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Making Sense of Politics : How Young and First-Time Voters Develop Political Lieracy in Makassar City, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Political literacy is essential for enabling young citizens to understand political institutions, evaluate political information, and make informed judgments about democratic processes. This study aims to explore how young and first-time voters develop political literacy in Makassar City, Indonesia, through formal education, family interactions, peer networks, and digital media. Using a qualitative interpretive approach, the study will recruit approximately 20–30 participants aged 17–30 years through purposive sampling, comprising first-time voters and young voters with previous electoral experience. Data will be collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews and document analysis, with focus group discussions considered as a supplementary method. The data will be analyzed using reflexive thematic analysis to identify patterns in participants' political learning experiences, information-evaluation practices, and understanding of democratic citizenship. By examining political literacy as an ongoing process of learning, interpretation, and critical evaluation, the study seeks to contribute context-specific insights into youth political learning in Indonesia. The findings are expected to inform the development of civic education initiatives that strengthen political understanding and critical engagement with political information.

INTRODUCTION

Political literacy is an important component of democratic citizenship because it enables individuals to understand political institutions, interpret public issues, evaluate political claims, and make informed judgments about political processes. Beyond the ability to recognize political actors or understand electoral procedures, political literacy involves the capacity to critically engage with political information and understand the relationship between citizens, institutions, public policies, and democratic accountability. Dudley and Gitelson (2002) emphasized the importance of examining political literacy, civic education, and civic engagement through the broader process of political socialization. More recently, Koren (2025) conceptualized political information literacy as a set of competencies that enables young people to understand, analyze, critique, and make informed decisions about political information. These perspectives suggest that political literacy should be understood not merely as the possession of political knowledge but also as an ongoing process through which citizens develop the ability to interpret and evaluate the political world around them.

The development of political literacy is particularly significant during adolescence and early adulthood, when individuals begin to establish their political identities, encounter competing political perspectives, and exercise their citizenship rights more independently. Young people acquire political knowledge through various formal and informal environments, including schools, families, peer groups, community interactions, and digital media. These environments do not necessarily provide consistent or complementary political messages. Instead, young people may encounter different interpretations of political events, competing ideological positions, and information of varying levels of credibility. Consequently, understanding political literacy requires attention not only to the sources of political information available to young citizens but also to how they interpret, question, compare, and incorporate that information into their own understanding of politics (Koren, 2025).

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The expansion of digital media has further transformed the political information environment experienced by young voters. Social media platforms provide opportunities to encounter political news, discuss public issues, observe campaign activities, and engage with political narratives beyond formal educational settings. Nevertheless, greater access to political information does not automatically produce deeper political understanding or stronger critical judgment. Kahne and Bowyer (2017) demonstrated that young people's assessments of the accuracy of political claims can be influenced by their prior political positions and the characteristics of the information they encounter. Similarly, research on political media literacy has highlighted the importance of examining how young people understand and engage with political content in digital environments (Bowyer et al., 2017; Kahne & Bowyer, 2019). These findings reinforce the distinction between being exposed to political information and possessing the competencies necessary to evaluate it critically.

The relationship between political information and political literacy is particularly relevant for first-time voters, whose initial electoral experiences may contribute to the development of their longer-term political orientations. First-time voters must navigate political information while learning about electoral institutions, candidates, public policies, and the practical significance of democratic participation. Their understanding may be shaped by family discussions, classroom learning, peer interactions, political campaigns, and online content. However, these sources can differ in their credibility, educational value, and political orientation. A closer examination of first-time voters' experiences is therefore necessary to understand how political knowledge is acquired, how political claims are assessed, and how young citizens develop their own interpretations of democratic life.

Existing research in Makassar provides an important empirical foundation for investigating these processes. Ekawati (2021) found that social media had become an important source of political understanding for first-time voters in the city, including students who relied on digital platforms as sources of political information alongside, or sometimes more than, their families and schools. Yunus et al. (2021) also examined the roles of educational policy, schools, parents, and social media in shaping first-time voters' political preferences in Makassar. In addition, Tamma (2021) explored the role of civic education in the formation of first-time voters' initial political preferences. Collectively, these studies demonstrate that young voters' political orientations emerge through interactions among educational institutions, family environments, and digital information sources. They also establish Makassar as a relevant setting for examining the political learning experiences of young citizens.

Despite these contributions, an important analytical distinction remains between understanding the factors associated with political preferences and examining the processes through which political literacy develops. Political preferences concern individuals' orientations toward political actors, parties, or choices, whereas political literacy encompasses broader capacities to understand political institutions, evaluate information, interpret public issues, and make informed political judgments. Although the two may be related, they should not be treated as interchangeable concepts. A young voter may express a clear political preference without necessarily being able to evaluate the credibility of political information or explain the institutional implications of a public policy. Conversely, a young person may demonstrate substantial political understanding while remaining undecided about a particular candidate or party. This distinction provides a conceptual basis for examining political literacy as a process of learning, interpretation, and critical evaluation rather than treating political preference as its primary indicator.

International scholarship also indicates the need for a more integrated understanding of how young people navigate political information. Koren's (2025) systematized review of research on political information literacy identifies political knowledge, information-evaluation skills, and political self-efficacy as relevant dimensions of young people's engagement with political information. Kahne and Bowyer (2019) further examined the relationship between media literacy education and digital political engagement, highlighting the importance of understanding the competencies that support participation in online political environments. However, findings from other political and educational contexts cannot automatically explain how young citizens develop political literacy within a specific Indonesian city. The social and educational environments in which political learning takes place need to be examined in their own context, particularly where formal civic education, family influence, peer interaction, and digital communication intersect.

Against this background, the present study, entitled *Making Sense of Politics: How Young and First-Time Voters Develop Political Literacy in Makassar City, Indonesia*, seeks to explore how young voters develop, interpret, and critically evaluate political knowledge through formal and informal learning environments. Rather than measuring political literacy as a fixed individual attribute or testing a predetermined causal relationship, the study adopts a qualitative

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perspective to investigate participants' experiences, interpretations, and everyday practices of political learning. It will also explore how first-time voters and young voters with prior electoral experience describe similarities and differences in their approaches to political information, their understanding of democratic institutions, and their confidence in making informed political judgments.

The study is guided by three research questions: (1) How do young and first-time voters develop political literacy through formal and informal learning environments in Makassar City, Indonesia? (2) How do young voters interpret and critically evaluate political information encountered through digital media and interpersonal networks? and (3) How do political learning experiences shape young voters' understanding of democratic institutions, citizenship, and their capacity to make informed political judgments? By addressing these questions, the study aims to contribute a context-sensitive qualitative account of political literacy development among young citizens. Its intended contribution is to clarify how political learning environments, information interpretation, and critical evaluation interact in young voters' accounts of political understanding, thereby providing insights that may inform civic education and political literacy initiatives in Makassar and comparable settings.

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1. Conceptualizing Political Literacy

Political literacy is a multidimensional concept that extends beyond the acquisition of factual knowledge about political institutions, electoral procedures, and political actors. It also involves the ability to understand political issues, interpret competing claims, evaluate information critically, and make informed judgments about public affairs. Dudley and Gitelson (2002) situated political literacy within the broader discussions of political socialization, civic education, and civic engagement. Their work emphasizes that understanding young people's political development requires attention to the agents, activities, and interactions through which individuals acquire political knowledge and develop their perspectives on the political world.

A useful distinction can be made between political knowledge, political literacy, and political participation. Political knowledge refers primarily to what individuals know about political institutions, processes, and issues. Political literacy encompasses a broader set of interpretive and evaluative competencies through which individuals understand and critically engage with political information. Political participation, in contrast, concerns the activities through which individuals express political preferences or engage in political processes, including voting, campaigning, and public discussion. Although these concepts are related, they are not interchangeable. Individuals may participate in elections without demonstrating a strong capacity to evaluate political information, while others may possess substantial political understanding without engaging in conventional political activities.

Koren (2025) provides a contemporary conceptualization through the related concept of political information literacy (PIL). Based on a systematized review of 99 journal articles and conference papers, Koren identifies the importance of understanding, analyzing, criticizing, and making informed decisions about political information. The review also highlights the roles of political knowledge, information-evaluation skills, and political self-efficacy in shaping how young people navigate complex information environments. This perspective is particularly relevant to the present study because young voters increasingly encounter political information through multiple sources that differ in credibility, purpose, and ideological orientation.

For the purposes of this research, political literacy is understood as a developing capacity through which young citizens acquire political knowledge, interpret political issues, critically evaluate political claims, and form informed judgments about democratic institutions and citizenship. This working definition does not assume that political literacy is a fixed attribute or that it necessarily produces a particular political preference. Instead, it treats political literacy as a process that develops through experience, interaction, and reflection.

2.2. Political Socialization and the Development of Political Literacy

Political socialization provides a theoretical foundation for understanding how individuals acquire political orientations, knowledge, and practices through interactions with their social environments. Dudley and Gitelson (2002) argue that the study of political literacy among young people requires closer attention to the learning processes and social agents that shape their understanding of politics. Political socialization is therefore useful for examining how young citizens encounter political ideas, develop political identities, and learn to interpret public affairs.

Family, schools, peer groups, and community institutions are important settings in which political socialization may occur.

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Family conversations can introduce young people to political values, public issues, and electoral choices. Schools may provide formal instruction about government, citizenship, democracy, and electoral institutions. Peer interactions can expose young people to alternative perspectives and encourage them to discuss political issues. These environments may reinforce one another, but they may also provide conflicting interpretations of political events and political actors.

In Makassar, Yunus et al. (2021) examined how educational policy, schools, parents, and social media contributed to the formation of political preferences among first-time voters. Their study demonstrates the relevance of multiple socialization environments in understanding young people's political orientations. However, the development of political preferences is not identical to the development of political literacy. Preferences indicate orientations toward political alternatives, whereas literacy concerns the capacities through which individuals understand and evaluate political information. The present study consequently uses political socialization as a framework for investigating the experiences and interactions through which political literacy may develop.

A political socialization perspective also encourages attention to the ways young voters interpret, negotiate, or reject political messages rather than assuming that they passively adopt the views of their parents, teachers, or peers. The central analytical question is not simply which source influences a young person most strongly, but how political learning occurs across different environments and how individuals construct their own understanding of political issues.

2.3. Digital Media and Political Information Literacy

Digital media have expanded the range of political information available to young citizens. Social networking platforms, video-sharing services, online news, and messaging applications allow young people to encounter political information outside formal educational settings. These platforms can provide access to political debates, campaign messages, public policy discussions, and diverse viewpoints. At the same time, digital environments expose users to misleading claims, selective representations, and information that may be difficult to verify.

Koren (2025) emphasizes the importance of political information literacy in navigating information environments characterized by misinformation, disinformation, and competing political narratives. The distinction between information exposure and information evaluation is particularly important. Encountering political content does not necessarily mean that a person understands its context, recognizes its limitations, or can assess its credibility. Political literacy therefore requires examining how young people determine whether information is trustworthy, compare claims across sources, recognize possible bias, and interpret political messages in relation to broader institutional and social contexts.

Research in Makassar has already established the significance of digital media in first-time voters' political learning. Ekawati (2021) investigated social media as a source of political understanding among first-time voters in Makassar and identified its importance within their political information environments. Yunus et al. (2021) likewise examined social media alongside schools and parents in the formation of first-time voters' political preferences. These studies provide a local empirical foundation for the present research.

Nevertheless, the importance of social media should not be interpreted as evidence that digital access automatically strengthens political literacy. The educational value of digital information depends partly on how individuals engage with it. Some young people may compare multiple sources and question political claims, while others may rely heavily on familiar accounts, peer recommendations, or content that confirms existing assumptions. The present study therefore focuses on the practices and interpretations through which young voters engage with political information, rather than treating social media exposure itself as a direct indicator of political literacy.

2.4. First-Time Voters, Political Learning, and Democratic Citizenship

First-time voters occupy an important position in the study of political learning because their initial electoral experiences take place while they are developing their understanding of political institutions and citizenship. Their engagement with elections may involve learning about candidates, political parties, public policies, electoral procedures, and the significance of voting. These experiences can provide opportunities to develop political knowledge, but they can also expose inexperienced voters to conflicting claims and persuasive political messages.

The Makassar-based study by Yunus et al. (2021) demonstrates that the political preferences of first-time voters are shaped within interactions among schools, parents, and social media. Ekawati (2021) similarly identifies social media as an important setting for the political understanding of first-time voters. In a related study, Yunus et al. (2023) examined parental roles in the formation of political ethics among first-time voters in Makassar, highlighting concerns about political information and ethical judgment in the social media environment.

These studies indicate that political learning is embedded in everyday social relationships rather than restricted to formal civic education. However, political literacy requires a more specific analytical focus on how young people understand political institutions, assess political claims, and develop the capacity to make informed judgments. A young person may learn which candidate is supported by family members without necessarily understanding the policy differences between

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candidates. Similarly, following political content online does not necessarily indicate an ability to distinguish factual claims from unsupported assertions.

Comparing first-time voters with young voters who have previous electoral experience may help illuminate how political learning changes over time. Previous voting experience may provide opportunities to reflect on campaign promises, electoral procedures, or public policy developments. However, prior participation should not automatically be interpreted as evidence of higher political literacy. The present study therefore treats electoral experience as a basis for qualitative comparison rather than as a predetermined measure of political competence.

Democratic citizenship provides a broader context for interpreting these experiences. Political literacy may enable citizens to understand democratic institutions, assess public decisions, recognize political accountability, and engage with disagreements in an informed manner. These capacities do not require citizens to hold identical political preferences. Rather, they concern the ability to form and revise judgments through engagement with political information and democratic principles.

2.5. Research Gap and Analytical Contribution

The literature reviewed above establishes three relevant foundations. First, political literacy is a multidimensional capacity that involves political knowledge and the ability to interpret and evaluate political information (Dudley & Gitelson, 2002; Koren, 2025). Second, political socialization provides a framework for examining the roles of families, schools, peers, and other environments in political learning. Third, empirical research in Makassar has already explored social media, education, parental influence, and political preferences among first-time voters (Ekawati, 2021; Yunus et al., 2021, 2023).

The key analytical opportunity is to examine how these processes come together in young voters' own accounts of political learning. Research on political preferences provides insights into the formation of political orientations, but preference formation alone cannot fully explain how individuals assess political information, understand democratic institutions, or develop confidence in their political judgments. The distinction is important because political literacy concerns not only what young people believe but also how they arrive at, evaluate, and potentially revise those beliefs.

Accordingly, this study examines the development of political literacy through the interaction of political learning environments, information interpretation, and critical evaluation. It also compares the accounts of first-time voters with those of young voters who have previously voted, without presuming that electoral experience necessarily produces greater literacy. The proposed contribution is a context-sensitive qualitative explanation of how young citizens in Makassar describe their political learning processes and how those processes shape their understanding of politics and democratic citizenship.

The study is guided by the following analytical questions:

1. How do young and first-time voters develop political literacy through formal and informal learning environments in Makassar City, Indonesia?
2. How do young voters interpret and critically evaluate political information encountered through digital media and interpersonal networks?
3. How do political learning experiences shape young voters' understanding of democratic institutions, citizenship, and their capacity to make informed political judgments?

Together, these questions connect political socialization with political information literacy while maintaining a clear distinction between political knowledge, critical evaluation, political preference, and electoral participation.

METHOD

This study will employ a qualitative interpretive approach to explore how young and first-time voters develop political literacy in Makassar City, Indonesia. Participants will be selected through purposive sampling, comprising approximately 20–30 young voters aged 17–30 years, including first-time voters and those with previous electoral experience.

Data will be collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews, supplemented by document analysis of relevant civic education and political literacy materials. The interviews will explore participants' political learning experiences, sources of political information, strategies for evaluating information credibility, and understanding of democratic institutions and citizenship.

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Data will be analyzed using reflexive thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke (2006). The analysis will involve familiarization with the data, coding, theme development, theme review, definition of themes, and interpretation. Comparisons between first-time voters and young voters with previous electoral experience will be conducted to identify similarities and differences in their political learning experiences.

Research trustworthiness will be supported through reflexive documentation, transparent analytical procedures, and the use of relevant participant quotations. Ethical approval will be obtained where required, and informed consent, confidentiality, voluntary participation, and secure data management will be maintained throughout the research process.

RESULT

The results will be organized around three themes corresponding to the research questions: (1) political learning environments, (2) the interpretation and evaluation of political information, and (3) the development of political understanding and democratic citizenship.

4.1. Political Learning Environments

This theme will examine how participants describe the roles of formal education, family, peer groups, community interactions, and digital media in developing their political knowledge. The analysis will identify similarities and differences in the political learning experiences of first-time voters and young voters with previous electoral experience.

4.2. Interpretation and Evaluation of Political Information

This theme will explore how participants assess the credibility of political information, respond to conflicting political claims, and distinguish reliable information from potentially misleading content. Particular attention will be given to their experiences with social media and interpersonal political discussions.

4.3. Political Understanding and Democratic Citizenship

This theme will examine how participants understand political institutions, electoral processes, democratic accountability, and their rights and responsibilities as citizens. The analysis will also explore whether and how participants describe changes in their political understanding through educational experiences and electoral participation.

The final presentation of the results will be supported by anonymized interview quotations and comparisons across participant groups. The themes and interpretations will be established from the collected data rather than predetermined in advance.

DISCUSSION

This study examines how young and first-time voters develop political literacy through formal education, social interactions, and engagement with political information in Makassar City, Indonesia. The central argument is that political literacy should be understood as an ongoing learning process rather than simply the accumulation of political knowledge or the formation of electoral preferences. This perspective is consistent with Dudley and Gitelson (2002), who situated political literacy within the broader relationship between civic education, political socialization, and civic engagement.

First, the role of political learning environments highlights the importance of examining how schools, families, peer groups, and digital media contribute to young people's understanding of politics. Previous research in Makassar has examined the relationships between education, parental influence, social media, and first-time voters' political preferences (Ekawati, 2021; Yunus et al., 2021). The present study extends this line of inquiry conceptually by focusing on how young voters interpret political information and construct their own understanding of political issues, rather than focusing exclusively on their preferences.

Second, the evaluation of political information represents an important dimension of political literacy. Access to political content through digital platforms does not necessarily ensure that young people can assess its accuracy, credibility, or context. Koren (2025) emphasizes the importance of political information literacy in helping young people understand and critically evaluate political information. Accordingly, political literacy initiatives should address not only access to political information but also the development of critical evaluation skills and informed political judgment.

Third, differences between first-time voters and young voters with previous electoral experience may provide insight into how political learning develops over time. Electoral participation can create opportunities to reflect on political campaigns, candidates, and democratic institutions. However, previous voting experience should not automatically be

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interpreted as evidence of greater political literacy. The significance of electoral experience must be assessed through participants' accounts of what they learned, how they evaluated political claims, and whether their understanding of politics changed.

The findings of this study, once established through empirical analysis, may also have implications for civic education. Educational initiatives could integrate political knowledge with practical exercises in evaluating sources, comparing competing claims, recognizing misleading information, and discussing democratic accountability. Such initiatives would help connect formal civic education with the political information environments young people encounter in everyday life.

Overall, the study offers a framework for understanding political literacy as a process involving political learning, information interpretation, and critical evaluation. By examining these processes in Makassar, the research can contribute contextual insights into young citizens' political learning experiences and inform the development of more reflective and information-oriented civic education. The strength and scope of these contributions, however, must ultimately be determined by the empirical evidence collected from participants.

CONCLUSION

This study aims to explore how young and first-time voters develop political literacy in Makassar City, Indonesia, focusing on political learning environments, the evaluation of political information, and democratic understanding. By adopting a qualitative approach, the study seeks to understand political literacy as an ongoing process shaped by formal education, family interactions, peer networks, and engagement with digital media.

The study is expected to contribute to a deeper understanding of how young citizens interpret political information, develop critical judgment, and understand their roles within democratic society. Its findings may also inform civic education initiatives that integrate political knowledge with information evaluation skills and reflective democratic engagement.

However, the study's conclusions will depend on the empirical evidence obtained from interviews and supporting documents. The qualitative design and context-specific sample will also limit the generalizability of the findings. Future research could examine political literacy across different regions of Indonesia or employ mixed-methods approaches to investigate how political knowledge, critical evaluation, and electoral experience relate to broader patterns of political participation.

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