

# **Mystical Culture and Political Apathy: Understanding its Influence on Beginner Voters at *Madrasah Aliyah Negeri* Malang**

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## **Abstract :**

The 2024 Political Party is momentum in Indonesian democracy because it involves 55-60% of young voters. Unfortunately, there is a downward trend in political participation and indications of political apathy among young people, especially first-time voters. This research aims to determine the correlation between mystical culture and political *apathy* in political behavior; and the factors behind the political behavior of MAN students in Malang City. This research was conducted on MAN 1 and MAN 2 students in Malang City in March - September 2023. This research used an explanatory sequential design through quantitative analysis of multiple linear regression, with variable X1 (Mystical Culture), variable X2 (Political Apathy), and variable Y (Political Behavior) explained qualitatively and descriptively. The results of this research show that mystical culture and political *apathy* influence the political behavior of MAN students in Malang City significantly, namely 62.1% in the positive direction. Temporary, *political apathy* has a large partial influence, 66.5%, on political behavior. The conclusion from this research are political behavior patterns of MAN students in Malang City tend to be actively criticizing the government and aiming to change conditions and the political system in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** *Political Apathy, Mystical Culture, Political Participation*

## **Abstrak:**

Partai Politik 2024 menjadi momentum dalam demokrasi Indonesia karena melibatkan 55-60% pemilih muda. Sayangnya, terdapat tren penurunan partisipasi politik dan indikasi apatisisme politik di kalangan anak muda, terutama pemilih pemula. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menentukan korelasi antara budaya mistik dan apatisisme politik dalam perilaku politik serta faktor-faktor di balik perilaku politik siswa MAN di Kota Malang. Penelitian ini dilakukan pada siswa MAN 1 dan MAN 2 di Kota Malang pada bulan Maret - September 2023. Penelitian ini menggunakan desain eksplanatori sequential melalui analisis kuantitatif dengan regresi linier berganda, dengan variabel X1 (Budaya Mistik), variabel X2 (Apatisme Politik), dan variabel Y (Perilaku Politik) yang dijelaskan secara kualitatif dan deskriptif. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa budaya mistik dan apatisisme politik secara signifikan mempengaruhi perilaku politik siswa MAN di Kota Malang, yaitu sebesar 62,1% dalam arah positif. Sementara itu, apatisisme politik memiliki pengaruh parsial yang besar, yaitu 66,5%, terhadap perilaku politik. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini adalah pola perilaku politik siswa MAN di Kota Malang cenderung aktif dalam mengkritik pemerintah dan bertujuan untuk mengubah kondisi dan sistem politik di Indonesia.

**Kata Kunci:** *Apatisme Politik, Budaya Mistik, Partisipasi Politik*

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## INTRODUCTION

General elections hold the key to the implementation of a democratic country like Indonesia. On February 14<sup>th</sup>, 2024 will be the year of a big political party with the agenda of electing the president, vice president, and members of the DPRD. The role of the community in the Ministry of Home Affairs has reported approximately 204 million people in DP4 (Potential Election Voter Data) at the KPU (Prayoga, 2022). Based on this number, 55-60% are young voters aged 17-39 years on February 14<sup>th</sup>, 2024 (Ayu, 2023). In the current election, the dominant number of millennial and Gen Z voters shows that their role cannot be denied. Even though there are many young voters, the phenomenon of *GOLPUT* (group of people who do not want to vote or do not give their vote) is still relatively popular among young voters. The percentage of undecided voters among young voters increased from 10.6% in 2018 to 11.4% in the 2019 survey. There are several reasons why someone decides not to vote or abstain, including ideological, technical, and apathetic reasons. People who choose to abstain for ideological reasons feel incompatible with any of the candidates nominated in the election, so they choose not to exercise their right to vote (Affairs, 2022). Meanwhile, people who abstain for technical reasons are caused by problems that cause them to be unable to reach or access facilities to exercise their right to vote, for example, due to living in a remote place. Meanwhile, the group of people who abstain are apathetic and feel uninterested and uncaring about politics, so they are not interested in taking part in any political activities.

This group of apathetic people is a problem in youth political participation. Political apathy is shown by a lack of concern for politics, low trust in political institutions, and reluctance to participate in political activities (Evans, 2015; Husna, 2019; Mahmud, 2022). Symptoms of apathy are often found in young people aged 17-22 years, most of whom are first-time voters in elections, for example, the presidential and regional elections. Generation Z, who are classified as young voters in 2024, have extensive access to the internet, so they are often exposed to negative news about the government, for example, cases of corruption and bribery. This exacerbates their distrust of government institutions and the implementation of democracy in Indonesia. There is a phenomenon of political *apathy*, that will indirectly have a negative impact. Apart from the fact that people will lose their right and responsibility to vote, they will also lose the opportunity to influence political direction which will affect their lives later (Teixeira, 2023). Apart from that, when the number of people participating in an election is low it will increase the risk of manipulating voter numbers (Wise, 2010). The phenomenon of low political participation observed in youth demographics is also found in other countries, for example, Singapore. A longitudinal study conducted by Zhang (2022) shows that political activities carried out by young people have experienced several shifts. In 2011, opportunities for young

people to participate in elections were limited, causing them to not care about political issues. Meanwhile, young people in 2020, even though they have access to the Internet and can participate in elections, many choose not to get involved in the tension caused by the competitive atmosphere in the elections (Zhang, 2022).

The beliefs about political and government systems that are difficult to change can become a form of fatalism in thinking. Based on research mystical culture in this sense does not only include belief in myths, superstitions, and traditional beliefs (Chalik, 2015). Mysticism, which includes a premise of thinking about the value of belief in teachings that express knowledge of absolute truth in God, also includes all societal cultures that relate to belief in supernatural powers that can influence human life (Shaari, 2023). To deepen the study of the topic of student political apathy and mystical culture in politics (Peletz, 1979; Sears & Hood, 2016; Zhirtueva, 2021), a literature study was carried out on relevant previous research with the following results. The political apathy attitude of youth in Mekarsari Hamlet, Kalibeber Village, Wonosobo, has a background, namely: (1) low level of community education, (2) low confidence that the government can change their lives, (3) low economic conditions, (4) family and friendship environmental factors that influencing a person's attitude and character towards something (Al Faza & Lestari, 2020). Then "Mystical Synthesis in Javanese Political Leadership, characteristics of leadership patterns in Java contain belief in the existence of other powers outside themselves that can influence the course of power, namely divine or divine power. The impact of this is that people will tend to submit because they believe that supernatural things are absolute (Chalik, 2015). Last, "Political Trust and Political Participation of New Voters". The results of research conducted on novice voters aged 17-21 years in Malang City show that there is a correlation between political trust and the political participation of novice voters. The higher a person's level of political trust, the higher the level of political participation (Akhrani, et al., 2018). Indonesian society has a culture that is closely related to mystical influences which can be observed through worship activities, rituals, etc

The momentum of the 2024 Democratic Party which is getting closer creates urgency for society, especially political institutions, and actors, to pay attention to the phenomenon of political behavior of prospective voters. There is still little research that discusses the concrete influence of mystical culture on the political life of society (Adam, 2022; Gellman, 2016; Peletz, 1979), especially among Indonesian youth. The passive behavior of Indonesian youth in politics can have a significant impact on the country's democratic process. Seeing this phenomenon, researchers want to research the influence of mystical culture on the political behavior of young people, especially students. This research aims to find out the background and influence of mystical culture on the phenomenon of political *apathy* as well as political behavior. As a representative population, research will be conducted on students from MAN 1 and MAN 2 in Malang City who will become first-time voters in the 2024 elections. Therefore, this research has a problem formulation, namely: 1) What is the significance of the influence of mystical culture and political *apathy* on the political behavior of MAN students in Malang City? and 2) What is the political behavior of MAN students in Malang City and what are the factors behind it?

This research uses socialization theory, explaining how the process of an individual can learn to know and apply norms and values in their attitudes in society (Abdullah & Nasionalita, 2018). In the internalization process, individuals go

through primary and secondary socialization processes. In the primary socialization process, individuals experience internalization of norms and values in childhood to later become part of society. The agent of the primary socialization process is the family. Meanwhile, in secondary socialization, an individual internalizes norms and values from several sub-worlds or communities outside his family, so that their scope and nature are determined by the dynamics of knowledge distribution in society (Najib & Habibullah, 2020). In adolescents, the socialization process can influence values. For MAN students who are teenagers, the socialization process they undergo is secondary. The knowledge and experience a student gain through interactions with friends, teachers, and social media audiences can be internalized into values and views on politics.

Then lastly, *Political efficacy*/PE is defined as a person's belief in their ability to organize and carry out certain actions to have an impact on the political process by participating as a citizen (Krishna, 2019). A person's self-confidence in their ability to influence the political system cannot be separated from their trust in political institutions or government (*political trust*/PT). In measuring the level of political efficacy, *political trust* is used simultaneously to determine the public's perception and acceptance of political actors, namely the government (McDonnell, 2019). It was found that people with low levels of PE tend to be passive towards their government. Meanwhile, a low PT level influences people's reactions to policies issued by the government, whether they support or oppose them. A society that has a low level of PE tends to be hands-off and has a low interest in politics.

## METHOD

This research uses mixed *method* (quantitative-qualitative) with a plot-explanatory *sequential design*. Quantitative methods are research methods that are inductive, objective, and scientific with the data obtained in the form of scores/values (numbers) and analyzed using statistical analysis (Iwan, 2019). Meanwhile, qualitative methods are research that aims to understand the phenomena experienced by research subjects descriptively in the form of natural language using scientific methods (Moleong, 2007). Research with flow explanatory *sequential design* starts with collecting and analyzing quantitative data which then managed again at the qualitative stage to reach conclusions (Guetterman et al., 2015). The use of this method was chosen so that the resulting analysis can explain the influence of mystical culture on the phenomenon of political apathy among novice voters among MAN students in Malang City in depth.

This research will be carried out for 3 months, starting from May to September 2023. This research will be carried out at the State Madrasah Aliyah in Malang City, namely MAN 1 Malang City which is located on Jl. Raya Tlogomas No. 21, Tlogomas Village, Lowokwaru District, Malang City, and MAN 2 Malang City which is located at Jl. Bandung No. 7, Penanggungan Village, Lowokwaru District, Malang City. The data used in this research comes from two sources, are: 1) Primary data, was obtained from active students of MAN 1 and MAN 2 Malang City who were 17 years old on February 14 2024 so they were included in the list of potential voters in the 2024 election. Questionnaires were distributed on August 5-13 2023. Then interviews were conducted with informants and experts who know the field of politics. The composition of students at MAN 1 and MAN 2 is classified as heterogeneous so that

they can represent groups of students from various social and economic backgrounds. Apart from MAN students in Malang City, data was also obtained from interviews with lecturers or experts in the fields of politics, sociology, and anthropology. 2) Secondary data, was obtained in several ways, by distributing questionnaires, interviews, and literature studies. The questionnaire was made in two parts, the first part contained closed questions using a Likert scale (1-5) and the second part contained open questions to obtain detailed answers from respondents. Apart from questionnaires, interviews were also conducted with lecturers or experts who were competent in their fields to deepen the discussion and analysis of data obtained from the field. Literature studies are carried out by searching for data and results of previous research as additional references for researchers in conducting analysis.

MAN students were chosen as the object of this research because they reflect differences in the curriculum which prioritizes religious learning to form values of belief and spiritual appreciation which influence the level of religiosity of MAN students in Malang City, thus influencing teenagers' decisions in political behavior. This diversity represents cultural variations, socioeconomic backgrounds, and different views among individuals. Questionnaire respondents were obtained through purposive *sampling* with criteria: (1) aged  $17 \leq$  years on February 14, 2024, (2) is a student at MAN 1 or MAN 2 Malang City.

The explanation of the research flow above is as follows, are: 1) Quantitative stage, first stage of analysis is through quantitative analysis using the multiple linear regression method (Padilah & Adam, 2019). Multiple linear regression is an algorithm used to see the pattern of the relationship between two or more independent variables and the dependent variable (Adam, 2022). If a dependent variable is connected to two or more independent variables, the multiple linear regression formula equation is as follows (Wooldridge, 2015):

$$Y = a + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \dots + \beta_n X_n + i$$

In the equation above, it can be explained as follows:

Y = dependent variable (student political behavior)

X = is the independent variable

$\beta$  = is the regression coefficient of the independent variable

a = is a constant value,

i = is the error rate of the data obtained.

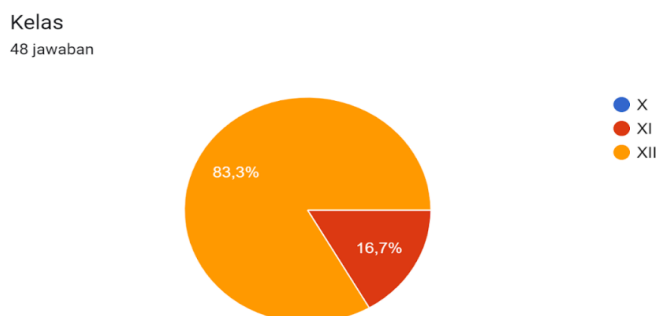
Then the second analysis stage, namely the qualitative stage, are: 1) Data collection from the results of quantitative analysis and answers to open questions on the questionnaire; 2) Reduction (*data reduction*) namely sorting data so that only relevant data is used in the analysis process; 3) Data presentation (*data display*) through narrative, matrix, or graphic form to make it easier for researchers to carry out analysis and draw conclusions. Data is grouped based on predetermined indicators, namely: (1) the role of mystical culture in life, (2) the level of political apathy, and (3) political behavior in shaping political attitudes and behavior in students; 3) Concluding (*conclusion drawing*). This is the process of researchers making a synthesis of the data that has been obtained and analyzed into a conclusion that can answer the research objectives or be reprocessed into a data source (Matthew & Huberman, 1994).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Result

Data collection was carried out by sending questionnaires to MAN students in Malang City, which were divided into MAN 1 Malang City and MAN 2 Malang City. Based on the results of distributing this questionnaire, 48 respondents were obtained who filled in the profile below.

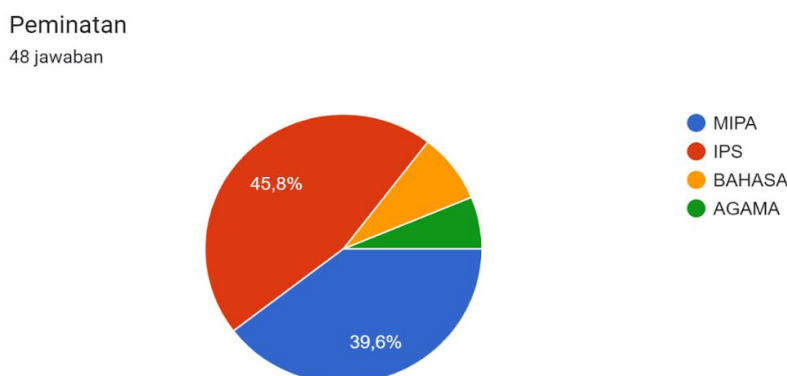
**Figure 2:** Pie Chart Distribution of Respondent Class Levels



**Source:** Processed by Researchers, 2023

Based on the diagram above, majority respondents were dominated by class 12 students with 40 respondents or 83.3%, and 8 respondents, namely 16.7%, who were in class 11. Then it was mapped based on the classification of student specialization, as in the following diagram:

**Figure 3:** Pie Chart Distribution of Respondents' Interests



**Source:** Processed by Researchers, 2023

Based on the data that has been obtained, the most dominant number of respondents are respondents from the Social Sciences specialization, namely 22 respondents (45.8%), then the MIPA specialization is 19 respondents (39.6%), LANGUAGE is 4 respondents (8.3%), and RELIGION as many as 3 respondents or (6.3%). In this research, apart from using a questionnaire, researchers also conducted interviews with expert informants to obtain data regarding mystical culture phenomena *political apathy*, and political behavior among students. Expert informants are used as parties who can theoretically explain the roots of research problems in the political field. The first informant in this research is AS who is a master's student in Politics and Government at a State University in Yogyakarta. The second informant with the initials DAS is a Pancasila and Citizenship Lecturer at a State University in Malang City, Malang with a scientific background in anthropology & sociology. The

third informant is the administrator of the socio-political educational platform "What is Up, Indonesia?" and the 2024 Election information platform "Choosing Wisely" with the initials AL. Based on these three informants, researchers obtained information related to theoretical aspects and at the practical level.

### Multiple Linear Regression Analysis

After the researcher has collected data in the form of a questionnaire, the next step is to test the classic assumptions to determine the validity of the data obtained before carrying out further analysis, with the following results:

#### 1. Normality test

This test was carried out to test the distribution of data, whether normally distributed or not, through the Kolmogorov-Smirnov or KS test. Data can be said to be normally distributed if the significance value (Sig.) is  $> 0.05$  (Raharjo, 2021).

**Table 1:** Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test Results in the SPSS Application

Unstandardized Residual	
Asymp. Sig (2-tailed)	0,200

**Source:** Processed by Researchers, 2023

The table above states that the data distribution in this study is normal with a significance value (Sig.) of 0.200 which is more than 0.05.

#### 2. Multicollinearity Test

The next step is the multicollinearity test, with the result that if the value tolerance  $> 0.01$  or VIF  $< 10$ , and the value of each correlation coefficient is less than 0.8, then the data does not experience symptoms of multicollinearity (Meiryani, 2021). The following data has been obtained:

**Table 2:** Multicollinearity Test Results

Variable	Collinearity Statistics	
	Tolerance	VIF
Mystical Culture (X1)	0,963	1,038
Political Apathy (X2)	0,963	1,038

**Source:** Data Processed by Researchers (2023)

**Table 2:** Correlation Coefficient Results

Model	Political Apathy (X2)	Mystical Culture (X1)
Correlation		
Political Apathy (X2)	1,000	-0,192
Mystical Culture (X1)	-0,192	1,000

Covariance	Political Apathy (X2)	1,000	-0,004
	Mystical Culture (X1)	-0,004	1,000

**Source:** Data Processed by Researchers (2023)

Mark *tolerance* for both variables is 0.963 which is more than 0.01 and the VIF value is less than 10, namely 1.038. The correlation coefficient results for the two variables are also less than 0.8, namely -1.192 and -0.004. It can be concluded that no symptoms of multicollinearity were found in the data used.

After carrying out the classical assumption test, it can be confirmed that the data obtained by the researcher meets the requirements for use in multiple linear regression analysis. After running the analysis using the SPSS application, the following output was obtained in this research.

$$Y = 2.860 + 0.074 X1 + 0.665 X2$$

a: The constant value obtained is 2.860

$\beta_1 X_1$ : The value of the Mystical Culture variable obtained is 0.074

$\beta_2 X_2$ : The value of the Political Apathy variable obtained was 0.665

**Table 4:** Multiple Linear Regression Analysis Output Table

Variable	Regression Coefficients	T count	Say.
constant	2,860		
Mystical Culture (X1)	0,074	0,449	0,656
Political Apathy (X2)	0,665	5,048	0,000
F Count	13,789		0,000
R	0,621		

**Source:** Processed by Researchers, 2023

The results can be interpreted as follows:

### 1. Interpretation of Determination Coefficients and Regression Coefficients

The value of the simultaneous influence of the independent variable on the dependent variable can be known through the R-value or coefficient of determination (Mardani, 2023). To find out whether an independent variable has a direct or inverse effect by looking at the coefficient value, if it is positive then it is directly proportional and vice versa. Based on the data above, it is found that the R-value is 0.621. It can be concluded that the simultaneous influence of the two independent variables on the dependent variable is 62.1% in a positive direction/directly proportional. Meanwhile, to see the influence of each variable on the simultaneous influence on variable Y, you can observe the regression coefficient. For every one percent increase in one independent variable, the dependent variable will experience an increase equal to the regression coefficient assuming the other variables are constant/fixed (Meiryani,

2021). From the table above, it is known that the regression coefficient for variable X1 (mystical culture) is 0.074 or 7.4% and X2 (*political apathy*) is 0,665 or 66,5% with a positive/comparatively straight direction.

## 2. Interpretation of Statistical F Test

To find out whether the two variables total value  $< 0.05$  or  $< 5\%$  (Raharjo, 2021). Because of the Sig value. is 0, then it can be concluded that the variables "mystical culture" (X1) and "*political apathy*" (X2) have a simultaneous influence on the variable "political behavior" (Y).

## 3. Interpretation of Partial Regression Test (T-Test)

To determine the partial influence of each independent variable on the dependent variable, a partial T-test was carried out by looking at the significance value of each independent variable. Variable X is stated to have a partial influence on variable Y if the value (Sig.)  $< 0.05$  (Raharjo, 2021). In variable X1, it is known that the significance value is 0.656 which is worth more than 0.05, so that variable to variable Y.

Based on the interpretation of the data explained above, it was concluded that the mystical culture variable (X1) and political *apathy* (X2) simultaneously influence political behavior (Y) significantly, namely 62.1% with the most influential variable being *political apathy* (X2) of 66.5%. Based on the T-test, it was found that only the political apathy variable (X2) had a partial influence on political behavior (Y).

## Discussion

### 1. Mystical Culture and Political Apathy

Based on the results of the previous quantitative analysis, the influence of "mystical culture" together with "political apathy", apparently influences the political behavior of MAN students in Malang City positively or more actively. Mystical culture does not influence political behavior directly but can influence other aspects that factor into someone participating politically. This manifests in a person's ideology, preferences, and views towards political or government institutions. The respondents' answers to the question "How do you feel God's influence in your life? How significant is that?" were quite varied. Respondents who answered that God's influence on their lives had various reasons, including motivation to be optimistic in the face of difficulties, to become a better person, as a place to pray to achieve their goals, as the main factor for someone to be able to carry out activities and earn a decent living.

In making choices, for example, political choices, a person can make rational or irrational decisions. Rational choice theory (*rational choice theory*) is an economic-sociological theory that explains how someone who has a goal will make objective choices to achieve that goal (Vlaev, 2018). Through an interview in September 2023, the source with the initials AS stated how a person's culture can influence his life decisions irrationally. Some picky, especially uninformed *voters* tend to choose leaders who have the same background as themselves, including their spirituality and religion. The following are some examples of respondents' answers to the question, "What are the indicators/criteria for the leader you want to lead Indonesia for the next 5 years? Surely, a leader who defends the Islamic values is fair, can advance and maintain the unity of the Republic of Indonesia" - M (Questionnaire, September 2023). The answers show examples where someone is influenced by mystical culture or religious teachings that they adhere to or have internalized since childhood so this becomes a variable in forming decisions.

**Picture 1. Student Socialization**



Source: <https://man2kotamalang.sch.id/>

The next answer is "people who believe in something, for example, Javanese people, implement it in their religious activities, at work, and in their daily activities. In terms of worship, people who still adhere to or believe in Javanese do not only perform prayers but also perform offering rituals both with a large group and individually. "In everyday life, when we pray, we usually have our prayers or certain practices and keep amulets for certain purposes." - DAS (Interview, September 2023). It can be analyzed they get motivation and a sense of security (*reassurance*) in carrying out activities from their belief in God. The existence of good and bad destiny is not a sign that God's decree is absolute but is a form of His wisdom. Man's role is to carry out the physical effort necessary to achieve his desired destiny. There were 47 out of 48 respondents (98%) who agreed that God's destiny was the best decision on the question "Is the elected leader part of God's destiny? If yes, what are the reasons that cause you to believe that God's destiny is the best?".

An interesting finding comes from the variable political *apathy* which should show students' indifference to politics but instead shows the opposite (Jurriëns, 2019; Latifi, 2015; Wahnig, 2018). Based on the results of the analysis of open questions in the questionnaire, it was found that some students still have hope for change if they participate in politics. The following data show the respondents' answers to the question "What do you think about political phenomena in Indonesia? How does it impact your life as a student? In my opinion, there is a lot of fraud in politics in Indonesia, so officials can be elected who are incompetent and don't think about the people. The effect is the emergence of several difficult policies. Apart from that, as a student, I feel concerned about the injustice that occurs in politics, indeed so far it has not affected me directly, but I have become less trusting of leaders." - C (Questionnaire, September 2023)

Based on the data obtained, there were 30 out of 48 (62.5%) respondents expressed disappointment with the government and its attitude of hopelessness or despair. This phenomenon was explained by AL in an interview in September 2023, that most teenagers in Indonesia experience frustration in politics. Young people have repeatedly tried to voice their opinions on a problem through demonstrations or open criticism, but have not received the expected response from the government. This causes them to be cynical and tend to distrust the government. In the long term, these

feelings of frustration and distrust can cause someone to lose hope and choose not to participate in politics at all, for example by abstaining from voting. Apart from frustration, another reason someone becomes apathetic towards politics is because they are too busy with daily activities that have a more real impact on their lives. People like this tend to be realistic so they don't have the mental energy or time to think about abstract things like politics. This phenomenon can also be seen in the answers of several respondents to the question, "What do you think about political phenomena in Indonesia? How does it impact your life as a student? I don't feel like it affects my life as a student." - IA (Questionnaire, 2023)

The third factor is that there exists an information *gap* regarding the real role of politics in the lives of young people. Based on the answers to questionnaire questions regarding the aspects of life that most influence respondents, it appears that students care about aspects such as education, health, and the economy. Unconsciously, they are active in voicing opinions and finding out information about issues that are relevant to their lives. But they don't know that politics is an effective tool to solve their problems. So, they appear uncaring or apathetic about politics even though they just don't have the information and access to participate in politics.

## **2. MAN (Madrasah Aliyah Negeri) Student Political Behavior in Malang City**

Several factors influence the political behavior of MAN students in Malang City. The first is pragmatic political culture in society as stated by a US source in an interview in September 2023. There are three types of pragmatic political culture in society (Sumartono, 2018):

- a. Parochial, where society is still very traditional and narrow-minded so their political participation is very low and easily conditioned by political elites.
- b. Kaula/Subject, namely when society is educated and relatively economically advanced. The public is aware of the existence of political institutions. Political participation has appeared on a limited basis with an orientation towards the political system in general and strengthening government policy programs but it is still passive.
- c. Participant, is the political culture in a society with high political participation. The public can provide opinions and carry out active political activities because they have a good understanding of the political system and the role of government in making policies

Picture 2. Student Socialization



Source: <https://man1kotamalang.sch.id/web/>

The pragmatic political culture of MAN students in Malang City still tends to

be in the subject/ subject culture. The students feel they haven't got the opportunity to play a significant role in politics. The 2024 Political Festival is considered a momentum for teenagers to be able to participate in determining the fate of the nation for the next 5 years. However, this is inversely proportional to the level of political apathy or the decline in teenagers' trust in current leaders. In a survey conducted by KOMPAS, it was stated that as many as 54% of female teenagers do not trust political leaders (Prayoga, 2022) . Then there is the political culture of Indonesian society. Societies with different cultures have their own unique political and cultural patterns. Political culture can be studied in two sub-fields, namely comparative *politics* and political *sociology* (Welch, 2016). In glasses comparative *politics* or comparative politics, the focus of political culture studies is on differences in political process systems in different places or countries which shape political behavior which is also influenced by other factors such as historical context and socioeconomic conditions. Meanwhile political *sociology* or political sociology, political culture is observed through society's relationship with politics. Sociological theories are used to explain the influence of social factors on views, behavior, and the formation of political institutions in society. These two subfields are used in parallel to study a phenomenon in depth and comprehensively.

As in the question in the questionnaire with the point "Why are you enthusiastic about participating in political parties or the 2024 general election?" This question represents the decision to participate in a political party, so it is included in the reflection of the political behavior of Malang City teenagers. The answer "Because this is my first general election, I am very excited and want to know what the situation and conditions will be during the election. Also, curiosity about who the new leader of Indonesia will be is what drives my enthusiasm for participating in the 2024 election." - C (Questionnaire, September 2023). The answer sounded enthusiastic and enthusiastic, the number of respondents with almost similar answers was around 26 respondents out of a total of 48 respondents. This shows that 54.16% of teenagers at the MAN level in Malang City have large enough political participation index.

This data is a projection for the general election which will be held in 2024. One explanation regarding teenagers' political participation is that it is the first general election they take part in, so it becomes a determinant and teaches teenagers to be aware of the prospective candidates they will choose. As in the question "Explain why you want/desire to participate in the 2024 general election. Personal satisfaction because this is my first election. I also have a little hope, very little, that my voice can be counted and participate in the movement for a better Indonesia. "-DW (Questionnaire, September 2023)

Based on these answers, teenagers have a special sense of pride when they participate and take part in determining the future Indonesian leaders who will be elected. However, some teenagers choose to be apathetic and feel that their voice does not influence the life or fate of the nation. One of them is the following answer, that the vote is useless, also feel like him to vote. The thing is, it's more about each person's sense of responsibility. Regardless of whether his vote means something or not, the important thing is that have carried out all obligations as a citizen. "Oh, btw, the reason I don't want to take part in the election is actually because I haven't taken care of my ID yet, not because I'm not interested. - T (Questionnaire, September 2023)

The information from the two respondents above shows that they choose not to

know about political phenomena that are occurring, and they do not even want to participate in general election activities. This reason is caused by apathy and not yet applying for a Resident Identity Card (KTP) even though he is 17 years old. However, most respondents, 42 out of 48 (87.5%) were willing to be involved in the election. Apart from participating in elections, they follow news related to politics, initiate conversations about politics, and express opinions or criticize the government. The relatively high level of participation shows that students are not completely apathetic about politics and political *efficacy* tall one. However, because of their low trust in the government, feelings of frustration arise so that the outcome of their behavior tends to be less trusting, cynical, and critical of the government, as in several excerpts from respondents' answers that have been listed previously.

## CONCLUSION

Mystical culture and political *apathy* simultaneously influence the political behavior of MAN students in Malang City significantly, namely 62.1% in the positive direction. Partially mystical culture does not directly influence students' political behavior but passes through the influence of evaluative orientation involving value standards, information held, and feelings. Mystical culture influences students by providing motivation and a sense of security (*reassurance*) towards political decisions taken with the consideration that God's destiny is the best if humans make efforts to achieve their goals. Temporary, *political apathy* has large enough partial influence, namely 66.5%, on political behavior. It was found that students at MAN Malang City experienced frustration in politics which caused them to tend to have less trust in the government. Therefore, they participate in political activities in the hope of resolving important issues and changing political conditions in Indonesia.

MAN students in Malang City tend to have *political efficacy* high but low *political trust* The low one. They participate by consuming information about political conditions in Indonesia and showing enthusiasm for the 2024 elections (87.5%). However, they feel frustrated with the government's performance which causes them to have a cynical view and a low level of trust. Based on this background, the political behavior patterns of MAN students in Malang City tend to be active in criticizing the government and aiming to change conditions and the political system in Indonesia. Then, MAN students in Malang City tend to have high *political efficacy* but level of *political trust* is the low one. In general, they have enthusiasm for the 2024 Election of 87.5% but have quite high levels of political trust and apathy with analyzed rational choice theory. Political behavior patterns of MAN students in Malang City can be influenced by mystical culture and political apathy. So, the political culture of new voters tends to be actively criticizing the government and aiming to change conditions and the political system in Indonesia.

The weakness of this study is the data analysis was considered less in-depth regarding the political behavior questions of new voters specifically in MAN students. Generally, the questions focus more on mystical culture and political apathy, so that there is less knowledge of political behavior in new voters. Furthermore, it can be done with a wider scope of respondents to obtain more in-depth information regarding the background of the political behavior of new voters. The recommended indicators and data collection methods are distributing questionnaires and interviews. This study is expected to be a reference or guideline in further research with the same topic, namely

mythical culture, political apathy, and political behavior, of course with a more in-depth analysis.

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