1. Introduction

Democracy and youth are two things that are not easy to put together. Adolescents’ high awareness of social phenomena that exist in society makes their perspective on politics low, so it is necessary to pay close attention to it in each future campaign period. Based on data owned by the General Election Commission, in the 2019 election, the number of first-time voters in East Java was 2,287,176 out of a total of 30,912,994 voters listed on the final voter list. This shows that the percentage is as much as 7% of the previous elections. That is why the role of novice and young voters will have a major influence on the success of the 2024 general elections in the East Java region.

Generation Z, who was born in the 1996-2012 range, are first-time voters who are often misunderstood. They will respond positively to flashy and sensational political campaigns. It can be interpreted that generation Z cannot be underestimated in a political battle where the battle requires the support of open political participation. However, generation Z when it comes to political participation they disagree (Pramesti, 2019). This generation grew up in the internet age, and cell phones became very popular and indispensable in the early 2000s. Therefore, many of this generation grew up not only around computers and the internet, but also the prevalent use of mobile phones in society is a trend that most Generation Z have known their whole life. This generation is one of the most technologically savvy and most engaged on many social media platforms such as Instagram, Twitter, VSCO, and Snapchat. This is most likely due to the fact that many of this generation feel politics is not important (Alexander, 2022).
Interestingly, in Indonesia itself, it is very strong to adhere to a patriarchal culture in which men are considered to dominate and fully hold the main power in various roles. In general, in a patriarchal culture, men have a role in politics, decision-making, morals, social rights, and property control. It is not surprising that people think that women are unfit to be leaders and think that political space is a masculine realm that can only be filled by men. This culture can affect the attitude of receiving political information from women, wives, and especially children during elections.

Given that first-time voters are in a swing voter position, they are voters who are indifferent among all parties and thus tend to divide their voting rights or shift their party’s support (Kuriwaki, 2021). Swing voters usually just join in making their choices based on their surroundings. Based on the data, the existence of swing voters is one of the determining factors in the victory of the candidate pair. Reflecting on the number of swing voters in the 2019 presidential election, it reached 7-13% (Sanur, 2019).

Forms of political participation are not only voting, but campaign participation is also part of political participation. The response of novice voters who are less concerned about political developments can be seen from their communication. It can be seen that in campaign activities, most of those who participated in these activities did not really understand the purpose of the campaign. This can be seen in those who participate in the campaign activities of their friends (Lasut et al., 2021).

The fact is that novice voters have various sources of information, not only from their family or playmates. However, generation Z, who will later become first-time voters, will have access to quite a large amount of information, namely from social media, online media, and print media. What’s more, this generation z is a generation that grew up in an era of technology that was developing very rapidly. Based on existing political phenomena, researchers formulate how political information reaches young girls with a focus on looking at the form of political information on young girls in Surabaya, so this study becomes the input for the government and prospective politicians in providing political information in the 2024 elections.

2. Literature Review

Media

All activities in everyday life cannot be separated from the media, especially in establishing communication between one individual and another so that carrying out daily activities will be easier. In the world of communication, the media is more often used as an intermediary between the communicant and the communicator when establishing communication. Not only in everyday life, the media is also often used by workers or even politicians who wish to run for office. So that the media is not only a public institution but has a role in persuading the public’s point of view on various matters (Setiawan et al., 2021).

Social media

Developments in the current era of globalization have had a major impact on changes and progress in the fields of technology, information, and communication. This development is marked by various conveniences for everyone to connect so that they can interact and socialize with everyone remotely, such as social media. Social media is interactive and able to provide feedback that allows users to relate to each other, share information, and collaborate (Bosman et al., 2011). Applications on social media are a forum for information for everyone in the world. This information is in the form of news, photos, or videos of activity events or commonly referred to as vlogs. It is not surprising that social media is an alternative way to build and establish connections (Young et al., 2015).

Judging from the various offers of ease of interaction and existing trends, the number of social media users in Indonesia continues to increase from
year to year. We Are Social reported that the number of active social media users in Indonesia was 191 million in January 2022. The emergence of the internet and social media is often used in various political activities today. Even this phenomenon has touched several countries in the world, including Indonesia. It is proven that ahead of the regional elections, social media has an important role starting from the candidate profiles in election-related content, social media content provides good political education related to election implementation techniques, and also the vision and mission of the candidates as well as, novice voters have a community that is a forum for discussing content. social media (Komariah et al., 2019). Not only that, Facebook is for political purposes. The fact is that Indonesia has also implemented this, as evidenced by research (Andriani, 2019) which has two findings. The findings stem from messages by women on Facebook walls; those who post their messages on Facebook in the form of direct posts, re-uploads of other people’s posts (reposts), or comments in both verbal and non-verbal forms. The effectiveness of social media in elections was proven by Mahathir’s PRU-14. In this case, Mahathir used social media and digital platforms to win the hearts of young voters. It is through social media that the issue of misappropriation of IMDB funds has become a national issue that is able to win the hearts of young voters to vote for Pakatan Harapan (Masitoh, 2020).

Mass media

Mass media in the era of new media is very strong in society. The majority of teenagers watch TV for 4 hours a day. On weekdays (44%), teenagers watch TV for 4 hours. Whereas on weekends (60%), teenagers watch TV for more than 4 hours (Wahyuniar et al., 2020).

Mass media is considered to be still very effective in filtering news that will be the reference for the Indonesian people to obtain precise and accurate information. In the process of presenting the news, the mainstream media already has clear rules. Before the news was released by the media, of course, it had gone through a long process until it was finally deemed newsworthy (Mudjiyanto et al., 2020).

Reporting in the mass media is expected to be able to increase public trust with the protection of the Law on the Press, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI), and a code of ethics for journalists which regulates clearly so that they can become a valid source of information for audiences (Bin et al., 2021). It is proven (68.51 percent) that they trust information from the mass media because information is considered up-to-date, reliable, and supportive of the programs presented, which have gone through several stages. Another positive side is being able to account for the truth and provide educational insights to change mindsets for the better (Nurhadi et al., 2020).

Patriarchal culture

Patriarchy, in its literal definition, is a social system in which a man has a higher position than a woman. Here the father in the family sphere has power over everything. This power can include small groups led by men, whereas male leadership includes controlling the activities and lives of its members. In addition, men are seen as absolute leaders (Sari et al, 2018). Sari defines patriarchal culture as a family pattern that adheres to the father’s lineage. Meanwhile (Apriliandra et al., 2021) explains patriarchy is a social system of society that is centered on men as dominant and the main authority in the social order. It can be concluded patriarchal culture is a power system where men are more dominant and have power over women so that women are in the number two position after men.

Patriarchal culture does not only apply in household matters but also in terms of politics this patriarchal culture still applies. Adhering to the patriarchal order creates its own culture in hindering the role of women in practical politics. This causes there are still many women who do not play an active
role in politics on the grounds that they are hindered by the patriarchal culture in the environment. According to Bhalotra, it is not easy for political parties to produce 30% female candidates. This policy is still difficult to implement due to the limited number of women from political parties. Patriarchal culture is still a barrier to the women's movement (Saputra et al., 2018).

**Politics and women**

Over time, technological advances have had a major impact on people's lives both in the educational, economic, social, political, and cultural fields. Women themselves are important actors in the process of change. This implies that women must be part of the change from helpless to empowered (Sundström et al., 2017). The element of choice relates to access to power because power enables the capacity and potential to make choices. Being powerless implies that one is not given the means to act by choice. Empowerment is the power that a person has to independently make choices that are of interest to him.

Some choices are more important than others. Examples of such choices are the ability to decide between livelihoods and family size and decide independently who to marry, including the right to file for divorce. The ability to make important life choices affects a woman in different ways, for example, in terms of freedom of movement, access to property, and justice. Women must be able to make important and meaningful decisions in critical areas that affect their lives (Sundström et al., 2017). The element of participation is the third criterion for women to be empowered. Participating meaningfully in societal decision-making allows women the means to make their choices come true. Such participation includes direct political participation as civil society actors, voters, candidates, etc. Sundstrom et al. (2017) explain how important it is that women are not only formally equal politically but that they must also participate in decision-making processes in society, where women's interests are represented in policy decisions (Hornset et al., 2022).

But in reality, women's political advice is still low in Indonesia. Politics is basically power and decision-making, with a very wide spectrum, ranging from family institutions to the highest formal political institutions. The basic idea of politics also considers the main problems faced by women on a daily basis. The political role of women can be seen, among others, in administering the state, politicians, and the decision-making process. Women's participation is very important. In other words, women in politics enjoy the same freedoms as men. Although this is still a topic of debate on women's participation in politics, some Muslims believe that traditionally they do not allow women to enter politics because it is considered contrary to their nature (Suhra, 2019). Factors contributing to the lack of women's political participation in Indonesia in regional elections consist of several kinds, including the lack of socialization from the KPUD in electing regional heads, the number of quotas that can accidentally create gaps between women in government, as well as the involvement of women in the scope that was previously the majority men who reinforce gender oppression (Saputra et al., 2018).

**3. Methods**

This study uses a qualitative descriptive research method. In presenting the data in the form of spoken or written words about human behavior that can be observed. In this study, researchers took steps to present data in the form of descriptive. Thus, the researcher uses a descriptive research design to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomena of the very rapid development of the media regarding political information and young women. To collect data from information sources (informants), research requires assistance instruments, namely screening forms, informant data, interview guidelines, and recording.
equipment. In this research, primary data and secondary data are needed. Primary data is data directly from the original source. This data is collected when carrying out interviews (interviews) through cellular communication channels or through various other communication media. While secondary data is data obtained through a review of documents and literature sources, journals, and research reports related to the theme of this research. The raw data to be analyzed is organized based on the data collection date, data source, data type, data description, and data nature. All data must be read in order to find out what data has been obtained, the source of the data, and its meaning. After collecting data, researchers must know what information each informant conveys and compare it with other informants. By understanding all the data, the researcher will be able to select/reduce important, new data and data related to the research question. Furthermore, researchers can also classify or group, or create themes for the selected data. Coding is the process of marking the data that has been grouped. Groups of similar data are given the same code. Through coding, researchers can produce new categories or themes. Through coding, researchers produce themes or categorizations of research data which are findings. Based on the resulting themes, the researcher then makes brief and systematic descriptions so that the themes found become clearer. The next step is to look for relationships between one theme and another. The results of the construction of relationships between themes or categories then need to be interpreted so that other people understand them.

4. Results and Discussion

Referring to Law No. 14 of 2008 concerning Public Information Disclosure states information as information, statements, ideas, and signs that contain values, meanings, and messages, both data, facts, and explanations that can be seen, heard, and read presented in the development of information technology and electronic and non-electronic communication. Thus the understanding of political information adheres to this definition which emphasizes political content.

Mass media is considered the most effective media in disseminating political information. Its broad reach is felt to be able to shape public opinion. Interestingly, in this study, young women as informants were less interested in political information. There are some data findings that show that the lack of interest is due to two factors, namely time and lack of interest, as explained by this informant.

“Yeah, but immediately skipped like that, as if I haven’t thought about it for a long time”

This shows that teenagers think that consuming political news does not need to be far away. Because of the attitude of teenagers who prefer impromptu rather than preparing and receiving information in advance, this causes the information in the media to be skipped or, in other words, skipped. This is reinforced by the opinion (Prawintasari, 2022) Generation Z are people who were born in the internet generation. Where this generation has enjoyed convenience in technology due to the birth of the internet, this is capable of changing the developmental characteristics, personality, and social changes of that generation, with all the facilities felt by the z generation giving birth to an attitude that tends to like things that are fast, instant, simple and easy to understand. This is different when compared to the previous generation. One of the characteristics of Generation X is people who have a tendency to last longer.

Apart from the fact that the time was still long, it was also found that this young woman was less interested in political information, as expressed by the following three informants.

“Not really interested”

“No, she’s because I myself am not that interested in politics”
“If politics doesn’t really follow, how can it be less interested anyway”

This shows that the attitude of less interest in young women in Surabaya towards politics is quite high. This finding is in line with previous research, which explains that men tend to be more interested in political issues, both those living in villages and cities, whereas women are usually less interested in political issues (Syahputra, 2020).

But in this study, it is also interesting that even though they are less interested in politics, their behavior in seeking political information does not mean they are ignorant. However, they get political information in various ways by accident. This accident through Google ads, FYP TikTok, and explore Instagram below will be described by researchers.

FYP

The development of technology gave birth to new social media, which has recently been widely discussed by the public. Especially during the pandemic, lots of people downloaded the TikTok application with the reason that TikTok is a means of entertainment when WFH. Interestingly, Tik Tok displays a short 15-second video so that the audience doesn’t get bored easily. In addition, there are not as many ads on TikTok as on Youtube. So that everyone can focus on watching videos without being disturbed by advertisements. Various interesting features such as JJ Rimex, filters, and the TikTok shop make the TikTok application even more attractive to the public.

Interestingly, in TikTok, there is the term FYP. Apart from that, TikTok has a better share service when you want to share a link, inviting new users to generate adsense/income in the form of coins. The TikTok application can also be a business field for businesses so that someone can easily market goods or buy and sell in the yellow basket. Starting from this, high public scrutiny regarding the TikTok application emerged, so the term viral or commonly called FYP, emerged. The FYP system is a TikTok algorithm for displaying videos that are currently busy and being discussed in the near future so that users can easily watch videos that are currently busy (Muzakky et al., 2022). FYP is an abbreviation of For You Page, and the system refers to pages on TikTok in the form of video recommendations for each account.

The data in this study show that the informants of this study admitted to accidentally receiving political information through FYP that appeared on their TikTok. As explained by the following informants.

“But often, through FYP, things like Mr. Rewards go to people’s places. Mrs. Puan also makes it on Tiktok, so you know, maybe just passing by, maybe from your fans’ accounts, Mrs. Ganjar, or maybe the heaters are discussing their case. Maybe it will show up more on its own, sis, on FYP if you haven’t been looking for it, have you?”

The statement shows that information about politics is obtained from FYP TikTok. Indirectly TikTok is able to educate teenagers who play TikTok through videos displayed on their FYP. This is in line with previous research, which explained that TikTok is not just a social media but also a source of information so that they get a lot of positives (Oktaheriyani et al., 2020). Similar statements were also made by other informants

“So at least grandma shows up for FYP...”

From the results of these interviews, researchers know that these young women in Surabaya get political information only at FYP TikTok. Other informants also admitted that things were not much different from previous informants regarding the political information obtained. The results of these interviews indicate that the information obtained by informants about politics comes from FYP TikTok. In addition, other informants also thought the same thing.

“….like FYP then that, yeah, that’s all those who don’t know...”

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From the statement above, the informant only knows political information from FYP Tik Tok.

“… on TikTok on FYP it appears again seen again”

From this statement, it shows that the power of TikTok in displaying videos about politics on FYP (for your page) is very much. So that they can easily get new information and knowledge for the upcoming elections, considering that these young women in Surabaya will become first-time female voters, where the first-time voter votes are potential for the 2024 election. Other informants also conveyed unique and slightly different things, as explained below.

“Ever in FYP political economy”

From the statement of the informant above, it shows that these young women in Surabaya get political information from FYP. Interestingly, TikTok is not only about the next presidential candidate. But they also get information about political economy.

"As for watching over it, don't you often show up at FYP just passing by, usually, if you pass it, you can see it. If you don't, you don't see it. If there is, but it's not interesting, skip it..."

From the information above, it was found that it was interesting that the political news in FYP was not consumed directly by teenage girls but rather was sorted first. The informant admitted that he would watch the news if he found it interesting and vice versa. If the news was not interesting, then he did not hesitate to immediately skip it.

**Advertisement**

Google Adsense is an advertising service offered by Google to site owners who wish to advertise in order to earn additional income. These advertisements take various forms, ranging from text, images, and even videos (Musthafa et al., 2021). The ad work system itself is contextual, meaning that the ad will be in line with the contents of the page. The fact is that most online businesses and online news portals use Google Adsense to increase engagement and even adsense. Including political advertisements, several online media try to advertise their news on Google. This political ad is an advertisement that contains political life, for example, about political parties, democracy, the election of government officials, etc. Usually, many political advertisements start popping up ahead of the election, and the goal is to build a positive image of organizations and individuals and even invite the audience to be active in election parties. Of course, also vote for those who advertise.

Interestingly, the data in this study show that the informants got information from Google ads that they accidentally searched for. As explained by informants 2, 4 and 6.

"Yes, usually advertisements are curious to open and read"

"On Google, online news portal notifications"

"Usually, sis, it's in the usual cellphone notifications. Just take a look, usually, maybe there's something viral"

This shows that the information that young women get comes from Google ads. These ads usually appear in HP notifications. The unique thing is that the advertisers are not political parties or individuals but from online news portals. However, what researchers found from the data the informants only saw without any further action. Interestingly, the second informant’s statement stated that he was curious about the advertisement, which contained political information, the underlying reason for opening and then reading the advertisement. However, it should be underlined that the advertisement will be easily accepted and consumed by teenagers if the content is interesting. If the advertisement is packaged attractively, it will be easy to influence the audience to make a decision.
Even clans in online media are able to build public opinion so that it influences the knowledge of teenagers (Kurdaningsih, 2019).

Political advertisements have the potential to influence the decision to choose a candidate pair. In addition, political advertising is considered an appropriate and efficient means of political marketing strategy to win regional elections. Political advertisements conveyed through the media have a very significant influence on shaping public opinion and trust. Through the messages in these advertisements, the public obtains new political information (Anshori, 2018).

**Instagram**

Of the many social media, Instagram is one of the social media that is popular with some people. Instagram is not only a means to share photos but can also be used to share short videos of up to 3 minutes. Apart from that, there are many interesting features in it, including highlights, video calls, voice calls, and live Instagram features. It is noted that the majority of Instagram users in Indonesia are from the age group of 18-24 years, namely 33.90 million. In detail, as many as 19.8% of the application users are women, while 17.5% are men. Then, the age group of 13-17 years is in the order of the next most users. As many as 7% of users are female, and 5.2% of users are male. In the age group of 35-44 years, women use Instagram as much as 6% and men 5.5%. This means that the percentage of teenagers using Instagram social media is very high.

Interestingly jam is a means of entertainment, and Instagram communication is also used as a means for various information so that this has is utilized by several politicians and governments to share information about politics. As explained by the 4th informant in the following study.

“...if not Instagram”

This shows that research informants are looking for information related to politics from Instagram. The same thing was also expressed by the 5th research informant who claimed as below “Instagram has more information”

From the statement above, it is known that young women in Surabaya seek information on Instagram social media. The reason the informant chose social media Instagram was because Instagram was more complete than the others. Reflecting on the account @Indonesiaaadilmakmur which became the official account of the Prabowo-Sandi Uno pair in 2018 with 96 posts. The total for all of these posts is from November 2018 - April 2019. There is some political information, including economic, political, social, and cultural (Rismawati & Suryanef, 2021).

“From social media as many as Instagram social media”

From the statement of the informant above, it shows that political news regarding the 204 elections has been widely discussed on Instagram. Instagram social media is an easy target for politicians to campaign for their actions and win the voting rights of the people. This was also done by the Bahraini government ahead of the election, choosing to communicate with the public and their supporters. They prefer to take advantage of the video feature on Instagram to share information on Filmonov (Elareshi et al., 2021).

Since ancient times, the role of women has been limited because of the social construction that was formed in society regarding gender. Religion and culture have no effect on the lack of a role for women in politics, although some men with an interest in politics use these factors to discriminate against women. The intersection of doctrines or rules from culture and religion, especially Islam, should further encourage the role of women to contribute more in the political field, but instead, it is used by some men to
discriminate against women, giving rise to the impression that women’s role is indeed only as a complement in writing so that is what is one of the main causes of the minimal contribution of women’s role in politics (Kifitayah, 2019).

In the current era, there is a lot of political information about political activities, and profiles are displayed fairly through news programs, features, and other programs. Political communication in the digital era is dominated by audio-visual media, which has spawned a new generation of political elites (Robin et al., 2020). Political information is a challenge for those who have an interest in disseminating political information, especially the figures who are nominating candidates. In terms of conveying information, it is necessary to insert funny words, videos, or pictures so that they are interesting for consumption by young girls.

Teenage girls in Surabaya are not an anti-political group and do not want to accept politics. However, political information for young girls is less interesting than other available information. Most young women in Surabaya are less interested when they accidentally receive political information through the media. This shows that female adolescents are in a position of passive attention. As described by the Wilson model, information acquisition occurs by accident, such as when listening to the radio or television, meaning that individuals have no intention of seeking that information (Untari et al., 2018). The attitude they show is in the form of skipping the news if the political topic is less interesting. This political information was obtained accidentally through FYP TikTok.

Information on social media, including TikTok, can have both positive and negative impacts. This is because social media users in the political sphere actively promote the three main components of political communication, including ideology, propaganda, and persuasion in the realm of digital politics. Party ideology is prioritized when spreading messages through social media, and this communication is only intended to influence and even persuade individuals or groups of individuals (Hindarto, 2022). Beginner voters, who are now mostly made up of people who were born in the digital era and have lived through its rapid development, are a challenge in themselves. In general, they are problem-free and consider themselves knowledgeable about the use of technology, but there is a hidden threat they are not aware of, namely their lack of critical evaluation of the information they receive. (Prasetyawan, 2020).

Today we often encounter the use of social media as a forum for disseminating information on presidential and vice presidential candidates to show a positive self-image. However, we often find the use of social media by the presidential and vice presidential candidate’s successful team, used to display the negative image of their competitors. In the current information age, the use of social media is considered the cheapest and most effective target for building public opinion. Especially for the digital native generation, social media is an inseparable part of social life. In the context of digital native elections, the criteria for beginner voters dominate.

On social media, novice voters have access to various information that has been created by other people with special interests besides information from the official accounts of the presidential and vice presidential candidates. His perception of the pair’s presidential and vice presidential candidates will be more or less influenced by the experience he has after interacting with that information. This is a challenge for first-time female voters in Indonesia, who must be extra careful in capturing political information from social media. Because of their background, they are less interested in political matters, which is a weak point for young women in their contribution to politics.

5. Conclusion

Social media has fundamentally changed the way people interact and communicate, including politicians. Politicians are currently using social media
as their main platform to build image and perceptions for first-time voters. Beginning female voters are not a group that is indifferent to politics. However, they receive less political education, resulting in minimal participation in political activities. Closer to the internet. This analysis offers a useful evaluation for academics researching the process of political communication through social media and paves the way for politicians to involve more young people in politics. This is consistent with recent research on communication through social media and paves the way for politicians to involve more young people in politics. This is consistent with recent research on social media such as TikTok, Instagram, and advertisements that indirectly provide political education to female novice voters.

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