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GENERATION Z's POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2024 GENERAL ELECTION: AN ISLAMIC CONSTITUTIONAL (SIYASAH DUSTURIYAH) PERSPECTIVE



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Abstract

Generation Z, as the largest demographic group in Indonesia, played a decisive role in the 2024 General Election. Their political participation reflects a new pattern influenced by digitalization and socio-political transformation. While most existing studies discuss Generation Z from the perspective of modern political science, little attention has been given to their role through the framework of Islamic constitutional law (siyasah dusturiyah). This study aims to analyze the political engagement of Generation Z in the 2024 election by contextualizing classical Islamic principles such as syura (consultation) and amar ma'ruf nahi munkar (enjoining good and forbidding evil) within a modern democratic setting. This research employs a qualitative normative-sociological approach. Primary data were obtained from reports of the General Election Commission (KPU), the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), and voter surveys, while secondary sources include classical fiqh siyasah, contemporary journals, and relevant media coverage. Data analysis applied a descriptive-analytical method combined with the maqashid al-syar'ah framework. Findings show that Generation Z demonstrated high voter turnout, strong engagement in digital activism, and issue-based preferences, prioritizing justice, environment, education, and healthcare over party loyalty. These behaviors align with siyasah dusturiyah values, framing elections as a modern form of syura to achieve just leadership. This study contributes theoretically by integrating Islamic constitutional thought with youth political participation, and practically by offering insights for policymakers, educators, and political actors to strengthen democratic participation rooted in justice and welfare.

Abstrak

Generasi Z, sebagai kelompok demografis terbesar di Indonesia, memainkan peran yang menentukan dalam Pemilihan Umum 2024. Partisipasi politik mereka mencerminkan pola baru yang dipengaruhi oleh digitalisasi dan transformasi sosio-politik. Meskipun sebagian besar studi yang ada membahas Generasi Z dari perspektif ilmu politik modern, sedikit perhatian yang diberikan pada peran mereka melalui kerangka hukum konstitusional Islam (siyasah dusturiyah). Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis keterlibatan politik Generasi Z dalam Pemilihan Umum 2024 dengan mengkontekstualisasikan prinsip-prinsip Islam klasik seperti syura (musyawarah) dan amar ma'ruf nahi munkar (memerintahkan kebaikan dan melarang kejahatan) dalam konteks demokrasi modern. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif normatif-sosiologis. Data primer diperoleh dari laporan Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU), Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum (Bawaslu), dan survei pemilih, sementara sumber sekunder meliputi fiqh siyasah klasik, jurnal kontemporer, dan liputan media yang relevan. Analisis data menggunakan metode deskriptif-analitis yang dikombinasikan dengan kerangka maqashid al-syar'ah. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Generasi Z menunjukkan tingkat partisipasi pemilih yang tinggi, keterlibatan yang kuat dalam aktivisme digital, dan preferensi berdasarkan isu, dengan memprioritaskan keadilan, lingkungan, pendidikan, dan kesehatan daripada loyalitas partai. Perilaku ini sejalan dengan nilai-nilai siyasah dusturiyah, yang memandang pemilihan umum sebagai bentuk modern dari syura untuk mencapai kepemimpinan yang adil. Studi ini memberikan kontribusi teoretis dengan mengintegrasikan pemikiran konstitusional Islam dengan partisipasi politik pemuda, dan secara praktis dengan memberikan wawasan bagi pembuat kebijakan, pendidik, dan aktor



politik untuk memperkuat partisipasi demokratis yang berakar pada keadilan dan kesejahteraan.

INTRDUCTION

The 2024 General Election in Indonesia is the largest election in the nation's history, involving more than 204 million voters spread across 38 provinces and thousands of electoral districts. One of the most striking facts in this political contest is the dominance of Generation Z in the voter demographic structure (Abbas, Olanrewaju, and Eweade 2026). Based on data from the General Elections Commission (KPU), the number of voters from Generation Z (born between 1997 and 2012) reached around 46% of the total permanent voter list (DPT), meaning that almost half of the Indonesian people's votes are in the hands of this group. This fact makes Generation Z a strategic electoral force that will greatly determine the results of the elections, both in the legislative and presidential elections (Aich et al. 2025). The demographic dominance of Generation Z is not only significant quantitatively but also qualitatively, as they possess political characteristics distinct from previous generations. Generation Z is known as a digital-native generation that is familiar with technology, quick to access information, and has more fluid political preferences, not bound by old ideologies or blind loyalty to political parties. They are more critical of current issues such as social justice, transparency, environmental issues, and minority rights, which are often indicators of morality and ethics in determining political choices (Anderberg 2013). This fact shows that the presence of Generation Z in the 2024 elections is not only as a majority, but also as a group that has great potential to shift traditional political patterns towards a more open, critical, and progressive politics. Other social facts show that Generation Z's political participation is greatly influenced by social media. Platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, and Twitter (X) have become the main space for Generation Z to absorb political information, form opinions, and even determine political attitudes (Azubike and Gatiesh 2024). This phenomenon is reflected in various viral trends related to election issues, public debates, and mass mobilisation, most of which are driven by Generation Z. This fact indicates that Generation Z's involvement in the 2024 elections is not only in the form of presence at polling stations but also in the form of active participation in digital public spaces that influence the direction of national political discourse. In other words, this generation is not merely voters but also political influencers playing a crucial role in shaping Indonesia's democratic narrative (Bonica and Grumbach 2025).

The social phenomenon that emerged in the 2024 elections shows a fundamental change in the pattern of political participation among Indonesians, especially among Generation Z. Unlike previous generations, who tended to channel their aspirations through formal mechanisms such as face-to-face campaigns, party meetings, or political speeches, Generation Z prefers to express their political participation through digital channels. Social media has become the main space for them to discuss, debate, and voice their opinions, both individually and collectively (Cerqua, Fiorino, and Galli 2024). This phenomenon has changed the face of Indonesian politics, from a physical arena to a virtual one, where political discourse can spread quickly, across regions, and even across social classes. Another phenomenon that is apparent is a shift in the meaning of political participation. For Generation Z, participation is not always synonymous with being present at the polling station or involvement in political party activities, but also includes digital activism such as creating political content, criticising

policies through posts or comments, disseminating information through hashtag movements, and participating in online petition movements (Chen and Madni 2024). This form of participation shows that Generation Z places more emphasis on expression, inclusivity, and substantive issues rather than simply loyalty to figures or parties. Thus, this phenomenon marks a transformation from conventional political participation to a more flexible, issue-based political participation that is imbued with moral values that are considered relevant to their lives (D'Ecclesiis, Levi, and Patriarca 2025). In addition, the phenomenon of Generation Z's political participation also reveals a paradox. On the one hand, they are the most critical, vocal, and progressive group, but on the other hand, there is a tendency towards political apathy due to low trust in political parties, politicians, and state institutions. Many of them feel that the political system only benefits the elite, so political involvement is not driven by loyalty, but rather by a moral impulse to fight for issues they consider important (Escresa and Glova 2024). This phenomenon explains why Generation Z's participation is often spontaneous, massive, but also fluid easily moved by certain issues, but not always sustained in the form of formal political membership. This social phenomenon is very important to study because it reflects new political dynamics in Indonesia. Generation Z is not only present as passive voters, but also as agents of socio-political change that disrupt traditional ways of politics. Against this backdrop, the 2024 elections will be an important arena to see the extent of Generation Z's contribution to strengthening democracy, as well as how the perspective of *siyasah dusturiyah* can provide a normative analysis of their participation patterns (Fiarni, Maharani, and Kirsten 2024).

Academic studies on Generation Z in the 2024 elections have so far been examined more from the perspectives of modern politics, political communication, social psychology, or youth sociology. These studies highlight aspects of political preferences, voter behaviour, and campaign strategies aimed at Generation Z. However, studies from the perspective of Islamic constitutional law (*siyasah dusturiyah*) are still very limited (Gomes and Casillas 2025). In fact, the *siyasah dusturiyah* perspective offers a different normative point of view, in which political participation is not only seen as a democratic activity, but also as a form of moral, ethical, and religious responsibility in maintaining the welfare of the people. This is where the gap in this research lies, namely connecting the reality of Generation Z's political participation with the basic principles of *siyasah dusturiyah*, such as *shura* (consultation), *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, justice, and the principle of public interest (Grasso 2014). Thus, this research will enrich the academic realm by presenting an Islamic legal perspective in the analysis of the political participation of the digital generation (Hansson 2025).

This study aims to analyse the forms of political participation of Generation Z in the 2024 elections through the lens of *siyasah dusturiyah* analysis. This analysis will examine the extent to which Islamic values are reflected in the patterns of political involvement of Generation Z, both in conventional forms of participation (such as exercising the right to vote) and non-conventional forms (such as digital activism). In addition, this study seeks to assess the alignment between Generation Z's political behaviour and the principles of *maqashid al-syarī'ah*, particularly in terms of maintaining justice, unity, and the welfare of the people. The novelty of this research lies in its attempt to integrate contemporary political analysis with the *siyasah dusturiyah* perspective, thereby presenting a more comprehensive and contextual theoretical framework. Thus, this research not only contributes academically to expanding the

literature on Generation Z's political participation but also offers a normative basis for the development of Islamic political ethics relevant to the era of digital democracy.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative method with a normative – sociological approach. This design was chosen because the issue of Generation Z's political participation in the 2024 elections cannot only be analysed from the perspective of Islamic law (*siyasah dusturiyah*), but must also be linked to the evolving socio – political reality. The normative approach is used to examine Islamic constitutional law norms related to political participation and the principles of *maqashid al – syarī'ah*, while the sociological approach is used to understand the actual behaviour of Generation Z in the election process based on field data and social facts. Thus, this study combines an analysis of Islamic legal texts with the empirical conditions of contemporary democracy in Indonesia. The research population consists of all Generation Z voters who participated in the 2024 elections, given that this group dominates Indonesia's demographic structure. However, because this research is qualitative in nature, no statistical samples were used, but rather data representing the political behaviour of Generation Z in general. The data was obtained from official reports from the General Election Commission (KPU), the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), and the results of voter participation surveys conducted by various credible survey institutions.

The data sources in this study are divided into two categories. First, primary data, which includes official documents such as the 2024 election results reports from the KPU and Bawaslu, voter participation survey results, and publications from national survey institutions related to Generation Z's political behaviour trends. Second, secondary data in the form of *fiqh siyasah* literature, classical books such as *al – Ahkam al – Sultaniyyah* by al – Mawardī, contemporary literature on *siyasah dusturiyah*, scientific journals, and news from the mass media related to the role of Generation Z in elections. The mention of these classical and modern literature is important to show the continuity between Islamic legal theory and contemporary political practice. Data collection techniques were carried out through literature study and document analysis. The literature study was conducted by examining classical and contemporary Islamic legal literature to find relevant principles of *siyasah dusturiyah*. Meanwhile, document analysis was applied to empirical data such as the results of the 2024 voter participation survey and official reports from state institutions to map the political reality of Generation Z. For example, if the data shows that Generation Z's participation rate has increased significantly in urban areas, this will be linked to the *siyasah dusturiyah* theory regarding the obligation to participate in electing fair leaders. The data analysis technique used is descriptive – analytical analysis with the *maqashid al – syarī'ah* framework. Descriptive analysis is used to present empirical findings related to Generation Z's political participation patterns, while normative analysis is used to assess the compatibility of these phenomena with constitutional political principles. The *maqashid al – syarī'ah* approach helps assess whether Generation Z's political participation in the 2024 elections truly contributes to the protection of religion, reason, life, property, and the rights of the people. Thus, the results of this study are expected to bridge Islamic legal theory with the contemporary socio – political reality in Indonesia.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Generation Z, born between 1997 and 2012, will be the largest voting bloc in the 2024 elections. Their participation at polling stations (TPS) is quite high, although turnout is still influenced by factors such as accessibility, political literacy, and trust in the electoral system (Jiang, Guo, and Dong 2024). Their presence is not only seen in the attendance figures at polling stations, but also in their active involvement in the digital political space. Generation Z uses social media such as Instagram, TikTok, and Twitter (X) as a means of political campaigning, discussing public issues, and even as a medium for exercising social control over the political elite (Zhang, Roelfsema, and Liu 2024). This participation shows a shift in political patterns from mere physical presence to more fluid and interactive digital engagement. Furthermore, Generation Z's political preferences tend to be issue-based rather than based on loyalty to political parties. The issues that receive the most attention are the environment, education, and social welfare, reflecting the younger generation's awareness of sustainable coexistence (Kim, Pennington – Gray, and Richardson 2025). They are more inclined to support political figures who are considered to have integrity, emotional closeness, and compatibility with their personal values, rather than simply choosing a political party. The role of communities, youth organisations, and social networks is also very significant in mobilising their participation, with social media becoming the dominant arena for the formation of political opinions that are instant, viral, and influential (Lang and VanCeylon 2025).

From an Islamic perspective, *siyasah dusturiyah* or constitutional politics is not only understood as an instrument for regulating governance, but also as a mechanism for ensuring the involvement of the people in managing public affairs in a fair and sustainable manner (Lax – Martinez 2024). The principle of *shura* (consultation) occupies a central position in the classical Islamic political system, as emphasized in the Qur'an (QS. Asy – Syura [42]: 38), which states that the affairs of Muslims are determined through consultation among themselves. In the context of modern democracy, *shura* can be seen as a form of political participation by citizens in determining the direction of national policy, whether through elections, consultative forums, or the growing digital public sphere. Thus, the principle of *shura* serves as a conceptual bridge between Islamic political tradition and contemporary democratic practice (Lewandowski et al. 2024). In addition, the principle of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* has very important relevance in the political participation of the *ummah*. This obligation is not limited to the moral and individual spheres, but also extends to the public sphere, including politics and government. The participation of the *ummah* in politics, whether through elections or policy advocacy, is a form of practicing *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, namely encouraging the creation of public policies that favor social justice, people's welfare, and protection of the weak, while rejecting all forms of deviation such as corruption, nepotism, discrimination, and oppression (Lopez 2023).

Islam also pays great attention to obedience to just leaders. In the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, leaders are referred to as *ra'in* (shepherds) who are responsible for their people. Just leaders are those who fulfill their mandate honestly, prioritize the interests of the people, and enforce the law consistently. However, Islam does not turn a blind eye to the potential for abuse of power. Therefore, mechanisms for correcting unjust leaders are also an integral part of *siyasah dusturiyah* (Lu, Zhuang, and Fan 2024). In Islamic history, the practice of *hisbah* and the role of scholars in providing advice and criticism to rulers show that power is not absolute, but must always be within the framework of moral and social control of the people. The principle of justice is the main

foundation of Islamic politics. Justice is not only a normative value, but also a requirement for the legitimacy of a government. In the literature of *fiqh siyasah*, the legitimacy of a leader is largely determined by the extent to which he is able to uphold justice in society. This is in line with the concept of the rule of law in modern democracy, where power cannot be exercised arbitrarily, but must be subject to laws and constitutions that guarantee justice for all citizens (Neundorf and Northmore – Ball 2025).

The participation of Generation Z in the 2024 elections can be understood as a form of actualizing the principle of *shura* in a modern context. Elections are an important instrument for electing fair leaders, which, from a constitutional perspective, is the duty of the people to realize a government that upholds the value of justice (Yao and You 2018). The digital activism carried out by Generation Z, whether through issue campaigns, policy criticism, or public advocacy on social media, can be categorized as a form of legitimate political participation that reflects the practice of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (Omri and Ben Jabeur 2024). In addition, Generation Z's political involvement can be linked to *maqashid al – syarī'ah*, where the objectives of sharia, such as the protection of life, reason, and property, can be realized through pro – people public policy advocacy (Xiu, Liu, and Yin 2022). The transformation of the value of justice in the practice of digital democracy shows that Generation Z is not only a follower but also an agent of political renewal that has the potential to make *siyasah dusturiyah* practices more relevant to the digital era. In this way, the younger generation is able to bridge classical Islamic values with contemporary political realities (Onsay, Carilo, and Baltar 2025).

Despite its great potential, Generation Z's political participation also faces a number of challenges. Money politics remains a serious problem that can undermine the idealism of the younger generation, as transactional practices often ensnare novice voters who do not yet have full political resilience. In addition, rising political apathy and pragmatism due to disappointment with the elite has led some of Generation Z to take a passive stance (Thoker et al. 2024). Another challenge is the prevalence of hoaxes and disinformation on social media, which often muddies the political atmosphere and creates polarization due to differences in choice. However, behind these challenges lie great opportunities. Digital technology – based democracy opens up space for political innovation, where Generation Z can build political movements that are more transparent, participatory, and accountable. The growing level of critical awareness is also an important asset in fighting for the values of justice, sustainability, and integrity in national politics (Owusu – Manu et al. 2017). Thus, Generation Z not only faces challenges, but also brings opportunities to strengthen a more substantive democracy (Tamai and Wang 2025).

The political participation of Generation Z can be understood within the framework of *maqashid al – syarī'ah*, which aims to preserve five main aspects of human life. First, preserving religion (*ḥifẓ al – dīn*) through ethical political involvement, for example by rejecting corruption, intolerance, and politics that undermine public morals. Second, preserving reason (*ḥifẓ al – 'aql*) by fighting hoaxes and disinformation circulating on social media, while developing critical digital literacy (Sinclair, Nilsson, and Holm 2025). Third, preserving the soul (*ḥifẓ al – nafs*) by fighting for pro – humanitarian policies, such as access to health care, protection against violence, and community welfare. Fourth, preserving wealth (*ḥifẓ al – mal*) by rejecting money politics and fighting for fair economic policies. Fifth, protecting offspring and the rights of the people as part of modern *maqashid*, by supporting regulations that protect future generations. Thus, Generation Z can be seen as actors of *maqashid* in contemporary democracy, which makes Islamic values an ethical guideline in political engagement (Pulejo 2025).

Going forward, internalizing constitutional values will be very important in the political education of Generation Z (Schwuchow 2025). Political education based on Islamic ethics can equip young people to participate not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. Strengthening digital literacy based on Islamic values needs to be a priority so that Generation Z is able to sort out accurate information, combat disinformation, and build healthy political opinions (Romanello et al. 2024). Scholars and academics also have an important role in guiding Generation Z to maintain idealism and integrity in politics, so that they are not easily trapped in pragmatism. Strategies to encourage participatory, fair democracy in accordance with *maqashid al-syari'ah* can make Generation Z the driving force for political transformation for the better. In this context, *fikih siyasah* remains relevant because it provides a normative framework for the practice of digital democracy, so that politics is not only seen as a struggle for power, but also as a means of upholding justice. With this vision, Generation Z can emerge as a generation of future leaders who are integrity-driven, ethical, and oriented towards social justice (Quasebarth et al. 2024).

CONCLUSION

This study found that Generation Z played a significant role in the 2024 elections, both through direct participation at polling stations (TPS) and through active engagement in the digital space. The high level of participation among Generation Z was influenced by increased political awareness, the role of youth communities and organizations, and the dominance of social media as an arena for shaping public opinion. In terms of political preferences, Generation Z places more emphasis on substantive issues such as social justice, the environment, access to education, and health, rather than loyalty to political parties. From a constitutional perspective, this pattern of participation reflects the principles of *shura* (consultation), the obligation to enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil, and a collective orientation towards fair and beneficial leadership. Thus, Generation Z's involvement in the 2024 elections is not only a contemporary socio-political phenomenon but also has normative legitimacy within the framework of Islamic constitutional law.

Further research could focus on quantitative approaches with broader and more representative surveys to specifically measure the level of participation of Generation Z in various regions, while also conducting comparative studies between generations, for example between Generation Z and Millennials, in order to reveal the differences in political participation patterns in more detail. In addition, longitudinal analysis is also important to trace the consistency of Generation Z's participation in the next election, so that it can be determined whether their involvement in the 2024 Election is a temporary phenomenon or a continuing trend. Furthermore, exploring interdisciplinary perspectives that combine constitutional politics with contemporary political theories such as digital democracy, political participation theory, or deliberative democracy will provide a more comprehensive picture of the relationship between Islamic values and modern political practices. Future research also needs to pay attention to Generation Z's digital activism, particularly in the use of social media for campaigns, the dissemination of political narratives, and counter-hoax efforts, in order to understand how virtual spaces affect the quality of democracy. Furthermore, gender studies in Generation Z's political participation should also be expanded, because the involvement of young women has the potential to bring new dynamics and enrich this generation's contribution to the development of democracy in Indonesia.

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