

Voters' Preference Shift in Legislative Members Election between the 2009 Election and the 2019 Election in Kudus Regency

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to determine whether there was a shift in voter preferences between the 2009 legislative election and the 2019 legislative election in Kudus regency. The method used in this study is a qualitative method with data collection through interviews, questionnaires, and documentation studies. Previously, the author had conducted research on the 2009 legislative election and tried to develop research with the same theme in 2019. The results showed that voter preferences in the 2009 legislative election were influenced by the work program offered, giving a certain amount of money, candidate figures, relationship factors (candidates are friends, relatives, or from the same village as voters), political party preferences, religious/ideological similarity with legislative candidates, form of loyalty to legislative candidates. Political preferences in the 2019 legislative elections in Kudus Regency, however, were influenced by the vision, mission, work programs of legislative candidates, candidate figures, political parties, giving money, advertisements on social media, KPU websites, campaigns through banners and television, family influence, feeling/without being able to give reasons. There was also a shift in voter preferences between 2009 and 2019, namely the technological advances that influenced the development of political advertisements on several social media, internet, and KPU websites that were used by voters, especially novice voters in determining their political choices.

Keywords:

Voter, General election, Preference, Legislature

INTRODUCTION

Starting from research carried out in the 2009 election, the author wants to develop aresearch by comparing the results of research on political preferences in the 2009 election with the 2019 election or within 1 decade. As we all know that the implementation of

direct election is one of the indicators of a democratic state. Election as a means of democratization has been used in several countries, including Indonesia, which incidentally has a heterogeneous society. Election is also often interpreted as an activity that is considered as a form or parameter whether a country is democratic or not. In practice, however, sometimes it is not in accordance with the principles of democracy itself because there are still political manipulation, fraud, injustice,

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mobilization which create problems that have an impact both directly and indirectly on the running of the government. In 2009 Indonesia held a democratic party to elect members of the Legislature and Executive. On April 9, 2009 it was used as an event to elect members of the Legislature. The political parties that entered the 2009 election contestants consisted of 38 National Parties and 6 Aceh Local Parties.

Approaching the implementation of the democratic party to elect members of the legislature, the results of a public opinion survey from February to March 3, 2009 involving 3000 respondents spread across various cities in Indonesia stated that approaching the voting, the proportion of prospective voters who had not yet decided their choice of political party (undecided voters), was still quite large (Kompas, March 30, 2009). If there was no significant change that was able to ensure the belief in political choices, it was likely that this group would not exercise their voting rights. The crisis of confidence in the members of the legislature is already attached to the people. This is due to the disappointment or boredom of voters in political parties and their elites from the previous elections. Previously, they hoped for a change in the political presentation of the election, including policies in their favor. However, the fact is that the existing policies are not very meaningful. Democracy in the election is only filled with all kinds of false images that only show promises/attentions to the people that we ourselves do not even know how they actualize their promises, which in the end causes people to feel bored and indifferent to this political

activity. In fact, the votes from the voters given directly to the elections provide a strategic opportunity for their regional development in the future (Rianto Puji, 2017).

Meanwhile, the implementation of the general election in 2019 has a significant difference with the implementation of the 2009 election. The 2019 election was held simultaneously on April 17, 2019 with 16 national political parties and 4 Aceh local parties. Certainly, the number of parties is not as much as in the 2009 election. The implementation of the 2019 election was also accompanied by technological advances that were more capable than the 2009 election, especially through the power of social media. The presence of social media has proven to bring a shift in the direction of communication media use which was originally classical (electronic and print media). The use of communication media has now changed to become internet-based new media as a social media access channel (Μηχανικων et al., 2020). Voters can use social media to find information about elections, candidates for election participants, etc. The results of previous studies show that social media had been used massively, especially for novice voters because through social media we could interact directly without meeting face to face, and also without physical preparation or the need to show personality attributes openly. (Perangin-angin & Zainal, 2018). In contrast to the 2009 election, which still dominantly used outdoor media, such as flags, banners, banners, *rontek*, billboards, which were considered at that time to be very effective as a means of effective political imagery to increase

their popularity among the society. (Suryatna, 2011).

The crisis of trust in legislators is a source of significant problems in the general election process. The problems that can arise start from the phenomenon of abstention (not voting), and voting not based on the will of conscience (eg because of money, coercion from outsiders). This has resulted that the voters, in making decisions (choose or not choose), often think irrationally and aimlessly. From the experience of previous elections, the background of voters in Dawe District would determine the choice of political parties. For example, civil servants mostly chose the GOLKAR party, and Islamic-based communities mostly chose Islam-based parties such as the United Development Party (PPP), the National Awakening Party (PKB), and so on, which of course would affect the votes of legislative candidates. Voter behavior is influenced by various factors, for example, political issues and policies, religious factors, the existence of a group of people who choose certain candidates because they are considered to be representations of their religion or beliefs. In addition, there are also people who choose certain candidates because they are considered to represent their social class. There are even groups that choose certain candidates as an expression of their loyalty to certain figures (Hemay & Munandar, 2016). Meanwhile, the results of classical research on the character of Javanese voters from Clifford Geertz in the book "The Religion of Java" (1961) divided 3 Javanese voters' characters, namely Priyayi, Santri, Abangan (Rianto Puji, 2017).

The author intends to reveal the reasons used by voters in choosing legislative candidates by comparing the results of research carried out in 2009 with the research in 2019. Considering the 2009 election, the number of parties was so large and new parties emerged, resulting in the number of legislative candidates being low. There were also more and more people being carried from various parties in the legislative elections even though people did not necessarily know the profile of the candidates they were going to vote for. This caused many people to be confused in making choices and the reasons for voters in choosing legislative candidates were difficult to predict. Meanwhile in 2019, the number of political parties decreased, and they were supported by technological developments, especially social media. This will indicate whether there will be a change/shift in political choices in the 2009 election and the 2019 election. With the freedom of choice and technological advancements, voters should be more politically educated and have many choices (Perangin-angin & Zainal, 2018).

In previous research studies, many have raised the theme of voter political preferences, including political preferences for novice voters, millennial Muslim voter preferences, female voter preferences, farmer political preferences, and also student political preferences. For example, research from Agus Muslim, which states that novice voters in determining their choice are influenced by motivating factors and also inhibiting factors. The driving factors include political incentives, a person's personal characteristics, social

characteristics, political situation or environment, as well as political education. Some of these factors are very influential to encourage someone to participate in a political activity, while the inhibiting factors are such as the policy of the parent organization that is always changing, autonomous beginners, less support from the parent organization to make a political activity successful. (Muslim, 2013). The result of other research on novice voters stated that the political choices of novice voters at the level of legislative member elections tended to be traditional typologies or based on parental choices. (Hasni & Hasan, 2019). While the result of the research on the theme of millennial Muslim voters showed that millennial Muslim voters tended to choose leaders from civil circles, performance factors, assertiveness and competence factors become the factors that encourage voters to make their choices (Jubba et al., 2019). Another study is women political preference. The results of the research include the preferences of women voters in making choices in terms of sociological (religion, professional organization, regional origin, information from family, and candidate's intellectual), psychological side (emotional closeness, similarity of political parties, integrity, common interests), rational (candidate's experience and success in leading local and national organizations, candidate's intellectual and quality, campaign issues, vision and mission, work program, credibility, commitment, personality, simple lifestyle, good performance, good capability), clean party performance/image, and closeness to

small people (Irtanto, 2015). Meanwhile, the study of the research conducted by the author focuses on the differences in political preferences between the 2009 legislative election and the 2019 legislative election in Kudus Regency. The author wants to know whether there has been a shift in political preferences over the past decade, and the reasons.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study used a qualitative method, which can also be called a naturalistic research method because the research was conducted in natural conditions (Sugiyono, (2014).

The first primary data source is respondents. In this study the respondents were people who were registered as voters or who had the right to vote in the 2009 legislative elections in Dawe District, Kudus Regency based on research that had been carried out in 2009. The respondents were also Kudus people who exercised their right to vote in the 2019 election. Data was collected through a questionnaire through using Google form that had been filled in by 53 people. Meanwhile, the second primary data source is the informants. Informants are those who have knowledge about the factors that influence people's choices in choosing legislative candidates. In this study, the informants were the Chairperson of KPPS, political party administrators at the sub-district level, KPU members, Legislative Members, and 2009 legislative candidates as well as data from the Kudus Regency KPUD on the results of the 2019 general election.

In this study, secondary data were in the form of documentation and written sources, namely in the form of

written books sourced from books or literature related to the title and theme of this research. To obtain the data needed in this study, researchers used interview techniques, to determine the factors that influence the society in choosing legislative candidates, legislative election contestants and the behavior of legislative candidates in obtaining support from the society. There were interviews both with respondents (voters in the 2009 legislative elections in Dawe District) and with informants. For voters in the 2019 election, they used the questionnaire method via google form.

The questionnaire via google form was filled in by 56 people spread from several sub-districts in Kudus Regency. Those were Dawe, Bae, Mejobo, Jati, Hadipolo, Jekulo, Gebog, Papringan, Singocandi, Kota sub-district, Kedungsari. The ages of the respondents varied from 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33 and 40 years.

In testing the validity of the data, the author used a triangulation technique. Triangulation is checking the validity of the data that uses something outside the data for checking purposes or as a comparison against the data. The triangulation technique used in this study is by comparing the observational data with the data from interviews and questionnaires, which were carried out with informants and with respondents (voters). The triangulation technique also compared the results of interviews with the contents of a related document. In this case the data were related/compared with the preferences of the research results in 2009 and 2019. In this study, the type of qualitative data analysis involved four flows of activities which

were data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The 2019 general election was held on April 9, 2009 and was used as an event to elect members of the Legislature. On July 8, 2009 it was used as an event to elect the President and Vice President. The political parties that were included in the 2009 election contestants consisted of 38 National Parties and 6 Aceh Local Parties. For Legislative Candidates (candidates) for the DPR, there were 11,219 people. In addition to electing the DPR, the April 9 election was also used to elect members of the Provincial DPRD, Regency/City DPRD, and members of the DPD. The data taken from KPUD of Kudus Regency were voters who exercised their right to vote in the 2009 election, which at that time the author only took samples in Dawe district. The number of voters exercising their right to vote can be seen in the following table:

Table 1. Recapitulation of valid votes in Dawe District, Kudus in the 2009 Legislative Member Election, source KPUD Kudus Regency

No	Description	Total	Percentage (%)
1.	Valid Vote	50.670	69
2.	Invalid Vote	5.438	8
3.	Not Using Voting Rights	17.502	23

Table 4.1 shows that most of the people in Dawe District exercised their right to vote in the 2009 legislative elections. This is evidenced by the

recapitulation of election results which showed 69% of valid votes, 8% of invalid votes, and 23% of voters who did not exercise their right to vote from the total number of Permanent Voters List (DPT) as many as 73,610.

Factors that influence voters in choosing members of the legislature are complex factors and have a relationship between one factor and another. For example, factors of issues, political policies, religious factors, representations of religion or beliefs, representing their social class, as an expression of loyalty to certain figures (Hemay & Munandar, 2016). Meanwhile, according to Josef Kristiadi, factors that influence someone in determining choices are influenced by a sociological approach, a

psychological approach, and a rational approach (Valentina, 2009). Another opinion, voter behavior can be influenced by social action theory, where choices are based on expectations for the realization of social, political activities, which can affect human behavior and Behavioral Theory which bases choices on the form of speech, statements, behavior, and even myths of political actors that can actually be expressed from the existence of political patterns and culture (Prasetya, 2018). From the results of research in Dawe District, Kudus Regency in 2009, factors that can influence people in choosing legislative candidates in Dawe District include the following.

Table 2. Percentage of factors used as a reference in selecting legislative candidates in the 2009 election

No	Political preference	Percentage
	Political preference	Percentage (%)
1.	Work program, Vision & Mission of Candidates	45%
2.	Giving amount of money/goods	22%
3.	Figure of Candidate	10%
4.	Relationship (candidates are friends, relatives, or from the same village with voters)	8%
5.	Political Party Preference	7%
6.	Similarity of religion/ideology with legislative candidates	5%
7.	The form of loyalty to candidates	3%

Voters in Dawe District determine political decisions based on several factors. The first factor is program, vision and mission being offered. The people know the programs offered by the legislative candidates directly during the campaign, or through the candidate's

success team. Second is the factor of giving money/goods in legislative elections. Voters accept the money with an excuse that the money given is used to meet their needs, or just for *sangu* (pocket money) to go to the polls. Third one is candidate figure. Voters who

know the candidate figure directly are generally voters who live in the same area as the legislative candidates. Meanwhile, for voters who do not know the figure of legislative candidates, in general, voters in the constituency do not have any citizens running for legislative members. As a result, they know the candidate figures only from stickers, from billboards that put up photos of candidates, from the candidate's success team, as well as from issues that are spread in the society. Fourth factor is the relationship/closeness factor with the legislative candidates, either because they have friends, relatives, or live in the same area as the legislative candidates.

Fifth, voters see political parties as a view to choose candidates. Voters use political parties as preferences in choosing candidates because they are loyal to certain parties, so the choice is given to candidates who are from the same party. Sixth, voting is based on religion/ideology, for example for voters who are fanatical to the Muhammadiyah or Nahdatul Ulama will then choose a party that is in accordance with the Muhammadiyah or Nahdatul Ulama.

This is in accordance with the results of previous studies, that the factors influencing political preferences are dynamic from time to time, including religious issues. It is because the majority of the Indonesian population is Muslim, and religious factors can also be a determinant for someone to make his choice. (Firdaus Rony Zamzam, et al., 2019). Today, the ideological factor is no longer a strong reason for choosing because ideology and value systems are not something that is embraced by religious groups, *santri* or students in

their political preferences. Politicians are seen as political actors who lack of roots and do not fight for the interests of the people. The students see that some politicians are busy fighting for their party and themselves (Bariroh, 2015). Seventh, voters admit that they choose a legislative candidate for reasons of loyalty to a candidate who have been a member of the DPRD before. From the results of the research, voters who vote on the basis of loyalty to legislative candidates are voters who live in the same area as legislative candidates in the hope that it will have an influence on development in their village.

As a comparison with the answers given by the voters, the authors asked for opinions from informants consisting of members of the legislature, members of the KPU, and the head of KPPS in one of the villages in Dawe District regarding the factors that influence voters in choosing legislative candidates. From the results of interviews with informants, each has varying opinions. The factors that influence voters in the 2009 election are described as follow. First factor is positioning the candidate's figure factor (seen from the profile, character, education, image of the candidate in the community) and the programs offered as reasons that are often used as a benchmark for the people in choosing legislative candidates. Second is the factor of having family relationships, friends, or living in the same village (regional fanaticism) with legislative candidates. The third is the factor of giving a certain amount of money (money politics). Although public opinion often places money politics as the main reason people choose

candidates, money politics cannot be used as a reason or determinant of candidates being able to win the election. This is because the people (voters) do not only receive money from one candidate, but they also receive money from competitors/other candidates.

Many people only use them by receiving some money from candidates, but the people do not vote for them during elections (Anshori, 2018). Therefore, the money politics factor cannot be used as the main factor even though there are people who still make money politics as the main factor in determining their political choices. In general, they are voters who do not have political awareness, have low levels of education, have feelings of distrust, or are disappointed with members of the DPR.

To find out the voter preferences in choosing candidates for the 2019 election in Kudus Regency, the authors collected data using a questionnaire method spread across 8 districts in Kudus Regency, namely Dawe, Bae, Jati, Gebog, and districts in Kudus City, namely Jekulo, Mejobo, and Kaliwungu, with 52 respondents and with the highest percentage of 32.6% that the voters were 19 and 20 year olds. From the data obtained, 94% of respondents used their right to vote, and 6% stated that they did not use their right to vote in the election of DPRD members in the 2019 election. The results showed that what influenced voters in making choices in choosing legislative members in Kudus district were as follows.

Table 3. Percentage of factors used as a reference in selecting legislative candidates in the 2019 General Election

No	Political preference	Percentage
1	Vision, Mission, Work program offered by legislative candidates	31%
2	Figure, education, experience, background of legislative candidate	25 %
3	Based on political party	10%
4	Based on the amount of money given by the legislative candidate	10%
5	Advertising on social media, KPU website, Banner	8%
6	Family influence	4 %
7	Based on feeling/without being able to explain the reason	4%

From the results of the questionnaire distributed, most of the voters in Kudus Regency in the 2019 election already knew the vision and mission of the candidates. This is in accordance with Table 3. The factor of

vision, mission, and the work program offered by legislative candidates gets the highest percentage, which is 31%. Voters claimed to get information about the vision, mission, and work program of candidates from the Internet, social

media, KPU website, banners, leaflets, pamphlets, posters, as well as from candidates' visiting speeches. The percentage of voters' knowledge of the

Vision and Mission of the Candidates, the work program offered by the legislative candidates is as follows.

apakah sdr/sdri mengetahui Visi dan misi/program kerja calon anggota DPRD Kabupaten Kudus yang sdr/sdri pilih pada pemilu tahun 2019?

50 responses

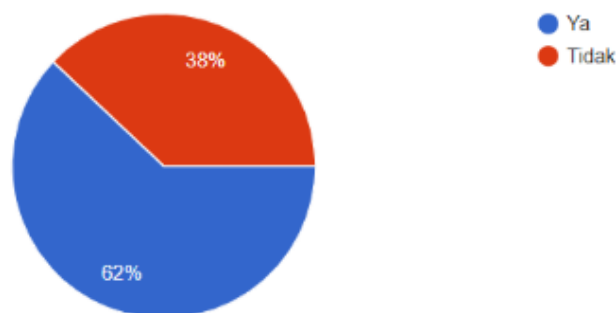


Figure 1. Percentage of voter knowledge of the vision, mission, and work program of candidates

Translation: Apakah mengetahui visi misi calon DPRD? = Do you know the candidate vision and mission in the 2019 election?

From the results of the data obtained, the differences in political preferences between the 2009 and 2019 elections can be illustrated in the following table

Table 4. Differences of voter preferences in the 2009 election and the 2019 election

No.	Voter preferences in the 2009 General Election	Percentage	Voter preferences in the 2019 General Election	Percentage
1	Vision, Mission, Work Program	45%	Vision, Mission, Work Program	31%
2	Giving money/goods	22%	Figure of Candidate	25 %
3	Figure of Candidate	10%	Political party preferences	10%
4	Closeness/Relationship factor with candidate	8%	Giving money/goods	10%
5	Political Party Preference	7%	Advertising on social media, KPU website, Banner	8%
6	Similarity of religion/ideology with candidate	5%	Family influence	4 %
7	The form of loyalty to	3%	Based on Feeling /	4%

candidate	without being able to explain the reason
<p>From table 4, it can be explained the differences in the reasons for voters in the 2009 and 2019 elections. <i>First</i>, there are new factors that were not found in the 2009 elections, namely the influence of advertising, social media, and also through internet by visiting the KPU's official website. This is in line with the results of previous research, that political advertisements provide an effective contribution to increasing respondents' political cognition and attitudes. Political advertising is believed to be one of the most powerful means to influence and persuade prospective voters. In addition, political advertising can build the candidate's image, and also roll out a number of issues in the society (Suherman et al., 2014).</p> <p>Political advertising has a major influence in shaping public opinion and trust (2. Effect of Political Advertising on voter perceptions (Anshori, 2018). Voters who receive a lot of exposure to political advertisements through poster media tend to make their political choices based on considerations of programs carried out by candidate pairs, and those who are often exposed to political advertisements are actually novice voters who are identical and more familiar with social media (Suryatna, 2011). The political participation of today's youth is more open and influenced by the social media they use. One of the reasons is the great intensity in using social media (Suryo, Hening, et al., 2020). This is also supported by the fact that most of the respondents who filled the questionnaire were novice voters. Political</p>	<p>participation of novice voters tends to be high. One of the reasons is the enthusiasm in giving their voting rights (first experience) (Prasetyo, 2019). Characteristics of novice voters according to Suhartono (2009:6) have cultural values that tend to be relaxed, dream of freedom, seek pleasure and identify themselves in informal things. These characteristics, coupled with unstable psychological conditions, make it easier for novice voters to be led to pragmatism (and transactionalism) and political sectarianism (Damanik, 2018).</p> <p><i>Second</i>, the factor of giving money or gifts which in the 2009 election became the second most important factor, in the 2019 election became the 4th most factor. Voters look more at the figure, education, experience, background of legislative candidates and political parties. This shows that the reason for money politics among the society has begun to decrease, but it still exists. The increasing need makes people try to earn income and carry out activities measured by the benefits they get. This pattern of society is used by political elites from the local to the national level to mobilize them (Lukmajati, 2016). The results of another study stated that money politics has become the new normal practice in elections in Indonesia. The open proportional system contributes to the rise of money politics because legislative candidates are forced to fight between candidates in one party to pursue personal votes (Muhtadi, 2019). Voters act rationally, reducing costs as little as possible to get the maximum benefit.</p>

Therefore, in political behavior voters will be able to act rationally, by voting for candidates for legislative members or political parties that are considered to bring benefits and reduce losses as much as possible (Hutomo, 2015).

Third, the levels of loyalty to legislative candidates and closeness to legislative candidates in the 2009 and the 2019 election were not found. Voters in the 2019 election tended to use feelings without being able to explain the reasons why voters chose the candidates of their choice, as well as the influence of family, invitations from relatives, or friends. The influence of family, relatives, and friends can be one of the determinants to choose in the election because family and environmental factors are still the most important factors in determining choices. Voters who do not have their own choices tend to entrust their choices to their parents or relatives because they are considered more experienced (Fithri et al., 2017). This factor is in accordance with the Mahzab Columbia, which states that this type of voter is a sociological factor because voters, although individually, are bound to social circles such as family, place of residence, place of work, so that a person's voting behavior tends to follow the direction of the political predisposition of the social environment where he is located. (Yustiningrum et al., 2015).

The similarity between the 2009 and 2019 elections is that the vision and mission factors as well as the work program are still the same as the main reasons for voters in making their choices. Selection on the basis of the vision and mission is a form of rational choice. These political considerations are

rationalized in accordance with the goals they want to realize. The society has started to base it on the programs and visions and missions of the candidates in the hope that there will be changes. If people's expectations are not achieved, what happens is that political participation is only limited to voting in elections (Yoserizal dan A, 2009). From the results of research in the 2009 elections and the 2019 elections, it shows that voters in Kudus Regency have used rational reasons as the main reasons in choosing legislative members, including the work program, vision and mission of the legislative candidates in Kudus Regency. Most of the voters also followed the process of series of elections starting from the campaign period, receiving socialization from the KPUD, from the village through RT/RW, receiving visits from candidates in electoral districts, reading the vision and mission of banners, leaflets and others. Novice voters utilized technology such as the internet through the KPU website, social media, television to find out which legislative candidates they would like to vote for.

CONCLUSION

Voter preferences in the 2009 legislative elections in Dawe District, Kudus are influenced by the work program offered, giving a certain amount of money, candidate figures, relationship factor (legislative candidates are friends, relatives, or from the same village with voters), political party preferences, religious similarity/ideology with legislative candidates, a form of loyalty to legislative candidates. Meanwhile, the political preferences in the 2019

legislative elections in Kudus Regency are influenced by the vision, mission, work programs of legislative candidates, Candidate Figures, Political Parties, Giving money, Advertising on Social Media, KPU website, Banner, television, family influence, feeling/without being able to give reasons. There is a shift in voter preferences between 2009 and 2019, namely the existence of technological advances such as the influence of political advertising, social media, the internet, and the KPU website used by voters, especially novice voters in determining their political choices.

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