepts, and more. Attitudes are internal conditions that influence an individual's choice of action toward certain objects, people, and events (Gagne & Leslie, 1974).

Similarly, Morgan and King argue that attitudes are related to the tendency to respond to a stimulus or situation. Attitudes are essentially the result of socialization and an individual's interaction with their environment. They reflect a person's thoughts, feelings, and assessments of an object based on knowledge, understanding, opinions, beliefs, and ideas about that object (Morgan & King, 1975).

Z-A, a millennial informant who is a university graduate from Malang City, acknowledges that communication is related to voters' political attitudes. However, Z-A admits that communication is not the only factor influencing voters' political attitudes. Nevertheless, the communication efforts of legislative candidates play a role in shaping political choices, including Z-A's personal experience.

The political attitudes of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, are closely linked to the interaction and communication between voters and legislative candidates during the 2024 elections. Voter attitudes are influenced by the communication efforts of candidates, as communication is a crucial element in political engagement. In this context, candidates act as communicators, which is the primary element in communication. It is impossible to have communication without a communicator. In political communication, the communicator refers to political actors who engage in communication with the audience, in this case, the electorate. According to Thomas Pureklolon, the relationship between the communicator and the public in political communication is an integral part of the social system. Political communicators respond to various pressures by filtering and selecting information, all within the framework of the relevant social system. Therefore, political communicators play a crucial role in shaping and directing public opinion (Pureklolon, 2016).

Direct communication between legislative candidates and voters is related to the political attitudes of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, during the 2024 elections. This was stated by one of the informants. G-T, an informant who is a high school graduate, stated that he chose a legislative candidate in the 2024 election due to the candidate's communication during face-to-face meetings with voters. When meeting with voters, the candidate's communication style was highly convincing in delivering political messages.

Millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, prefer political communication by candidates on social media in the form of video content that showcases both ongoing political programs and future plans if elected. These two aspects are presented simultaneously, visualizing completed programs while discussing future political agendas. Even more favored is live political communication on social media. Through live broadcasts, millennial voters can directly ask candidates about their planned political programs. Live Q&A sessions on social media also serve as an opportunity for millennial voters to scrutinize political programs and assess candidates' abilities in answering questions and presenting arguments.

4.1.2. Political Actions of Millennial Voters

According to Max Weber, all forms of human behavior fall into the category of actions. Thus, actions can be understood as individual actions directed toward others and containing subjective meaning for both the actor and others (Ritzer, 2001). If an action is not directed at others and does not carry meaning, it is not considered a social action but merely an ordinary action, meaning that social actions have the potential to impact others (Wirawan, 2012). Max Weber identified five main characteristics of social action. First, human actions contain subjective meaning from the actor's perspective, which can include various concrete actions. Second, these concrete actions can be entirely internal. Third, actions may arise from the positive impact of a situation, deliberately repeated actions, or tacit approval from certain parties. Fourth, actions are directed at an individual or a group. Fifth, actions take into account the behavior of others and are oriented toward them (Weber, 1992).

Actions can also be analyzed based on the motives of the actors performing them. First, goal-oriented actions are directed toward achieving objectives that are rationally considered and pursued by the actor. These actions are

determined by expectations of the behavior of objects in the environment and other people, with these expectations used as conditions or tools to achieve the actor's goals through logical efforts and calculations. In this context, individuals not only set goals but must also rationally choose and determine the means to achieve them. Second, value-oriented actions are driven by awareness of important values such as ethics, aesthetics, religion, and other values that influence human behavior in life. These actions reflect societal rationality that regards certain absolute values as potentials or life goals. These values become the foundation for ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other forms of behavior, regardless of their success prospects. Third, actions are influenced by the psychological conditions and emotions of the actor. These actions are rooted in deep emotional connections, creating a unique relationship that cannot be explained outside of that context. Fourth, traditional actions are inherited habits passed down from generation to generation (Martono, 2011).

As stated by J-H, an informant who is a university graduate in Malang City, psychologically, a legislative candidate should be perceived as a good person, not someone with a dual personality. When running for office, they appear virtuous, but in reality, they may have a negative background in their daily behavior.

Social actions also aim to uphold values derived from societal traditions. These actions are determined by common practices undertaken by actors deemed customary. Pip Jones describes actions as a more operational form when used to understand their actors (Jones, 2009).

Millennial voters are critical in assessing both conditions and individuals, including legislative candidates. This critical nature is expressed when making electoral decisions. As stated by Z-A, an informant who is an entrepreneur in Malang City, Z-A is not influenced by the appearance of candidates during socialization and campaign events. Instead, he cross-checks and verifies the candidates he intends to vote for. Through this process, he then determines his stance in choosing a candidate whom he perceives as having good character and a pleasant personality.

Millennial voters admit that they choose candidates based on psychological factors, particularly the candidates' good behavior. A candidate's personal virtue is a non-negotiable factor for them, as they assume it to be essential for a future leader. A leader who can be trusted to represent voters' aspirations must have good character, not only during the campaign period but in all aspects of life, long before running for office.

In the theory of political behavior, belief in an object plays a significant role. This concept is put forward by Martin Fishbein and Fred S. Coombs. According to Fishbein and Coombs, a person's attitude toward an object is a function of their belief in that object and is presented in the evaluative aspect of that belief. In the political arena, individuals must either like or dislike certain candidates. First, they must believe that the candidate possesses certain personal characteristics, affiliates with a specific reference group, or supports or opposes various issues. Second, they must evaluate these characteristics, groups, and issues positively or negatively. Voters take partisan stances on certain issues, clearly differentiate between candidates on specific issues, and even change their beliefs during the campaign period (Fishbein & Coombs, 1974).

The good character of a candidate is non-negotiable for a leader, and voters must thoroughly understand the character and personality of the candidate. They should not be swayed by the goodwill demonstrated only during campaigns or socialization events. This was conveyed by millennial voters who admitted to directly checking the residential area of their chosen candidates. This ensures that the candidates have good personalities and morals, not just when interacting with voters but also in their everyday lives. Residents in the candidate's neighborhood are the ones who truly know their behavior.

Voter behavior is dynamic and constantly changing rather than static and passive. It is influenced by the attitudes and behaviors of political party leaders, which become evident during elections. This concept was put forward by Diego Garzia and Frederico Ferreira da Silva. According to Garzia and Ferreira da Silva, there is a strong relationship between negative evaluations of party leaders and voting choices. Furthermore, there has been a significant increase in the incidence of negative personalization over time, now surpassing the evaluations made by party leaders (Garzia & Ferreira da Silva, 2021).

4.1.3. Political Decisions of Millennial Voters

Decision-making is a distinctive characteristic that differentiates individuals from one another and is a natural human trait aimed at distinguishing one person from another. In the political realm, behavior is categorized as an interaction between the government and society, institutions, government bodies, as well as between groups and

individuals within society, with the objective of making, implementing, and enforcing political decisions, which ultimately constitute political decisions. According to Ramlan Surbakti, voting is an activity in determining something deemed appropriate and suitable for an individual or group, which can be either exclusive or inclusive. Voting is an activity that determines decisions directly or indirectly. According to Surbakti, voting is the participation of citizens in general elections and is related to decision-making activities, namely whether to vote or not in an election (Surbakti, 2010).

Political decisions take the form of passive or active political participation, which is carried out by casting votes in the 2024 general election in Lowokwaru, Malang City. Participation is not limited to simply being a voter who comes to the polling station on election day; many millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, also proactively campaign for their chosen legislative candidates to others, particularly close acquaintances such as family members, including spouses. The same is done with close relatives or well-known friends, such as childhood friends, schoolmates, business partners, colleagues, and others. This political behavior among millennial voters occurs due to intrinsic motivations, one of which is trust in the candidate. Voters believe that the candidates they choose and promote can become competent legislators if elected. The political decision to participate in the election by millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, was conveyed by informants C-D during interviews. C-D did not encourage others to vote for their preferred candidates due to their busy schedule balancing work and studies, leaving them with no time to influence others' voting decisions.

Voter decisions are dynamic and ever-changing rather than static and passive. Voter decisions are influenced by the attitudes and behavior of political party leaders, the outcomes of which are evident during elections. This was articulated by Diego Garzia and Frederico Ferreira da Silva. According to Garzia and Ferreira da Silva, there is a strong correlation between negative evaluations of party leaders and voter choices. Furthermore, there has been a significant increase in the prevalence of negative personalization over time, now far exceeding the evaluations conducted by party leaders (Garzia & Ferreira da Silva, 2021).

Informant A-T, a meatball vendor, admitted to voting only for legislative candidates during elections. A-T only selects candidates he deems suitable and only discusses voting decisions with his wife. He sees no need to share his choice with others.

According to M. Harrop and W. L. Miller, voting is closely linked to political participation during the election process. Voting primarily focuses on the factors that influence why people vote and how they make decisions. Socioeconomic factors play a crucial role in determining party choice, as do correlations with economic class, occupation, ethnicity, gender, and age. Additionally, political factors such as issues, political programs, election campaigns, and the popularity of party leaders influence voting behavior (Harrop & Miller, 1987).

Voter decisions represent citizens' participation in elections and the political choices made by society during general elections. The decision to vote or abstain from voting is a political act in response to candidates. Participation in elections is a form of political engagement, not just a passive act of voting. Individual political behavior is as complex as social, economic, cultural, or educational levels. Voter behavior is influenced by various factors, including political factors, religious beliefs, and the presence of groups that vote for a particular candidate because they see them as representing their faith or ideology. Some individuals vote for a candidate because of social class affiliations, among other complex factors.

4.1.3.1. Political Behavior of Millennial Voters from the Role Theory Perspective

A role is the expected behavior of an individual based on their formal and informal social position. Roles are based on role rules and expectations, explaining what someone should do in a given situation to meet the expectations of others or their own expectations regarding the role (Hermansyah, 2015). Role Theory explains social interaction in terms of actors playing according to what is predetermined. A role is a general understanding of daily behavior. Individuals with a specific role, such as voters, are expected to conform to that role (Risnawati, 2016). A role is the expected behavior of an individual with a given status. Every person holds multiple statuses and is expected to perform roles according to those statuses (Horton, 1999). Informant C-D admitted to coming to the polling station (TPS) during the 2024 election and selecting a legislative candidate.

According to Kahn (1964), Role Theory focuses on the individual nature of a social actor who examines behavior according to the position they hold in society. The role is a central concept in Role Theory (Shaw & Constance, 1970).

Informant A-T, a meatball soup (bakso) entrepreneur, stated that he only selected legislative candidates during the election. A-T only voted for a candidate he deemed suitable during the election. He and his wife determined their choice privately, without the need to share their decision with others.

A role reflects a person's position in the social system with its associated rights, duties, power, and responsibilities. To interact with one another, people need specific ways to predict the behavior of others. Roles function within the social system. A person holds roles both at work and outside of work (Agustina, 2009). Informant D-N, a housewife, stated that she participated as a voter in the 2024 election. D-N only voted during the election and did not encourage others, including family members or close acquaintances, as she deemed it unnecessary.

Roles involve numerous actions associated with specific positions (Sarbin & Allen, 1968). Different roles generate different types of behavior. A role is the dynamic aspect of a particular position. If a person fulfills their rights and duties according to their position, they are performing their role (Suharto, 2002). According to Biddle and Thomas (1966), Role Theory pertains to four aspects. First, individuals performing roles engage in social interaction. Second, the behavior occurring within these interactions. Third, the actions or conduct performed while individuals carry out their roles. Fourth, the relationship between individuals and their actions.

Soerjono Soekanto states that a role is the dynamic aspect of status. If someone exercises their rights and obligations according to their position, they are fulfilling their role (Soekanto, 1990). Based on this understanding, a person's role-related actions or behaviors can be interpreted as standards expressed within a social position (Cohen, 1992). Roles are expected to enable individuals to fulfill their commitments concerning their designated roles. A role is defined as a set of expectations imposed on individuals who hold particular social positions.

4.1.3.2. Political Behavior of Millennial Voters from the Perspective of Participation Theory

According to Mubyarto (1997), participation refers to an individual's involvement in enhancing the success of any program according to their skills, without sacrificing their own interests. Participation in the community, as a continuous two-way communication process, can be interpreted as communication between politicians and the government as well as other stakeholder communities (Laily, 2015).

Participation in elections was carried out by millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City during the 2024 election. This was explained by informant U-Y, who works daily as a woodcraft artisan and admitted to actively encouraging others to vote for the legislative candidate of his choice. U-Y invited his fellow alumni from the same Islamic boarding school and his social circle to support his chosen candidate in the 2024 election. This was done after he had determined the candidate he deemed suitable to vote for. He did not just invite one or two people but many.

Participation means that decision-makers propose that groups or communities be involved in providing advice and opinions, products, materials, resources, and services. Participation also means that groups recognize their problems, examine decisions, make choices, and solve problems (Djalal & Supriadi, 2001).

Informant S-A, a decorative plant craftsman, was also not only a voter but actively encouraged others to vote for his chosen candidate. S-A persuaded others in a relaxed manner, without being forceful. His approach was more about providing references to potential voters rather than repeatedly persuading them like a legislative candidate's campaign team, which often pressures voters until they make a choice.

Many people participate in activities through various means, whether physically, morally, materially, through time, or in other forms (Poerwadarminta, 1991). Informant Z-A, who works as an entrepreneur, was an active voter who encouraged those in his neighborhood to vote for his preferred candidate during the election. However, as election day approached, some of the voters he had persuaded changed their choice and did not vote for the candidate he had recommended.

Participation is not only defined in terms of physical and external forms but also includes mental and emotional engagement in a group situation, which motivates individuals to contribute to the group, achieve common goals, and take responsibility for efforts that influence outcomes (Gultom, 2001).

Community participation can be described in units as group participation, while individual participation in group activities can be described as individual participation. Furthermore, participation can be categorized as vertical and horizontal participation within society. Vertical participation occurs under certain conditions where the community engages with stakeholders or authorities as subordinates or supporters. At some point, the community may have

limited opportunities to initiate actions independently, making it necessary for members or groups to collaborate and participate horizontally with other stakeholders.

Participation is classified into direct and indirect participation. Direct participation occurs when individuals engage in specific activities within the participation process. This happens when individuals can pose key questions, express their desires, or challenge others' statements, meaning they are actively involved. Indirect participation occurs when individuals delegate their rights to participate to others (Sugiyah, 2001). The participation of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, extended beyond merely voting; they actively encouraged others to vote during the election.

4.2. Factors Shaping the Political Behavior of Millennial Voters

Voting behavior is a socio-political reality influenced by both external and internal factors. Externally, political behavior is shaped by the socialization of values within one's environment, while internally, it is driven by rational decision-making based on knowledge and personal experience. Political behavior is affected by various factors, such as political issues, government policies, candidate selection based on religious or ideological representation, class representation, and loyalty to specific political figures. Additionally, voting behavior is influenced by elite opinions, party identification, social systems, social media, and political affiliations (Huntington & Nelson, 1995).

There are five approaches to analyzing voting behavior. First, the structural approach, which views voting behavior as a product of broader structures, such as social structures, electoral systems, political party programs, or government policies. Second, the ecological approach, which considers that voters' characteristics vary based on territorial units, such as villages, districts, or municipalities.

Third, the sociological approach, which explains that social characteristics and group affiliations significantly influence voting decisions. Key factors in determining political preferences include occupation, education, religion, geographic location, gender, and age. Group affiliations, such as membership in religious organizations, professional associations, and occupational groups, also play a role. Informal social groups, including family, friendships, and small peer groups, are equally important in shaping political attitudes, perceptions, and orientations. An individual's membership in a social group influences voting decisions, as interaction among group members fosters shared perspectives and collective political endorsements.

Social groupings based on shared characteristics can drive individuals to adopt similar voting orientations. According to David Cherrington, not only professional affiliations but also family and close friendships significantly shape voting preferences (Cherrington, 1994). Gerald Pomper classifies social groupings into two variables: the socioeconomic predisposition of the voter's family and the socioeconomic predisposition of the voter. Early political socialization within the family strongly influences an individual's first voting decisions. Pomper argues that a voter's family background plays a crucial role in shaping their political choices. For instance, if a father votes for Candidate A and a mother votes for Candidate B, these preferences inevitably influence their child's political orientation. Other socioeconomic predispositions include religion, place of residence, social class, and demographic characteristics. Theoretical perspectives suggest that sociological ties remain a key factor in understanding voting behavior (Pomper, 1978).

Religious affiliation also influences voting behavior. The presence of religious values in both private and public life is seen as highly significant in shaping political and personal decisions. In political party dynamics, religion fosters voter support based on theological alignment, ideological similarity, solidarity, and emotional connection. Political parties with religious foundations tend to have strong appeal in voter preferences. Many Indonesian voters consider religion an essential factor in making political choices, leading to patterns where Muslim voters prefer Islamic-based parties, while non-Muslim voters tend to support secular or non-Muslim parties.

Fourth, the psychological approach, which was popularized by Angus Campbell and Warren E. Miller. This approach emphasizes three psychological aspects in voting behavior: emotional attachment to a political party, orientation toward political issues, and orientation toward candidates.

4.2.1. Sociological Factors Shaping the Political Behavior of Millennial Voters

Political behavior influenced by sociological aspects is shaped by social factors, including social environment, interaction and social relationships, religion, gender, ethnicity, age, and others. As social beings, humans naturally

engage in interactions with one another, whether in the form of individual-to-individual interactions, individual-to-group interactions, or group-to-group interactions. Such social interactions occur in various spheres, including the family sphere, workplace, societal space, national space, and even the global space.

Gender is a sociological factor that shapes voter behavior. Men and women exhibit different characteristics in their voting behavior. Women tend to have a lower likelihood of voting compared to men, and when they do vote, they are more likely to follow the preferences of male household heads or tribal leaders. This phenomenon is particularly common in rural areas of Pakistan. The stronger the control exerted by the male head of the family over women, the more likely women are to follow their husband's political choices. Conversely, the weaker the male's control over his wife, the more independent women become in determining their political preferences (Giné & Mansuri, 2018).

Sociological factors play a role in shaping voter behavior, including that of millennial voters in Indonesia. Millennial voters demonstrate a strong commitment to their group's political interests. They also tend to be more independent and free in determining their political choices, including their political ideology. These voters are often still in the process of seeking the right party or candidate to support and can be easily influenced by intensive political socialization. Political parties frequently target millennial voters to gain their support. Changes in voter attitudes are influenced by various factors that shape their knowledge of the candidates they will vote for. The fluctuating behavior of millennial voters indicates that they are not yet fully mature voters, as their preferences can change depending on time and circumstances. Additionally, millennial voters often fall into the category of undecided voters, also known as swing voters, which presents an opportunity for political actors. Several sociological factors influence millennial voters in their decision-making, including the regional background of legislative candidates, family relations with candidates, and other social factors (Rompas, 2020).

The sociological approach explains that social characteristics and social groupings significantly influence voting behavior. Important factors in determining one's political choices include social characteristics such as occupation, education, religion, region, gender, and age. Social groupings can also involve individual memberships in religious organizations, professional associations, and occupational groups. Informal social groupings, such as family, friendships, and small social circles, also play a crucial role in shaping political behavior. These groups are instrumental in forming attitudes, perceptions, and orientations. An individual's membership in a social group influences their voting decisions in elections. This is because members of such groups, including professional organizations and occupational groups, interact with one another, leading to shared perspectives in supporting certain candidates in elections. The significant role of these groups in shaping one's attitudes, perceptions, and orientations cannot be underestimated (Asfar, 2006).

Social groupings based on shared characteristics can influence individuals' voting orientations. According to David Cherrington, not only professional ties influence voting orientation, but strong family and friendship ties also play a key role in determining political preferences (Cherrington, 1994). Gerald Pomper categorizes social groupings into two variables: the social predisposition of a voter's family and the social predisposition of the voter. Political socialization experienced during childhood significantly influences one's voting orientation when making a political choice for the first time. According to Pomper, the social and economic predispositions of a voter's family are crucial in shaping an individual's voting behavior. A family's political preferences affect the political choices of their children. For instance, if a father votes for Candidate A or a mother votes for Candidate B, it inevitably influences their child's choice. Meanwhile, social and economic predispositions include religion, place of residence, social class, demographic characteristics, and other factors. Theoretically, these sociological ties remain highly relevant in understanding voting behavior today (Pomper, 1978). An individual's voting behavior is also influenced by other sociological aspects, such as religion. The presence of religious values in both private and public life is believed to have a significant impact on political and personal decisions.

4.2.2. Political Behavior of Millennial Voters Based on Personal Proximity from a Sociological Perspective

The personal proximity between legislative candidates and voters shapes the voting behavior of millennials in the 2024 general election. The choice of a legislative candidate in the 2024 election is based on familiarity with the candidate. This familiarity is not merely a casual acquaintance but rather a long-standing connection in various forms, such as being in the same organization. Such familiarity is detailed, as it involves knowing the character, personality, and behavior of the candidate. Additionally, familiarity may arise from joint involvement in temporary activities that

are not organizational in nature. Familiarity can also develop in informal settings, such as school alumni networks, where the connection is maintained over time through reunions and other gatherings. Familiarity may also emerge in workplaces, where the candidate and the voter know each other from working in the same office, factory, company, or even sharing the same profession.

A sociological aspect that plays a role in shaping voter behavior is the personal closeness between the legislative candidate and the voter. According to Jan K. Woike, Philip Collard, and Bruce Hood, personal proximity between individuals, from a sociological perspective, connects people across long periods of time. This connection also serves as a fundamental mechanism for allocating advantages and mistakes as well as establishing rights and privileges (Woike, Collard, and Hood, 2020).

Apart from long-standing familiarity within the same organization, the candidate also directly engages and involves voters in their campaign process as a legislative candidate. Such introductions occur during the electoral contest, making them different from previous acquaintances formed in schools, organizations, or workplaces. However, this kind of introduction still represents a form of voter familiarity with the candidate since an interaction occurs between the two, albeit within a relatively shorter period compared to prior forms of acquaintance.

Personal proximity fosters an emotional bond between individuals, involving ego and feelings that are mutually exchanged. According to Jens Binder and colleagues, personal proximity signifies the presence of bonds and intimacy levels developed to the extent that they form core connections in the shape of social friendships (Binder et al., 2012). Intense or intimate relationships lead to personal closeness between candidates and voters. They come to know each other closely and gain significant insights about one another.

The selection of legislative candidates by millennial voters in the 2024 general election in Lowokwaru, Malang City, East Java, is also influenced by the personal closeness factor between legislative candidates and voters. This introduction does not occur through formal activities or within organizations but rather through informal activities, specifically religious gatherings. The candidate is known to frequently organize religious events such as study sessions. These activities had already been conducted by the candidate before their candidacy and continued during their campaign. Voters who chose the candidate felt a sense of closeness because the candidate frequently invited them to their home for religious gatherings. Conversely, the candidate also regularly attended religious study sessions organized by millennial voters and their religious groups, which were held monthly.

Millennial voters admitted that among many legislative candidates, they chose the one they were most familiar with, including candidates from a preferred political party. Voters stated that they opted for candidates they knew better, even if not personally acquainted. They could at least recognize them during political party events attended by the candidate. Additionally, voters preferred candidates they recognized through social media. Social media serves as an alternative channel for getting to know candidates in the digital era. Apart from social media, voters also acknowledged that they recognized candidates through campaign materials such as billboards, banners, posters, and other promotional media widely displayed in various locations. This visibility helps voters become familiar with the candidate's identity.

This study clearly finds that the personal closeness factor between candidates and voters plays the most significant role in shaping voter behavior. Among the various factors influencing voter behavior, personal proximity is the most dominant. Personal closeness makes voters feel valued as vote holders, as they are personally approached, visited at their residences, or engaged within their communities or families. For traditional voters, this approach is the most crucial—it involves being visited, asked for support and prayers, and encouraged to participate in voting for the candidate. Such voter behavior highlights an emphasis on sociological aspects in shaping political behavior. Voters feel appreciated and respected for their right to decide their choice in the election. This right is given to the candidate with whom they share a close bond, particularly on a personal or individual level.

4.2.3. Millennial Political Behavior Based on Residency from a Sociological Perspective

The proximity of the domicile of legislative candidates from political parties plays a role in shaping the political behavior of millennial voters in the 2024 general election in Lowokwaru, Malang City, East Java. This was found in the research through interviews with one of the informants. The millennial voter admitted to choosing a legislative candidate in the 2024 election due to the proximity of the candidate's domicile to their own. This proximity also led to a personal connection with the candidate, as the candidate visited residents, conducted outreach, and campaigned

among voters in their residential area. Voters expect that if a candidate from their own area is elected, they will help advocate for the community's aspirations. Additionally, government-funded development projects are expected to be directed toward their residential area. This condition is seen as beneficial to the residents. Naturally, such expectations are highly likely to materialize, as an elected candidate will strive to develop their own region to showcase their achievements while serving as a legislative member.

Another sociological aspect is the proximity of the legislative candidate's place of residence to that of the voters, which is recognized as a significant factor influencing millennial voter behavior. Political experts acknowledge that residential proximity is one of the aspects that shape voter behavior, referring to it as a socio-demographic factor. As stated by Simon Bornschier and colleagues, socio-demographic aspects influence voter behavior (Bornschier et al., 2021).

Other millennial voters also admitted that in the 2024 election, they chose a legislative candidate due to the proximity of their place of residence to that of the candidate. This closeness allowed for frequent interactions between the candidate and the voters. In addition to personal interactions, voters also received personal assistance from the candidate they supported. This relationship was not limited to the election period but had been established long before, through joint activities. Many communal activities allowed for interactions between voters and their preferred candidate, ranging from religious gatherings such as Islamic study groups to various social activities. As residents of the same area as the candidate, voters ultimately became well-acquainted with the candidate when they decided to run for office.

Socio-demographic factors have distinct characteristics in shaping voter behavior. One of them is that candidates from the same area are more favored by voters in that region, provided that voter recognition of the candidate is strong and that the candidate has established good relationships with the local community (Oliver, 2007). Demographic aspects categorized under sociological factors influence millennial political behavior. Although millennial voters are generally considered critical voters, they are not particularly difficult to influence. One of the key factors influencing them is their social environment, which includes the neighborhood in which they live. The people within a millennial voter's residential area can shape their voting behavior by serving as references for their electoral choices.

As mentioned by Rosie Campbell and Philip Cowley, among many sociological variables such as religion, age, and gender, socio-demographic factors—specifically the candidate's place of residence—exert a greater influence on voter behavior (Campbell & Cowley, 2013). Campbell and Cowley categorized demographic elements under sociological aspects, along with other sociological factors such as religion, which significantly shapes voter behavior, as well as gender and age, both of which also play sociological roles in shaping voter preferences.

4.2.4. Millennial Voters' Political Behavior Based on Close Recommendations from a Sociological Perspective

Another sociological aspect influencing political behavior is references or recommendations from close individuals, such as family, close friends, colleagues, and others. Recommendations from people with close relationships, such as family, close friends, or colleagues, play a role in shaping the political behavior of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, East Java, during the 2024 elections. This was expressed by a millennial voter who admitted to choosing a legislative candidate based on the recommendation of a close friend from the same Islamic boarding school. According to the voter, familiarity with a candidate does not necessarily require direct acquaintance; what matters is the introduction process, which can be facilitated by others. In this case, the voter was invited by a friend to meet and get to know the legislative candidate. Through this introduction, they gained a more detailed and in-depth understanding of the candidate they ultimately supported.

According to Azizur Rahman and colleagues, family and close individuals play a role in determining voters' decision-making in elections. Many voters tend to consider family as a key determinant of their voting behavior. Therefore, family socialization is an important factor in casting votes. At certain ages, family influence is the most crucial factor, whereas at other ages, family influence may not be dominant. Thus, family and voter behavior are interrelated (Rahman et al., 2021).

Spouses and parents also play a role in shaping voter behavior, leading to generational influences in political choices during elections (Iyengar et al., 2018). Among family members, parents—whether the father, mother, or both—are considered the most influential in shaping millennial voters' behavior. Parents hold a central role within the family, particularly in rural areas where children tend to depend more on their parents, and parents still maintain a

strong sense of authority over their children. Although Malang City is categorized as an urban area, its culture and societal habits are more aligned with rural life. This can be observed in local traditions, social norms, and daily activities, such as the practice of mutual cooperation (gotong royong) among community members for collective interests. The habit of maintaining environmental cleanliness and security together in residential areas, as well as the tradition of respecting and honoring elders as figures of authority, further reflect this rural-like social structure.

Another millennial voter admitted to choosing a legislative candidate due to an introduction facilitated during the campaign period or in the lead-up to the election. Previously, they had no personal acquaintance with the candidate, but upon receiving a recommendation from a colleague, they decided to participate in the candidate's outreach activities. As a result, they became familiar with the candidate and felt a sense of alignment, which ultimately influenced their decision to vote for the candidate on election day.

4.3. Economic Factors Shaping the Political Behavior of Millennial Voters

Economic aspects play a role in shaping the political behavior of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, East Java. The economic aspect is another factor, besides sociological factors, that shapes the political behavior of millennial voters. The economic aspect has a broad dimension, but in this study, only a few economic indicators were found to be factors shaping the political behavior of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City. The economic aspect that shapes the political behavior of millennial voters is the economic conditions experienced or faced by the millennial voters themselves, rather than economic factors occurring on a regional or national scale, such as tax increases, economic growth, and other issues. Instead, it focuses more on the economic conditions personally experienced by voters.

Political behavior influenced by economic factors is political behavior shaped by economic-related aspects, such as economic class, type of employment, income level, material possessions, money, and other factors related to material benefits. According to Christopher J. Anderson, economic aspects influence voter behavior. One example is that voters consider whether to support the ruling party based on its success or failure in addressing economic issues. If successful, the party will be chosen, but if not, it will be rejected (Anderson, 2000). On a global scale, economic issues occurring in a country indeed influence voter behavior. This includes the government's ability to manage the national economy, which impacts voter support or withdrawal of support during elections for the ruling party.

Economic factors influence voter preferences. Voters assess the past economic performance of political parties and their potential future economic performance and reflect their preferences accordingly. Voters reward existing political parties with their votes due to positive economic developments while punishing them for negative economic developments (Armutcu and Tan, 2021). Voters continuously evaluate and assess the performance of the winning party that governs. If successful, they provide support, but if they fail to manage the economy, voters withdraw their support and may even shift their votes to opposition parties.

Meanwhile, according to Colin Lewis-Beck and Nicholas F. Martini, economic perceptions influence voter behavior in the sense that economic perceptions are driven by partisan dispositions, raising questions about the substantive importance of this factor in evaluating electoral behavior. Voters may also assess the economy rationally and accurately use this information to inform their electoral behavior (Lewis-Beck and Martini, 2020). Such voters have a detailed approach to evaluating economic performance, not only considering general factors such as tax increases, levies, economic growth, and other general economic aspects but also more detailed factors such as wage increases, tax hikes that lead to improved services, or increased economic growth. Critical voters can be represented by those who have the ability to analyze economic conditions.

According to Clem Brooks and David Brady, other economic aspects, such as income, also have a significant impact on shaping voter behavior in elections (Brooks and Brady, 1999). This element is the most commonly observed economic aspect. Besides being easy to measure, it is also easily felt by voters. Voters directly experience their income conditions. Millennial voters are also sensitive to income aspects as a demographic group vulnerable to economic shocks. This is especially true today, where many millennials experience job layoffs, unemployment, lack of income, and an absence of business or employment opportunities. Millennials who do not have an income or a job and reside in urban areas bear a heavier burden than those in rural areas due to higher living costs in cities compared to villages. Meeting daily needs in urban areas is highly dependent on income and employment, whereas in villages, necessities can still be sourced from agriculture, fisheries, and other local resources.

Employment is also a factor that shapes voter behavior. At the individual level, based on personal characteristics and employment patterns in their place of residence. By revealing several potential transmission channels, higher exposure at the individual level impacts economic conditions and perceived well-being, lower satisfaction with the government and democracy, and reduced voter perceptions of political efficacy (Anelli et al., 2019).

4.3.1. Material Provision Shapes the Political Behavior of Millennial Voters

Many economic factors shape voter behavior. Among these, the researcher has limited the scope based on field findings from interviews conducted with informants. Subsequently, the researcher analyzed voter behavior based on political behavior theories proposed by experts in the field. Various factors reinforce the analysis of voter behavior from an economic perspective, particularly theoretical understandings of the fundamental economic forces influencing voter behavior. Among these fundamental economic forces affecting voter decisions is the material economic factor (Prysby and Scavo, 1993).

This study clearly found that material economic factors play a crucial role in shaping the political behavior of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, East Java, during the 2024 elections. This was evident from the explanations given by interviewed informants. Millennial voters admitted to choosing a legislative candidate because the candidate regularly distributed basic necessities and provided money—not only to them personally but also to the religious study groups they attended. This form of material provision is a comprehensive model, involving both individuals and groups, with money and other material benefits being distributed. This "complete package" model of material distribution has a strong influence on voter behavior. Although it is a high-cost model for candidates, it remains highly effective. Candidates not only spend money but also provide goods such as basic necessities, which are distributed to both groups and individual voters.

This type of material provision is commonly known as vote buying. Vote buying has been widely documented in various regions and countries as one of the most influential factors in shaping voter behavior. In theoretical discussions, vote buying is also categorized under clientelism. Clientelism is a phenomenon found in diverse economic, political, and cultural contexts. It is often considered a symptom of underdevelopment, with modernization serving as its remedy. As a result, little is known about how formal institutions influence clientelism. The costs of vote buying for voters, parties, and candidates continue to rise. Electoral authorities and state-level vote-buying mechanisms play a crucial role in determining the causal mechanisms and the role of institutions in mitigating clientelism more broadly (Lundstedt & Edgell, 2022).

Millennial voters also admitted to choosing a legislative candidate in the 2024 elections solely because of financial incentives, even when other material benefits such as basic necessities or clothing were not provided. When material provision consists only of money, it is commonly referred to as "envelope money." Voters acknowledged that money is not the sole factor influencing their voting behavior, but they also admitted that without financial incentives, they would not have participated. Thus, money becomes the primary determinant influencing their voting behavior in legislative elections. The distribution of money in envelopes represents an incomplete material provision, as it involves only cash without additional goods like basic necessities. However, money exerts a stronger influence than basic necessities in shaping voter behavior, as it can be used for various urgent needs by recipients.

Material incentives in the form of money have a powerful influence on voter behavior, especially among low-income or impoverished voters. Socioeconomic issues become a critical determinant of voting behavior. This is explained by Italo Colantone and Piero Stanig, who found that election results show that, at the individual level, economic shocks in certain regions impact voter political choices. At the regional level, stronger economic shocks lead to increased support for opposition parties and a withdrawal of support from ruling parties (Colantone & Stanig, 2018). Simultaneously, economic hardships encourage voters to accept material incentives offered during elections.

Millennial voters admitted to receiving money from legislative candidates and accepting these incentives. Although they accepted money, they also acknowledged that financial incentives significantly determine voter behavior. This is especially true when their economic conditions are weak and they struggle to earn enough money to meet their daily needs. Many voters admitted to accepting money from multiple candidates, rather than just one.

Citizens who are directly affected by negative economic conditions are more likely to accept money from both ruling party candidates and opposition candidates. However, they tend to favor opposition candidates due to doubts about the economic management capabilities of the ruling party (Ahlquist et al., 2020).

4.3.2. Material Giving as a Determinant of Millennial Voter Political Behavior from the Perspective of Rational Choice Theory

Giving money to voters, from a theoretical perspective, is seen as a rational approach. The rational approach is characterized by always being able to make decisions when faced with choices, then evaluating the available alternatives, and always choosing the alternative with the highest preference ranking (Nimmo, 2005). Rational voters have a high orientation toward problem-solving (policy problem-solving) and a low orientation toward ideological factors. Rational voters consider various reasonable and logical factors, including economic benefits, including short-term financial and material gains. For voters of this type, their rationality lies in preferring to receive immediate benefits rather than merely being promised economic advantages in the future.

In rational choice theory, "people act deliberately toward a goal, with that goal being shaped by values or choices," and an individual's or actor's decision to take action is based on specific goals determined by values or preferences. Coleman also explains that individuals undertake actions based on considerations and the information they receive. Regarding this, it is stated that these considerations are made to arrive at the best decision. Therefore, rational choice theory can be applied to various aspects of society, including the cultural and political sectors. Coleman firmly states that his approach begins with basic individualism methodology, focusing on the micro aspect, namely the individual level. Thus, rational choice theory can be used as a basis for explaining phenomena at the micro level—individuals—and also at the macro level, such as society or groups (Coleman, 1990).

The nominal amount or sum of money given by legislative candidates to voters varies. Some only provide Rp 50,000 per voter, while others offer more, reaching up to Rp 200,000. This depends on the economic capacity or financial capital of the legislative candidate. Millennial voters who admitted to receiving money during the 2024 elections stated that the amount they received was relatively large, reaching Rp 150,000 to Rp 200,000 per vote.

Both the legislative candidates and millennial voters have specific goals when giving and receiving money during elections. Actors are considered individuals with goals in their lives. Legislative candidates and millennial voters, who serve as political actors in the elections, also have objectives behind each decision they make. Their primary choices in decision-making are based on deep thinking in accordance with their awareness. Additionally, actors have the power to determine their desires and take appropriate actions. Meanwhile, the control and interests held by actors are essential aspects of resources. Resources also refer to things that actors can control (Ritzer & Goodman, 2012).

The nominal factor or amount given is also a consideration for voters in choosing a legislative candidate. Some candidates deliberately offer more money than their competitors. This is done because candidates are aware that others are doing the same. Likewise, some voters choose solely based on the amount given by the candidate. The larger the sum given by the candidate, the higher the chance of being selected. As a result, candidates often compete to increase the amount of money they distribute to voters. This was stated by millennial voters who admitted to receiving money from multiple legislative candidates. Because of this, they still consider financial factors when making their choice, ultimately selecting the candidate who offers the most money.

Voters acknowledge that money plays a crucial role in determining their choice, especially given their general economic conditions during the election period. Many voters experience financial difficulties, making the financial support from candidates economically significant for those in unfavorable economic situations.

4.3.3. Providing Materials for Shaping Millennial Voter Political Behavior from the Perspective of Social Exchange Theory

According to Homans, in social exchange theory, the key focus is on the motives and emotions of those involved in the exchange process. Homans prioritizes exchange relationships at the individual level. He argues that emotions are internal activities, while interactions are stimulated by other activities. Homans limits his analysis to face-to-face or direct exchanges. Cost, reward, and profit are unavoidable aspects of exchange relationships. In behavioral psychology, Homans equates support and reward with punishment. He analyzes social exchange relationships (Homans, 1974).

Voters perceive money given by candidates as both a form of appreciation and compensation for their time away from work to cast their votes at polling stations. Millennial voters have acknowledged that the mindset of voters has shifted; they now see elections as an opportunity to obtain money from candidates. In the past, voters viewed

participation in elections as a responsibility in democratic governance to elect leaders. However, they now perceive elections as a means for elite party members, officials, and legislative candidates to secure positions of power. This perception has been reinforced by media reports exposing political figures involved in corruption.

Thus, in social exchange theory, cost, reward, and profit are key elements of every social interaction. In other words, cost, reward, and profit are fundamental to social exchange theory. It explains that individuals view relationships as a balance between costs and rewards, the type of relationship, and opportunities for better relationships. Social interactions resemble economic transactions. However, social exchange cannot always be measured by monetary value, goods, or other material aspects. In many social interactions, both tangible and intangible elements are exchanged. Therefore, the reciprocity model depends on individuals who give and receive goods or services with the expectation of receiving rewards (Poloma, 2003). Voters hold the belief that elected candidates will later use their positions to enrich themselves and their families. If this happens, voters feel they will not have any opportunity to claim their rights.

4.4. Political Factors Shaping Millennial Voter Political Behavior

The political aspects of legislative candidates in the 2024 general elections in Lowokwaru, Malang City, played a role in shaping millennial voter behavior. Compared to other age groups, millennial voters are considered more politically literate and informed. This is especially true for those residing in urban areas, with an average education level of senior high school or higher education. As a result, millennial voters actively follow political developments and issues through various media, including online mass media and social media.

Political behavior influenced by political factors is shaped by issues such as political programs, campaign strategies, party leader popularity, political debates, and other political dynamics. Political programs are formulated based on multiple considerations that make them feasible and appealing. These programs are then communicated to the public, addressing different social groups, including women's groups, labor unions, religious groups, urban and rural communities, and more (Budge, 1993). Millennials in urban areas, such as Malang City, often engage in informal discussion groups, studies, and various forums that scrutinize government policies, public service issues, economic problems, and overall governance performance. This engagement is directly related to the actions of political actors, both in the executive and legislative branches.

Political programs serve as a representation of political parties and their policies, acting as a bridge between parties and voters. Through political programs, voters can identify and differentiate political parties (Pomper, 1992). Millennials living in urban areas tend to be critical and evaluative, particularly toward incumbent candidates. They assess what these candidates have accomplished during their five-year tenure as representatives. Therefore, when incumbents seek reelection, millennial voters consider their track record. If they perceive that the candidate has failed to deliver, they will reevaluate and correct their past choices by refusing to vote for that candidate again.

4.4.1. Political Programs Implemented by Legislative Candidates Shape the Political Behavior of Millennial Voters

The political programs implemented by legislative candidates are concrete and well-defined. These programs may have been carried out before the candidates declared their candidacy, or before the campaign and political socialization period. Some programs may also be executed after the candidates have officially registered and during the campaign and socialization period. Essentially, when candidates meet voters, millennial voters are already aware of the political programs that have been implemented. These programs can be personal, such as providing assistance, or more general, such as supporting community clean-up activities, providing aid to religious study groups, funding road repairs, renovating places of worship, and other initiatives.

The phenomenon of candidates implementing programs that influence the political behavior of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, also occurs in elections at various levels, including the presidential election in Indonesia. The implementation of programs by the ruling government is often used by the ruling political party and the incumbent presidential candidate to attract voter sympathy, gain support, and secure votes in elections. Many political programs implemented by the ruling party since the 2014 elections were later used as tools to attract voter support in the subsequent 2019 elections (Fauzi, 2019).

One advantage held by incumbent candidates or ruling parties is that their previously implemented political programs can be leveraged as campaign tools during elections. This practice is inevitable, given that voters, as sovereign decision-makers, always have their preferences and full rights to choose which candidates they will support. For example, during the Old Order era, party candidates successfully captured voter attention and secured significant support. One of the main tools used was the government's success in development, particularly in economic growth and national security under the New Order. Similarly, after the Reform Era, many political parties emerged with diverse characteristics—some representing religious organizations, while others were formed by specific groups, such as labor unions. However, many voters later changed their political preferences in the next election because the elected candidates failed to deliver the expected programs. As a result, voters shifted their support (swing voters) and became part of the floating mass. Voters often switch their political choices due to disappointment with the elected candidates or party programs (Mahardika & Fatayati, 2019).

Therefore, it is crucial for political parties and candidates to carefully plan, design, and implement political programs that align with voter expectations and aspirations. Failure to understand voter needs will result in the candidate's inability to secure electoral victory. Success in crafting effective programs and political narratives leads to electoral success, as demonstrated by Jair Bolsonaro's strategic political program management in the 2018 elections (Rennó, 2020).

Other millennial voters stated that they chose legislative candidates based on the programs implemented by the political party to which their chosen candidate belonged. These millennial voters admitted that they frequently attended events organized by the political party, whether social or religious activities. They perceived these activities as a reflection of the party's commitment to public-oriented programs rather than mere political maneuvering during election campaigns. For voters, participating in such social activities brings a sense of fulfillment and connection with the political party's initiatives.

According to George Ritzer, individual behavior cannot be separated from the experiences gained through social interactions. Every social process shapes the experiences of the individuals involved; consequently, individuals can accept the attitudes of others toward themselves, adapt to social processes, and modify these processes based on their own social actions and perspectives on social interactions (Ritzer, 2014). The experiences of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, East Java, in engaging with political parties and candidates through their political programs, shape their political behavior during elections.

Other millennial voters emphasized the importance of political programs initiated by legislative candidates. They preferred programs that had already been executed before the candidate was officially nominated, rather than political promises that were yet to be fulfilled. This preference stems from the tangible benefits of existing programs, which voters can directly experience. Meanwhile, political promises remain uncertain and untested until the candidate is elected and has the opportunity to implement them as a legislative member.

4.4.2. Programs to Be Implemented by Legislative Candidates Shape the Political Behavior of Millennial Voters

Political programs that are yet to be implemented by legislative candidates can be understood as promises. Political promises can also be referred to as the vision, mission, and work programs of candidates that will be carried out if they are elected. There are various forms of programs and political promises made by candidates to gain sympathy and support from voters. Some programs and promises are merely designed to appeal to voters, without considering whether they are rationally measurable or feasible to implement if elected. It does not matter whether these political promises fall within the duties and authority of the candidate or not. What matters most is that these promises and programs can attract voter support during the election. Unfortunately, the number of voters who can critically assess and evaluate candidates' programs and promises is relatively small. Even if there are voters who possess the ability to assess these promises, many remain indifferent or apathetic.

On the other hand, there are political programs and promises that are formulated with careful consideration of rationality, measurability, and feasibility if elected. These programs align with the duties and functions of legislative members, such as the budgetary function, which involves drafting budgets like the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD). Additionally, candidates propose legislative functions, which include drafting policy products such as regional regulations and other local rules beneficial for policy implementation and public service. Moreover, these candidates also emphasize their oversight (controlling) function, which they will execute if elected.

Political programs to be implemented by legislative candidates upon election have played a role in shaping the political behavior of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, East Java, during the 2024 general election. This was expressed by millennial voters who acknowledged that a candidate’s planned political programs were important for prospective voters. They emphasized that understanding the political programs of candidates was more crucial than knowing their track records. This is because the large number of candidates running in the election makes it nearly impossible for voters to research and understand each candidate’s background. Consequently, it becomes more practical to focus on their programs as a representation of their work plans and commitments if elected. From an accountability perspective, voters find it easier to identify and demand the fulfillment of campaign promises if the candidate is elected. Meanwhile, a candidate’s track record is not something voters can hold them accountable for—it merely serves as a moral consideration.

Conducting a detailed and thorough investigation into a candidate’s track record is challenging due to time constraints, and only a limited number of voters have the capability to analyze candidates' backgrounds. Conversely, political programs are easy to understand, at least based on what candidates communicate when meeting voters or through campaign materials such as billboards, banners, and posters. These campaign tools make it easier for voters to recall and demand the fulfillment of promises once the candidate is elected. Later, voters can hold the elected candidate directly accountable without having to go through political parties.

Other millennial voters admitted that they trusted the political programs proposed by legislative candidates. This trust was based on the fact that some candidates had already implemented their programs before being elected. There was concrete evidence showing that, even before securing a legislative seat, certain candidates had already initiated social mobility and healthcare services. These initiatives had never been provided by other candidates before. As a result, voters decided to support these candidates because they had demonstrated tangible efforts. In this context, millennial voters’ trust in candidates’ political promises was reinforced by prior evidence of program execution. Voters believed that if a candidate had already implemented programs before being elected, they would likely continue doing so once in office.

Millennial voters were also attracted to supporting legislative candidates in the 2024 election due to their programs. These programs were perceived as rational and realistic. Furthermore, candidates were able to explain their programs effectively during political outreach and campaign activities. One example was the unemployment reduction program, which was considered feasible. Candidates proposed addressing unemployment issues using the so-called "aspiration funds" (POKIR – Pokok-Pokok Pikiran), allocated annually by the government to legislative members through the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD). These funds accommodate small and medium enterprise (SME) empowerment programs as an alternative strategy for poverty alleviation.

Table 4. Existing Model

Problem	Focus	Findings	Proposition
What is the political behavior of millennial voters towards legislative candidates in Lowokwaru District, Malang City, East Java in the 2024 general election?	The political behavior of millennial voters consists of: Political attitudes, political actions and political decisions.	Finding 1. The political attitudes of millennial voters are in the form of voter preferences regarding communication patterns and interactions with legislative candidates. Finding 2. Political actions of millennial voters in response to the background of legislative candidates. Finding 3. The decisions of millennial	Minor Proposition Proposition 1. Political behavior of voters as a response to the behavior of legislative candidates. Proposition 2 Voters' political behavior is indicated by their voting participation.

Problem	Focus	Findings	Proposition
<p>What factors shape the political behavior of millennial voters in Lowokwaru District, Malang City, East Java in the 2024 general election?</p>	<p>Sociological aspects are factors related to social factors such as environment, social relationships, religion, gender, ethnicity and age.</p> <p>Economic aspects are factors related to the economy such as economic class, job, income, material, money and others.</p> <p>Political aspects, which relate to political factors such as political issues, political programs, political campaigns, and the popularity of party leaders.</p>	<p>voters are shown in their participation in voting and inviting other voters to vote for their chosen legislative candidates.</p> <p>Finding 4. Sociological aspects shape the behavior of millennial voters towards legislative candidates in the 2024 general election.</p> <p>Finding 5 The sociological aspects that shape voter behavior consist of the personal closeness of legislative candidates to millennial voters.</p> <p>Finding 6 Another sociological aspect that shapes voter behavior is the proximity of the legislative candidate's place/domicile to millennial voters.</p> <p>Finding 7 Another sociological aspect that shapes voter behavior is the recommendation of people close to the voter to choose a legislative candidate.</p> <p>Finding 8 Various economic aspects shape the political behavior of millennial voters.</p> <p>Finding 9 The economic aspects that shape the behavior of millennial voters are material things such as basic necessities and others.</p> <p>Finding 10 Another economic aspect that shapes millennial voter behavior is money.</p>	<p>Proposition 3 Sociological aspects shape voter behavior.</p> <p>Proposition 4 The economic aspect that plays the most role in shaping the political behavior of millennial voters is money and basic necessities that are given simultaneously.</p>

Problem	Focus	Findings	Proposition
		<p>Finding 11 Economic aspects that also influence voter behavior are materials such as basic necessities and money.</p> <p>Finding 12 Political aspects shape the behavior of millennial voters in the 2024 general election.</p> <p>Finding 13 The political aspect that shapes the political behavior of millennial voters is the political program.</p> <p>Finding 14 Political programs that shape the political behavior of millennial voters are programs that have been carried out by legislative candidates.</p> <p>Finding 15 Other political programs that become campaign programs and promises also shape the behavior of millennial voters.</p>	<p>Proposition 5 The political aspect that most strongly shapes the political behavior of millennial voters is the promised political program, accompanied by evidence of the program that has been implemented.</p>
			<p>Major Proposition The political behavior of millennial voters is shaped by many factors in response to the behavior of legislative candidates.</p>

(Source: Results of field interviews)

5. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1. Conclusion

Based on the research results and discussion, the following conclusions can be drawn. The first focus is on political behavior, which demonstrates the political attitudes of millennial voters who prefer legislative candidates (caleg) that engage in political communication, whether directly with voters or through social media. Meanwhile, the political actions of millennial voters are based on their responses to the background of the legislative candidates, including their track records and profiles. The political decisions of voters are reflected in two types of voters: passive voters who only participate in the election process and active voters who encourage others to vote for their chosen candidates.

The second focus is on the factors that shape millennial voters' political behavior, based on the voter political behavior theory by Harrop & Miller (1987). According to this theory, voter political behavior is shaped by three aspects: sociological, economic, and political. These three aspects were identified in this study in various forms.

The sociological aspect found in this study relates to personal closeness between legislative candidates and millennial voters. This closeness is marked by social interactions that are not limited to formal meetings during campaign and political outreach activities but also extend to informal interactions, such as home visits or attending family events of voters. Another sociological factor is the proximity of residence, where millennial voters choose candidates due to shared geographic proximity. This occurs because voters expect that if the candidate is elected, more development programs will be directed toward their shared residential area. Furthermore, reference-based closeness also plays a role, where millennial voters choose a candidate based on recommendations from family and close acquaintances who encourage them to vote for that candidate. Family members may include parents, spouses, or siblings, while close acquaintances could be best friends or teachers, such as spiritual or religious mentors at Islamic boarding schools who have significant influence over their students.

The economic aspect influencing millennial voters' political behavior consists of several factors. One is the distribution of material gifts from candidates, such as staple food packages or other goods, to religious study groups, youth organizations, and other community groups in which millennial voters are involved. Another factor is direct monetary incentives, where candidates distribute money to voters based on the number of eligible voters in a household. For example, if a family has four members but only three are eligible to vote, only those three will receive monetary incentives. Additionally, the most preferred form of candidate assistance is a combination of monetary and material incentives. In this case, candidates provide both staple food packages and money, particularly as election day approaches.

The political aspect is reflected in the political programs of candidates, which are categorized into two forms. The first includes programs that have been implemented before becoming a legislative candidate or during the campaign period. These programs involve infrastructure projects such as road construction, places of worship, and other public facilities. The second consists of programs that will be implemented if elected as a legislative member. These programs are presented as the candidate's vision, mission, and political promises, which are publicly shared during voter interactions. Such programs are expected to be rational, well-explained, and realistically implementable if the candidate is elected.

5.2. Recommendations

Theoretically, this study employs the voter political behavior theory proposed by Harrop and Miller, which dates back to 1987. This presents a theoretical limitation of the study, as it examines voter behavior using a more general political behavior theory. However, the theory remains relevant as it provides insights into the political behavior of millennial voters in Lowokwaru, Malang City, East Java. Moving forward, further research should utilize more recent voter political behavior theories, particularly those developed within the last five years, if available, especially theories specifically addressing the political behavior of millennial voters. This study introduces two novel findings that expand upon Harrop & Miller's voter political behavior theory, namely the psychological aspect and political communication.

Practically, this study also has limitations, as it was conducted only within a district-level area, specifically in Lowokwaru District, Malang City, East Java. Therefore, future research on millennial voter behavior should be conducted on a broader scale, either at the provincial level in East Java or at the national level. Such studies could focus on various electoral contexts, including general elections, presidential elections, regional elections, and even village head elections. This would enable a more comprehensive understanding of millennial voter political behavior from multiple perspectives of political contests, ranging from local and regional levels to the national scale across Indonesia.

5.3. Research Implications

1) Theoretical Implications

Theoretically, this study has implications for the voter political behavior theory proposed by Harrop & Miller (1987), which states that voter political behavior is shaped by three factors: sociological, economic, and political

factors. These three factors were clearly identified as influencing the political behavior of millennial voters in this study. Thus, this research supports and strengthens the voter political behavior theory developed by Harrop & Miller. Among these three factors, the most influential in shaping voter behavior is the economic factor.

2) Practical Implications

Practically, this study has implications for political practices carried out by political candidates, such as legislative candidates, regional head candidates, presidential candidates, and even village head candidates participating in political contests. During the electoral process, political candidates engage in political outreach and campaigns, interacting, communicating, and engaging with voters, particularly millennial voters. This research can provide insights into how political candidates study the political behavior of millennial voters, which is clearly depicted in the findings and discussions. Furthermore, this study has practical implications for policies governing the implementation of elections, particularly Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections, specifically regarding provisions regulating voter rights and obligations, as well as permitted and prohibited voter actions.

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