

# Artikel Communicatus Lintang Ratri

*by* Lintang Ratri

---

**Submission date:** 28-Nov-2024 06:44PM (UTC+0700)

**Submission ID:** 2534667036

**File name:** Lintang\_Ratri\_Communicatus\_turnitin.docx (1.12M)

**Word count:** 4555

**Character count:** 27262



## Social Identity and Political Preferences of First-Time Voters in the 2024 Presidential Election

19

Lintang Ratri Rahmiaji<sup>1\*</sup>, Hapsari Dwiningtyas Sulistyani<sup>1</sup>, Turnomo Rahardjo<sup>1</sup>

Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang

\* [lintang.ratri@live.undip.ac.id](mailto:lintang.ratri@live.undip.ac.id)

### ABSTRACT

Reaching voters in presidential elections frequently involves using identity politics. On the other side, first-time voters might serve as prospective targets for gaining supporters. The purpose of this study is to investigate the link between first-time voters' choices for presidential candidates and the social identities (faith, gender, and ethnicity) of presidential candidates. The main theory used to explain the relationship between social identity and political choice preferences is Social Identity Theory. This study is a quantitative survey that looks at the relationship between political candidates' social identities and the preferences of first-time voters in Indonesia in 2023. The findings of the study indicate a connection between the presidential and vice-presidential candidates' social identities and the decisions made by first-time voters. For instance, the political choices of first-time voters are directly correlated with their gender, notably whether they will accept or approve of female presidents and vice presidents. The findings of the study indicate that first-time voters are open to electing a female president. An interesting finding to highlight is how new voters tend to be open to the choice of president and vice president of other religions. The majority of first-time voters (respondents) accept presidents and vice presidents who belong to minority religions such as Catholics, Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, Confucians, and local religions.

**Keywords :** Social Identities, First-time Voters, Presidential Election

### ABSTRAK

Menjangkau pemilih dalam pemilihan presiden sering kali melibatkan penggunaan politik identitas. Di sisi lain, pemilih pertama mungkin bisa menjadi sasaran prospektif untuk mendapatkan pendukung. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui hubungan antara pilihan pemilih pemula terhadap calon presiden dan identitas sosial (keyakinan, gender, dan etnis) calon presiden. Teori utama yang digunakan untuk menjelaskan hubungan identitas sosial dengan preferensi pilihan politik adalah Teori Identitas Sosial. Penelitian ini merupakan survei kuantitatif yang melihat hubungan antara identitas sosial kandidat politik dengan preferensi pemilih pemula di Indonesia pada tahun 2023. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan adanya hubungan antara identitas sosial kandidat presiden dan wakil presiden dan keputusan yang dibuat oleh pemilih pertama. Misalnya, pilihan politik para pemilih

1

Diterima: Bulan Tahun. Disetujui: Bulan Tahun. Dipublikasikan: Bulan Tahun

1

pemula berkorelasi langsung dengan gender mereka, terutama apakah mereka akan menerima atau menyetujui presiden dan wakil presiden perempuan. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pemilih pemula terbuka untuk memilih presiden perempuan. Temuan yang menarik untuk disoroti adalah bagaimana pemilih baru cenderung terbuka terhadap pilihan presiden dan wakil presiden agama lain. Mayoritas pemilih pemula (responden) menerima presiden dan wakil presiden yang menganut agama minoritas seperti Katolik, Kristen, Budha, Hindu, Konghucu, dan agama lokal.

**Kata Kunci : Identitas Sosial, Pemilih Pemula, Pemilihan Presiden**

## INTRODUCTION

In 2024, specifically on February 14, Indonesia will hold its largest political event, a simultaneous general election aimed at electing members of legislative bodies, including the Regency/City DPRD, Provincial DPRD, House of Representatives (DPR RI), Regional Representatives Council (DPD), and the president and vice president.

Since 2004, elections have been held directly, with voters choosing candidates by name rather than just political parties. This direct election system means that the selection of legislative members and the president/vice president is not solely determined by political parties. The direct election system intensifies competition for votes, as each candidate campaigns primarily to gain the people's trust. Candidates employ a variety of strategies, tactics, and media to build a positive image while steering public perception to distrust opposing candidates' campaigns. This ranges from negative and black campaigns to tactics of terror/intimidation and persecution. Such "win-at-all-costs" approaches, including identity politics, manifest in provocative information that often takes the form of misinformation, disinformation, and malinformation—commonly known as hoaxes.

Conceptually, a hoax is understood as false, inaccurate information crafted to appear true (Ireton & Posetti, 2018). While some people may recognize that certain information is unverified, repeated exposure can turn falsehoods into perceived truth. In the digital age, hoaxes are easily produced and distributed via social media due to its open, anonymous nature, with no boundaries of time and space.

The abundance of information—some of it questionable (hoaxes) in digital spaces—makes it difficult, particularly for first-time voters, to distinguish

between verified information and hoaxes (Aminah & Sari, 2019). A new group has even emerged that consistently spreads hoaxes, often in the form of sensitive SARA (ethnic, religious, racial, and inter-group) issues, which is highly sensitive for Indonesia's diverse society. Unverifiable information is produced solely for capital gain without considering its social impact, as exemplified by the Saracen group (Holik, 2018).

Berger & Milkman (cited in Struhar, 2014) explain that content shared via social media often evokes emotional responses, either positively or negatively. The impact of hoaxes on first-time voters is that they find it difficult to differentiate between true information and hoaxes, often leading to provocation, resentment, and shifts in political support (Aminah & Sari, 2019). This is partly due to the fact that first-time voters are in late adolescence, a psychologically unstable stage, making them more susceptible to provocation.

Identity politics veiled with hoaxes and hate speech is highly intimidating and tends to undermine the rationality and wisdom of first-time voters in their political participation in the 2024 direct elections. An incomplete understanding, not based on facts and prone to subjective emotion, results in unclear decision-making when choosing representatives and presidential candidates. In past elections, such as the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election, identity politics proved to be an easy "tool" to enhance or destroy a candidate's image. Diversity, initially seen as a shared asset, has been turned into a political gap. Social identities like religion, ethnicity, place of origin, gender, social status, educational affiliation, and organizational ties are then shaped into political capital, forming the basis of identity politics to appeal to potential voters.

Conceptually, identity politics is a political strategy that emphasizes differentiation and the exploitation of primordial ties as its main category (Heller & Riekmann in Rozi, 2019). Broadly, identity politics is understood as using shared identities—such as ethnicity, origin, gender, religion, and social class—to advance the interests of a particular social group (Widjaja et al., 2020). Identity politics often features narratives of past oppression, marginalization, or exclusion, which become the foundation of a social group's struggle (Lawler, 2014).

This research aims to examine the relationship between the social identities (religion, gender, ethnicity) of political candidates and the preferences of first-time voters regarding political candidates.

1

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The simultaneous general election holds a significant potential to trigger political polarization by pitting various social identities within society against one another. Candidates are likely to employ identity politics strategies, using social media platforms to win the support of first-time voters. Political-themed photos, videos, memes, and links will flood Facebook feeds throughout 2023. Facebook is a social media platform frequently used by first-time voters to obtain election-related information. However, hoaxes disseminated via Facebook have been shown to impact the attitudes of first-time voters, as seen in Aceh Jaya (Aminah & Sari, 2019).

From the perspective of first-time voters, social identity also plays a role in political preferences. A study conducted by Astrika & Yuwanto (2019) illustrated the influence of social identity on the electability of candidates for the Governor of Central Java for the 2018–2023 period. Among the 92 sample voters, 24% would choose a candidate from the same region, while 76% would not. Additionally, 31% would vote for a candidate of the same religion, while 69% would not. Furthermore, 34% of respondents indicated a preference for candidates of the same gender, while 66% did not. Although the proportion of respondents choosing candidates with a similar social identity as themselves is smaller, it remains statistically significant. This demonstrates that social identity still plays a role in voters' decision-making.

Identity is a socially constructed concept, making it difficult to define. Tracy (in Samovar et al., 2017) explains that identity is both inclusive and contradictory. According to Tracy, identity is best understood as a stable aspect of each individual that precedes certain situations, while simultaneously serving as a dynamic construct that is enacted and modified through discourse across different contexts. Ting-Toomey similarly emphasizes inclusivity, viewing identity as a reflective self-conception or self-image shaped by family, gender, culture, ethnicity, and socialization processes. Identity essentially refers to our self-reflective views and how others perceive our self-image.

The main theoretical framework used to explain the relationship between social identity and political preferences is Social Identity Theory. This theory posits that social identity constitutes part of an individual's self-concept derived from their affiliation with specific groups, such as gender, religion, race/ethnicity (Tajfel in Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019). Such affiliations foster emotional and value-based attachments to the group. Furthermore, group

membership creates a social identity that categorizes individuals into in-groups and establishes an out-group perception for those outside their group. This identification often leads to favoritism toward in-group members and shapes preferences accordingly.

This study employs a quantitative survey approach to examine the relationship between the social identities of political candidates and the voting preferences of first-time voters in Indonesia in 2023. The independent variables in this research include aspects of social identity, such as gender, religion, and race/ethnicity. The study aims to determine the relationship between these independent variables and the preferences of first-time voters. The study population consists of first-time voters for the 2024 election, with sample coverage across Indonesia's three time zones, based on a quota sample derived from provincial populations in Western, Central, and Eastern Indonesia (including Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Riau, Riau Islands, Jambi, South Sumatra, Lampung, Bangka Belitung, Bengkulu, Jakarta, Banten, West Java, Central Java, Yogyakarta, East Java, West and Central Kalimantan in Western Indonesia; North Kalimantan, East and South Kalimantan, Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara, West, Central, South, Southeast, North Sulawesi, and Gorontalo in Central Indonesia; and Maluku, North Maluku, Papua, West Papua, South Papua, Central Papua, Papua Highlands, and Southwest Papua in Eastern Indonesia).

The study sample comprised 543 individuals, determined based on a total estimated number of 428,799 first-time voters (aged 16–21) for the 2024 election (Kompas.com, 2022). Sample size calculations, with a population of 428,799 at a 95% confidence level and a 5% confidence interval, yielded a minimum sample size of 384. Responses to the survey, drawn from questions based on previous theories and studies, served as primary data for this research. Self-administered questionnaires required respondents to provide written answers to predetermined questions. Data was also collected through literature reviews of relevant studies, books, data, and materials on social identity and political preferences. The collected data was analyzed using SPSS software for associative statistics and Chi-Square tests. The study's internal validity hinges on the quality of the instruments used and the theoretical and empirical grounding of previous studies applied in this research.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1

## Findings

Based on a survey conducted with 543 first-time voters in Indonesia, aged 17-21 and registered on the permanent voter list<sup>17</sup> for the 2024 election, originating from 23 provinces representing three regions in Indonesia—Western Indonesia, Central Indonesia, and Eastern Indonesia—the demographic distribution of the data can be explained as follows: The descriptive data of the respondents in percentages (%) are as follows :

**Table 1. Respondent Demographics**

| Demographics  | Frequency (N =543) | Demographics                      | Frequency (N =543) |
|---|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| <b>Gender (%)</b>   |                    | <b>Province of Origin (%)</b>     |                    |
| Female  | 61                 | Bali                              | 4.4                |
| Male  | 39                 | Banten                            | 1.5                |
|   |                    | Bengkulu                          | 5.0                |
|   |                    | Special Region of Yogyakarta      | 5.0                |
|   |                    | Special Capital Region of Jakarta | 3.9                |
|   |                    | West Java                         | 10.1               |
|   |                    | Central Java                      | 13.8               |
|   |                    | East Java                         | 7.2                |
| <b>Level of Education (%)</b>   |                    | South Kalimantan                  | 3.7                |
| High School (SMA), Vocational School (SMK), and State Islamic High School (MAN) | 25.4               | East Kalimantan                   | 3.7                |
| Higher Education and equivalent   | 74.6               | Lampung                           | 0.2                |
|   |                    | Maluku                            | 4.0                |
|   |                    | North Maluku                      | 2.9                |
|   |                    | Nangroe Aceh Darussalam           | 1.0                |
|   |                    | <sup>28</sup> West Nusa Tenggara  | 3.1                |
|   |                    | East Nusa Tenggara                | 3.9                |

|                     |      | Papua          | 3.1 |
|---------------------|------|----------------|-----|
| <b>Religion (%)</b> |      | Riau           | 1.6 |
| <b>Islam</b>        | 72.4 | South Sulawesi | 4.6 |
| <b>Christian</b>    | 16.6 | North Sulawesi | 3.9 |
| <b>Catholic</b>     | 6.4  | West Sumatera  | 5.3 |
| <b>Hindu</b>        | 4.4  | North Sumatera | 7.3 |
| <b>Buddha</b>       | 0.2  | South Sumatera | 0.8 |

Source: Research Data Processing Results

## Hypothesis Testing

This study aims to test whether there is a relationship between social identity and the political preferences of first-time voters in the 2024 presidential and vice-presidential election. The social identity variables used are gender and religion, while the political preference variable is defined as the acceptance or rejection of presidential and vice-presidential candidates with certain social identities (specific gender and religion).

The hypothesis testing was conducted using the Chi-Square Test, as the population consists of two or more classes, with nominal data and a large sample size. This test is employed to examine differences among more than two proportions for categorical data and to identify relationships between categorical variables. One of the criteria for validity is that each cell must contain at least one expected frequency. Cells with expected frequencies of less than 5 should not exceed 20% of the total cells.

### The Relationship Between Gender Identity and Political Preference for Female Presidents

H1, which tests the relationship between respondents' gender identity and their preference for female presidential and vice-presidential candidates, was confirmed through the Chi Square Test, as shown in the table below.

| CHI-SQUARE TESTS          |                     |    |                                   |                      |                      |
|---------------------------|---------------------|----|-----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|                           | Value               | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) | Exact Sig. (2-sided) | Exact Sig. (1-sided) |
| <b>PEARSON CHI-SQUARE</b> | 36,107 <sup>a</sup> | 1  | 0,000                             |                      |                      |



1

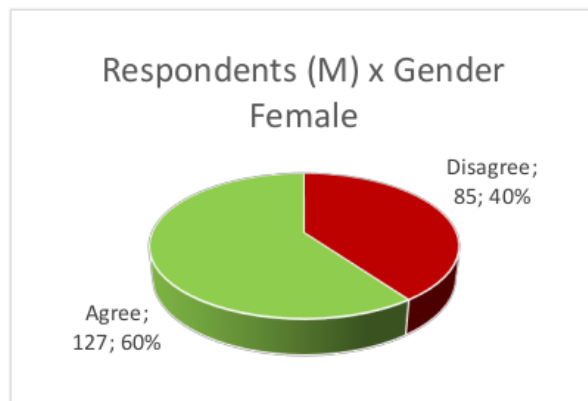
Nama penulis depan dan tengah inisial, nama belakang lengkap (Garamond 8 rata kiri)

|   |        |   |             |
|---|--------|---|-------------|
| <b>CONTINUITY CORRECTION<sup>B</sup></b>  | 34,912 | 1 | 0,000       |
| <b>6 KLIHOOD RATIO</b>  | 35,506 | 1 | 0,000       |
| <b>FISHER'S EXACT TEST</b>  |        |   | 0,000 0,000 |
| <b>LINEAR-BY-LINEAR ASSOCIATION</b>   | 36,041 | 1 | 0,000       |
| <b>7 N OF VALID CASES</b>   | 543    |   |             |
| <b>A. 0 CELLS (,0%) HAVE EXPECTED COUNT LESS THAN 5. THE MINIMUM EXPECTED COUNT IS 55,05.</b> |        |   |             |
| <b>B. COMPUTED ONLY FOR A 2X2 TABLE</b>   |        |   |             |

Source: *Research Data Processing Results*

This means that voters' gender is directly related to their political preference, specifically regarding whether they would accept or approve of a female president and vice president.

Further analysis using cross-tabulation provides more detailed data on the percentage of male and female respondents who are willing to accept a female president and vice president.



3

8

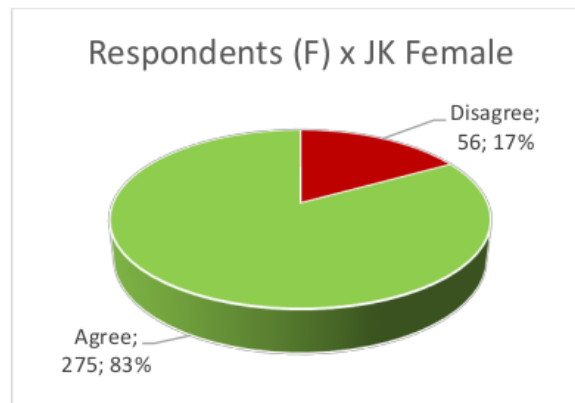


Figure 1: Distribution of Relationship Between Gender Identity and Political Preference for Female Presidents

Among male respondents, 60 percent indicated that they would accept or approve of a female president and vice president in the 2024 election. Meanwhile, female respondents were more supportive, with 83 percent expressing acceptance or approval. Based on these findings, it can be observed that women are more open to the possibility of a female president and vice president compared to men. However, it is noteworthy that the rate of rejection towards female presidential and vice-presidential candidates remains significant and relatively high, particularly among male first-time voters.

### The Relationship Between Religious Identity and Political Preference for Presidents with Different Religions

H2, which examines the relationship between respondents' religious identity and their preference for presidential and vice-presidential candidates of different religions (with the exception of candidates of Islamic faith due to cells with expected frequencies of less than 5 exceeding 20%, specifically 40%), has been confirmed through the Chi-Square Test, as shown in the table below.

#### 4 Chi-Square Tests

##### Religion \* Christian

|                    | Value               | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|--------------------|---------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 39,187 <sup>a</sup> | 4  | 0,000                             |

1

1

Nama penulis depan dan tengah inisial, nama belakang lengkap (Garamond 8 rata kiri)

|                              |        |   |       |
|------------------------------|--------|---|-------|
| Likelihood Ratio             | 46,052 | 4 | 0,000 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 19,163 | 1 | 0,000 |
| N of Valid Cases             | 543    |   |       |

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,28.

### Chi-Square Tests

#### Religion \* Catholic

|                              | Value               | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|------------------------------|---------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| Pearson Chi-Square           | 38,776 <sup>a</sup> | 4  | 0,000                             |
| Likelihood Ratio             | 51,209              | 4  | 0,000                             |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 10,604              | 1  | 0,001                             |
| N of Valid Cases             | 543                 |    |                                   |

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,31.

### Chi-Square Tests

#### Religion \* Buddha

|                              | Value               | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|------------------------------|---------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| Pearson Chi-Square           | 21,756 <sup>a</sup> | 4  | 0,000                             |
| Likelihood Ratio             | 24,847              | 4  | 0,000                             |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 2,118               | 1  | 0,146                             |
| N of Valid Cases             | 543                 |    |                                   |

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,37.

3

10

**4**  
**Chi-Square Tests**

**Religion \* Hindu**

|                              | Value               | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|------------------------------|---------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| Pearson Chi-Square           | 25,234 <sup>a</sup> | 4  | 0,000                             |
| Likelihood Ratio             | 30,221              | 4  | 0,000                             |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 2,012               | 1  | 0,156                             |
| N of Valid Cases             | 543                 |    |                                   |

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,35.

**Chi-Square Tests**

**Religion \* Confucianism**

|                              | Value               | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|------------------------------|---------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| Pearson Chi-Square           | 24,249 <sup>a</sup> | 4  | 0,000                             |
| Likelihood Ratio             | 27,337              | 4  | 0,000                             |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 2,809               | 1  | 0,094                             |
| N of Valid Cases             | 543                 |    |                                   |

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,40.

**Chi-Square Tests**

**Religion \* Belief Adherents**

|                              | Value               | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|------------------------------|---------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| Pearson Chi-Square           | 20,829 <sup>a</sup> | 4  | 0,000                             |
| Likelihood Ratio             | 20,559              | 4  | 0,000                             |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | 0,845               | 1  | 0,358                             |
| N of Valid Cases             | 543                 |    |                                   |

1

Nama penulis depan dan tengah inisial, nama belakang lengkap (Garamond 8 rata kiri)

14

a. 2 cells (20,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,37.

Source: *Research Data Processing Results*

This means that the religion of voters is directly related to their political preferences, namely whether they accept or approve of a president-vice president with a certain religion, in this case Christian, Catholic, Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian and Belief Adherents.

In the cross-tabulation test between the respondents' religious identities and the political preferences of the president-vice president with a certain religion, the following data was found in more detail:

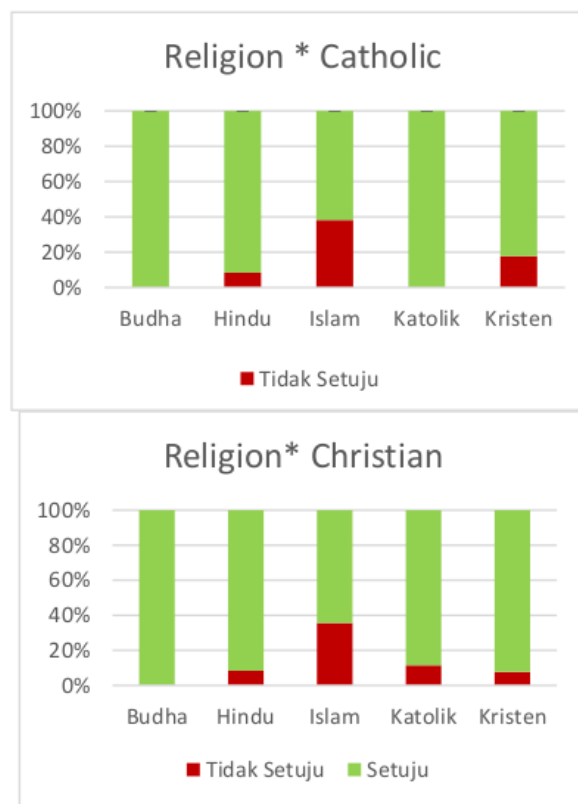


Figure 2: *Distribution of Relationship Between Christian & Catholic Identity and Political Preference for Presidents with Different Religions*

If the president and vice president are Catholic, 100 percent of respondents who identify as Buddhist and Catholic expressed approval, while 91.7 percent

3

12

of Hindu respondents agreed. Among Muslim respondents, 61.8 percent expressed approval, and 82.2 percent of Christian respondents also agreed.

If the president and vice president are Christian, 100 percent of Buddhist respondents expressed approval, while 88.6 percent of Catholic respondents, 91.7 percent of Hindu respondents, and 64.4 percent of Muslim respondents indicated approval. Interestingly, 7.8 percent of Christian respondents expressed disapproval.

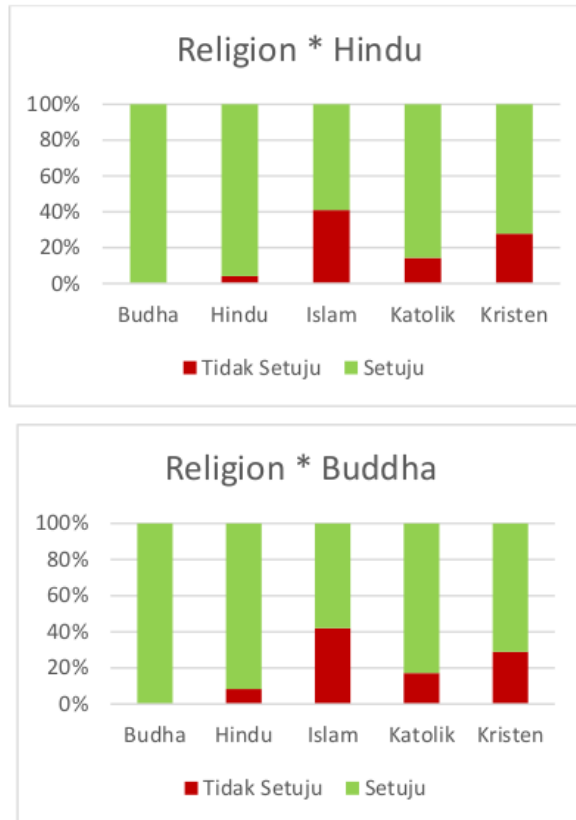
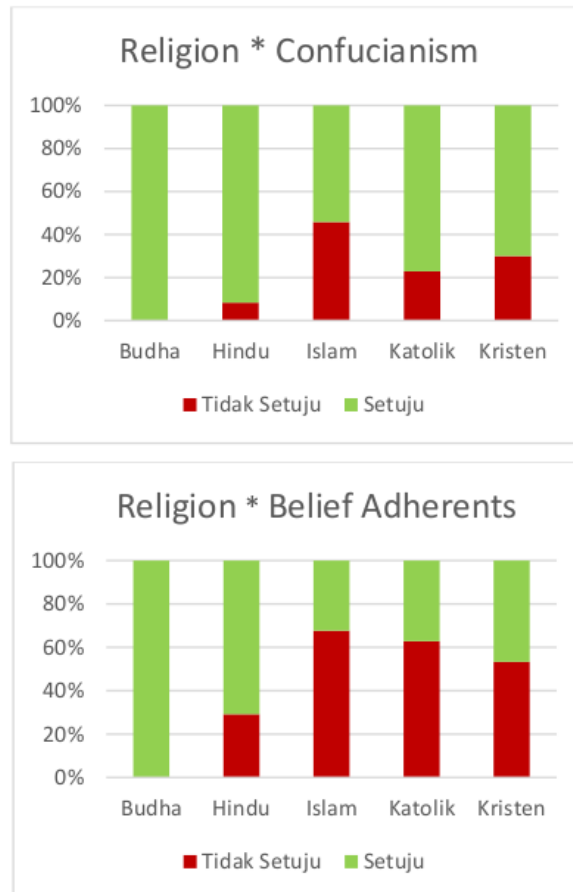


Figure 3: Distribution of Relationship Between Hindu & Buddha Identity and Political Preference for Presidents with Different Religions

If the president and vice president are Hindu, 100 percent of Buddhist respondents expressed approval, while 4.2 percent of Hindu respondents themselves expressed disapproval. The data also show that 59 percent of Muslim respondents, 72.2 percent of Christian respondents, and 85.7 percent of Catholic respondents expressed approval.

If the president and vice president are Buddhist, 100 percent of Buddhist respondents expressed approval, while 82.9 percent of Catholic respondents, 91.7 percent of Hindu respondents, 58 percent of Muslim respondents, and 71.1 percent of Christian respondents also indicated approval.



*Figure 4: Distribution of Relationship Between Confucianism & Belief Adherents Identity and Political Preference for Presidents with Different Religions*

If the president and vice president are Confucian, 100 percent of Buddhist respondents expressed approval, while 91.7 percent of Hindu respondents, 54.2 percent of Muslim respondents, 70 percent of Christian respondents, and 77.1 percent of Catholic respondents also expressed approval.

If the president and vice president are adherents of indigenous beliefs, 100 percent of Buddhist respondents expressed approval, and 70.8 percent of Hindu respondents agreed. However, differing trends were observed as 62.9

percent of Catholic respondents, 67.7 percent of Muslim respondents, and 63.2 percent of Christian respondents expressed disapproval.

### The Relationship Between Religious Identity and Political Preference for Female Presidents and Vice Presidents

H3, which examines the relationship between respondents' religious identity and their preference for female presidential and vice-presidential candidates, was confirmed through the Chi-Square Test, as shown in the table below.

#### CHI-SQUARE TESTS

|                                     | Value               | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| <b>PEARSON CHI-SQUARE</b>           | 17,909 <sup>a</sup> | 4  | 0,001                             |
| <b>LIKELIHOOD RATIO</b>             | 20,241              | 4  | 0,000                             |
| <b>LINEAR-BY-LINEAR ASSOCIATION</b> | 5,290               | 1  | 0,021                             |
| <b>N OF VALID CASES</b>             | 543                 |    |                                   |

**A. 2 CELLS (20,0%) HAVE EXPECTED COUNT LESS THAN 5. THE MINIMUM EXPECTED COUNT IS ,26.**

*Source: Research Data Processing Results*

The test for the Respondent's Religion variable with preference for female president-vice president in a 2x5 column, with no more than 20% of the expected count being less than the minimum, indicates that the test is valid. Since it is a 2x5 table test, the significance value used is the Pearson Chi Square. The significance value is 0.001, which is less than 0.005, indicating a relationship between the respondent's religion and the preference for a female president-vice president. Furthermore, it is possible to differentiate how each religion views a female president-vice president. Based on the cross-tabulation test, the following data were found:



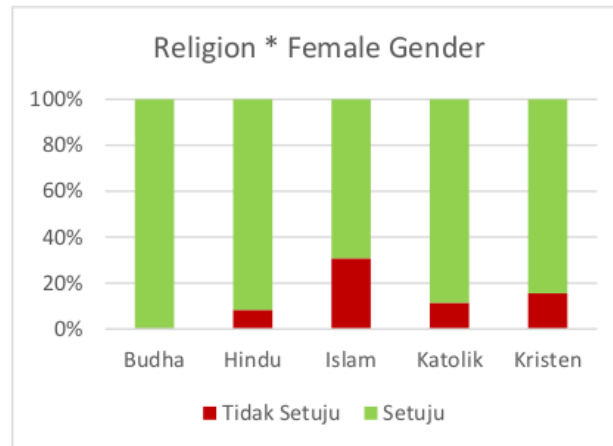


Figure 5: Distribution of Relationship Between Religious Identity and Political Preference for Female Presidents and Vice Presidents

If the president-vice president were female, 100 percent of Buddhist respondents stated that they agreed, while 91.7 percent of Hindu respondents agreed, 69.2 percent of Muslim respondents agreed, 88.6 percent of Catholic respondents agreed, and 84.4 percent of Christian respondents agreed.

#### Relationship between gender identity and the political preference for a Muslim president-vice president:

H4 tests the relationship between gender identity and preference for a president-vice president of a particular religion. However, only the relationship between gender and preference for a Muslim president-vice president has a significance of less than 0.05, indicating a relationship and distinguishing between male and female respondents regarding preference for a Muslim president-vice president. Meanwhile, the preferences for a Christian, Catholic, Buddhist, Hindu, Confucian, or indigenous belief system president-vice president do not meet the chi-square test requirements.

7

#### CHI-SQUARE TESTS

##### GENDER \* ISLAM

|                           | Value              | df | Asymptotic<br>Significance<br>(2-sided) | Exact<br>Sig. (2-<br>sided) | Exact<br>Sig. (1-<br>sided) |
|---------------------------|--------------------|----|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>PEARSON CHI-SQUARE</b> | 4,999 <sup>a</sup> | 1  | 0,025                                   |                             |                             |

1

16

|  |       |   |       |       |       |
|--|-------|---|-------|-------|-------|
| <b>CONTINUITY CORRECTION<sup>B</sup></b>   | 4,187 | 1 | 0,041 |       |       |
| <b>LIKELIHOOD RATIO</b>  | 4,850 | 1 | 0,028 |       |       |
| <b>FISHER'S EXACT TEST</b>   |       |   |       | 0,036 | 0,022 |
| <b>LINEAR-BY-LINEAR ASSOCIATION</b>  | 4,989 | 1 | 0,026 |       |       |
| <b>N OF VALID CASES</b>  | 543   |   |       |       |       |
| <b>A. 0 CELLS (0,0%) HAVE EXPECTED COUNT LESS THAN 5. THE MINIMUM EXPECTED COUNT IS 12,10.</b> |       |   |       |       |       |
| <b>B. COMPUTED ONLY FOR A 2X2 TABLE</b>  |       |   |       |       |       |

Source: Research Data Processing Results

From the cross-tabulation data, as shown in the table below, 91.5 percent of male respondents stated their agreement and acceptance of a Muslim president and vice president, while an even higher percentage of female respondents, at 96.1 percent, expressed acceptance of a Muslim president and vice president.

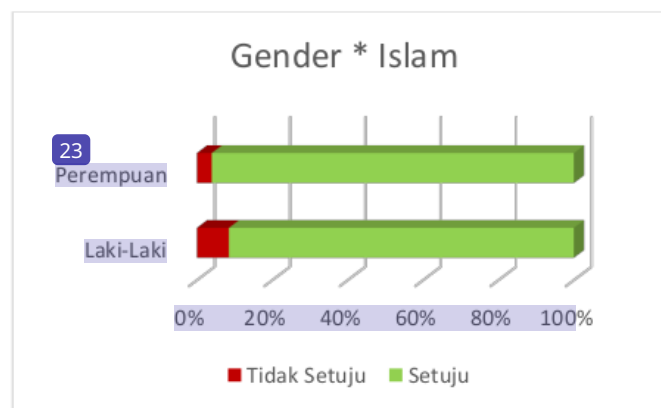


Figure 6: Relationship between gender identity and the political preference for a Muslim president-vice president

## Discussion

Based on the data findings, we can see that the social identity (gender and religion) of first-time voters is related to their political preferences, particularly when it comes to their preference for a female president-vice president of a certain religion in the 2024 election. This confirms previous research that explains how voter identity influences political preferences (Kaesmetan, 2019; Muhtadi, 2018; Rachmat and Esther, 2016).

1

Two major issues emerge and are clearly visible in the data findings: how first-time voters accept a female president-vice president and how they accept a president-vice president of a different religion. This acceptance is important in cultural studies, particularly regarding tolerance and social distance, given Indonesia's diverse society and the strengthening of identity politics leading up to the 2024 election, which has the potential to disrupt social harmony.

### **First-Time Voters Support Female President-Vice President**

The majority of first-time voters, both male and female, show a tendency to accept a female president-vice president, especially among female first-time voters. This is the result of extensive education on women's empowerment and existence, women's self-esteem awareness, and women's political participation (Isti'anah and Yunita, 2022), as well as efforts to encourage women to support and empower other women—"women support women" (Safira, 2023).

However, there is still a long way to go, as data shows that 40 percent of male respondents still reject women as leaders. This is, of course, not new; as we know, Indonesia is a country with a strong patriarchal culture, where the narrative about women is built from a male perspective. Women, as Simone de Beauvoir noted, are "the second sex" (Beauvoir, 2023). The patriarchal social system and structure have placed women in an unequal position with men, viewing politics as a male domain (Nimrah and Sakaria, 2015).

Women's representation in politics remains low, as seen in the unfulfilled 30 percent quota, and this quota restriction directly illustrates that gender equality, as offered, is still dominated by patriarchal culture. This situation is believed to be due to both external and internal factors for women. Externally, political parties still do not seriously engage women by not providing adequate political education (Bahtiar, Akbar, and Syam, 2021).

This is echoed in the research findings of Parwati and Istiningdiah (2020), who, based on a study of eighteen (18) female members of the DPR/DPRD for the 2019–2024 period, found that low participation was also due to internal factors among women, such as being trapped in female stereotypes, the double burden of being a woman, and lack of self-confidence. Additionally, it is difficult for women to engage in politics due to financial and social base constraints, as women are often confined to domestic roles (Nurchahyo, 2016).

Regarding religion, data shows that Muslim respondents have a higher percentage of rejection of female leaders than non-Muslim respondents. Religion is often used as a basis to reject the idea of female leaders, with discriminatory domestication of women used to block women's access to the public sphere. However, the lack of female participation in national politics is not actually due to religion or culture, but rather the use of religion and culture by many men to discriminate against women to maintain their power (Kiftiyah, 2019). Therefore, the finding that the majority of female respondents support a female president-vice president is a promising start to supporting gender equality.

### **First-Time Voters Tend to Accept a President-Vice President of a Different Religion**

Another interesting finding to highlight is how first-time voters tend to be open to the choice of a president-vice president of a different religion. The majority of first-time voters accept a president-vice president from minority religions, such as Catholicism, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, and indigenous beliefs. Religion indeed plays an important role in Indonesia's modern democracy, where the majority of the population is religious, making religion inseparable from politics. Religion is a primary consideration when choosing leaders. The challenge, however, is that Indonesia is a multicultural country, with a majority Muslim population. Selecting leaders based on religious alignment with voters' beliefs remains the highest doctrine.

This is evident in regions such as North Sulawesi and West Sumatra. In Ponosakan Belang, North Sulawesi, millennial voters still believe that choosing local leaders should follow Islamic guidance, where the chosen Caliph must align with the commands of Allah and the Prophet (Manese and Nurhamidin, 2021). In West Sumatra, people are deeply concerned about non-Muslim leadership potentially spreading non-Muslim beliefs in their region and, with the authority of local leaders, appointing leaders in religious community organizations who tend to be liberal (Safira, 2022). Therefore, research findings indicating that first-time voters are more open to a president-vice president of a different religion represent a positive development that should be continuously disseminated and strengthened among Generation Z and millennials, who currently dominate the population structure.

## CONCLUSION

29

The findings of this study indicate that the first-time voters participating in this study generally agree to elect a president and vice president with diverse social identities, including those related to gender and religion. This suggests that young voters in Indonesia are increasingly aware of diversity and minority groups. Undoubtedly, this mindfulness is promising, as a lack of awareness of diversity among the younger generation could create social distance (disparity) for those with different social identities. Such social distance would make first-time voters more susceptible to identity politics tactics, which are often used in Indonesian elections.

However, the study's findings also show that Muslim first-time voters tend to be hesitant to support presidential candidates of different religions. This is reflected in the average percentage of Muslim respondents opposing non-Islamic candidates, which remains above 40%. This highlights the need for further research to carefully investigate the reasons why Muslim first-time voters choose to support or reject presidential candidates of non-Islamic faiths.

# Artikel Communicatus Lintang Ratri

## ORIGINALITY REPORT

19%

SIMILARITY INDEX

18%

INTERNET SOURCES

14%

PUBLICATIONS

%

STUDENT PAPERS

## PRIMARY SOURCES

|    |  |     |
|----|--|-----|
| 1  | <a href="http://journal.uinsgd.ac.id">journal.uinsgd.ac.id</a><br>Internet Source                | 6%  |
| 2  | <a href="http://ro.uow.edu.au">ro.uow.edu.au</a><br>Internet Source                              | 2%  |
| 3  | <a href="http://repository.ung.ac.id">repository.ung.ac.id</a><br>Internet Source                | 2%  |
| 4  | <a href="http://eprints.kwikkiangie.ac.id">eprints.kwikkiangie.ac.id</a><br>Internet Source      | 1%  |
| 5  | <a href="http://repository.up.ac.za">repository.up.ac.za</a><br>Internet Source                  | 1%  |
| 6  | <a href="http://ec.europa.eu">ec.europa.eu</a><br>Internet Source                                | 1%  |
| 7  | <a href="http://core.ac.uk">core.ac.uk</a><br>Internet Source                                    | 1%  |
| 8  | Lokesh Jasrai. "An Introduction to Data Analysis Using IBM SPSS", Routledge, 2024<br>Publication | <1% |
| 9  | <a href="http://enc.tfode.com">enc.tfode.com</a><br>Internet Source                              | <1% |
| 10 | <a href="http://repository.umy.ac.id">repository.umy.ac.id</a><br>Internet Source                | <1% |

---

|    |   |      |
|----|---|------|
| 11 | <a href="https://labs.la.utexas.edu">labs.la.utexas.edu</a><br>Internet Source  | <1 % |
| 12 | Noverman Duadji, Novita Tresiana. "Analysis of Child Marriage and Related Policies in Indonesia: Sustainable Development Issue", <i>Problemy Ekorozwoju</i> , 2022<br>Publication   | <1 % |
| 13 | <a href="https://jaims.in">jaims.in</a><br>Internet Source  | <1 % |
| 14 | <a href="https://theses.cz">theses.cz</a><br>Internet Source  | <1 % |
| 15 | <a href="https://toubkal.imist.ma">toubkal.imist.ma</a><br>Internet Source  | <1 % |
| 16 | <a href="https://minerva-access.unimelb.edu.au">minerva-access.unimelb.edu.au</a><br>Internet Source  | <1 % |
| 17 | Mochammad Nur Cahyono, Ferry Efendi, Harmayetty Harmayetty, Qorinah Estiningtyas Sakilah Adnani, Hsiao Ying Hung. "Regional disparities in postnatal care among mothers aged 15-49 years old: An analysis of the Indonesian Demographic and Health Survey 2017", <i>F1000Research</i> , 2021<br>Publication | <1 % |
| 18 | <a href="https://dspace.library.uvic.ca">dspace.library.uvic.ca</a><br>Internet Source  | <1 % |
| 19 | <a href="https://eudl.eu">eudl.eu</a><br>Internet Source  | <1 % |

---

---

|    |   |      |
|----|---|------|
| 20 | <a href="http://repozitorij.svkst.unist.hr">repozitorij.svkst.unist.hr</a><br>Internet Source   | <1 % |
| 21 | <a href="http://www.setneg.go.id">www.setneg.go.id</a><br>Internet Source   | <1 % |
| 22 | <a href="http://es.scribd.com">es.scribd.com</a><br>Internet Source   | <1 % |
| 23 | <a href="http://repository.ipb.ac.id">repository.ipb.ac.id</a><br>Internet Source   | <1 % |
| 24 | <a href="http://www.researchgate.net">www.researchgate.net</a><br>Internet Source   | <1 % |
| 25 | Samapti Guha, Sanskruti Rajesh Kadam. "An Inquiry into Women Representation in Management", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2024<br>Publication  | <1 % |
| 26 | Sunarso. "Direct Presidential Election in Indonesia (Comparative Study of 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019)", Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2020<br>Publication           | <1 % |
| 27 | Syamsuri Syamsuri. "KOMUNIKASI POLITIK MUBALLIG DI KOTA PALU (Studi Kampanye Pemilihan Presiden dan Wakil Presiden 2014)", INFERENSI, 2015<br>Publication | <1 % |
| 28 | <a href="http://download.atlantis-press.com">download.atlantis-press.com</a><br>Internet Source   | <1 % |

---



29

[ir.canterbury.ac.nz](http://ir.canterbury.ac.nz)

Internet Source

<1 %

---

30

Thomas J. Linneman. "Social Statistics - Managing Data, Conducting Analyses, Presenting Results", Routledge, 2017

Publication

<1 %

---

Exclude quotes Off

Exclude matches Off

Exclude bibliography Off