

From Clicks to Change: The Role of Generation Z in Reshaping Indonesian Politics

Darto Wahidin¹⁾, Sugiyanto²⁾ Salwa Aidah³⁾

^{1, 2, 3)} *Pancasila and Citizenship Education Study Program, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education
Universitas Pamulang, Indonesia*

Corresponding Author: Darto Wahidin, Email: dosen02827@unpam.ac.id

History: Received 22/08/2025 | Revised 13/10/2025 | Accepted 20/12/2025 | Published 30/12/2025

Abstract. In an era marked by democratic volatility, digital polarization, and eroding trust in political institutions, understanding how Generation Z engages with politics in Indonesia has become an urgent scholarly and practical concern. As the largest emerging electoral cohort, their political behavior is likely to shape the trajectory of Indonesian democracy in the coming decades. This study aims to identify the concrete forms of political engagement adopted by Generation Z, to elucidate their strategic roles in general elections, and to project the future configuration of their political participation. Employing a qualitative approach with a systematic literature review design, the research synthesizes scholarly articles, policy reports, and empirical studies on youth politics, digital participation, and democratic practices in Indonesia. Data were analyzed through iterative coding, thematic categorization, and interpretive synthesis to capture patterns of engagement both in formal and non-formal arenas. The findings reveal that Generation Z is not confined to the role of voters; they also act as digital campaigners, political influencers, grassroots mobilizers, and policy advocates who leverage social media platforms to frame issues, shape narratives, and influence public opinion. They demonstrate a combination of skepticism toward traditional political institutions and a strong propensity for issue-based activism, particularly on governance, social justice, and environmental concerns. The study concludes that Generation Z possesses substantial potential to recalibrate public policy and democratic accountability through sustained digital mobilization and hybrid forms of participation that bridge online and offline spaces. The novelty of this research lies in its comprehensive mapping of Indonesian Generation Z's political engagement patterns specifically through the lens of digital political behavior, which has previously been examined only in fragmented or partial ways. The study contributes theoretically by advancing the discourse on digital democracy in the Global South and practically by offering evidence-based insights for political actors, electoral managers, and policymakers seeking to meaningfully engage young voters as partners in democratic consolidation.

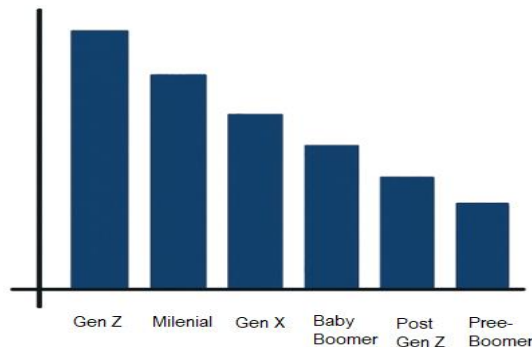
Keywords: *Generation Z; Political Participation; Social Media Activism; Indonesian Elections; Youth Democracy*

INTRODUCTION

Amidst Indonesia's increasingly complex political dynamics, Generation Z offers a distinct perspective and color in the political arena (Arfah et al., 2025). Generation Z can be defined as young people who actively contribute in various fields and are also intensively involved in internet usage. This generation has greater freedom in using the internet than previous generations. Furthermore, another perspective defines Generation Z as a generation that has

grown up with and is closely connected to technological advancements. Almost all of Generation Z's daily activities are related to technology (Kartal & Köksal, 2025).

Generation Z, also known as centennials, is the group born between 1997 and 2012, directly after the millennial generation or Generation Y (Arum et al., 2023). Generation Z is larger in number and more dominant than other generations in Indonesia. The following graph shows the Indonesian population by generation.



Source: (Goodstats, 2020)

Based on the graph above, it can be seen that Generation Z is the largest generation, projected to reach 74.93 million people, equivalent to 27.94% of the population. Not only is their population large, but Generation Z also frequently accesses the internet, spending more than 7 hours a day, with many experiencing addiction, reaching up to 13 hours a day (Alvara Research Center, 2022).

As the largest generation and inextricably linked to the internet, Generation Z has distinct characteristics from previous generations. This generation is known for being analytical, responsive, and highly sensitive to social and political issues (Bilişli et al., 2024). According to the General Elections Commission (KPU), the National Final Voter List (DPT) for the 2024 Election reached 204,807,222 people. Of these, approximately 55% to 60% are young voters, or approximately 106,358,447 people (KPU, 2023). As the generation with the highest participation, this indicates that Indonesia's future will be heavily influenced by the choices of the younger generation. Thus, the role of Generation Z in Indonesian politics is not only related to voting at the ballot box, but also to influencing policy, raising social awareness, and contributing to a better society (Hemastuti et al., 2025).

This study aims to answer the following research questions: (1) In what forms does Generation Z participate in Indonesian politics? (2) What is the strategic role of Generation Z in general elections? (3) What is the projection of Generation Z's political involvement in the future?.

This research stems from the growing attention to the role of Generation Z in Indonesian politics, which is undergoing significant transformation due to the development of digital

technology and changes in social behavior. This research reflects the enthusiasm of this younger generation, who are not only consumers of political information but also active actors capable of shaping political discourse, direction, and dynamics in the digital public sphere. To understand this context more deeply, it is important to review several relevant previous studies that provide a theoretical foundation for this research.

Several previous studies have contributed to understanding the phenomenon of political engagement among the younger generation, including the study conducted by Wahyudi and Loilatu entitled "Analysis of the Political Behavior of Indonesian Millennial and Z Generations in the Virtual Sphere". This study examines the development of political behavior among millennial and Z generations in the virtual space, along with the increasing use of the internet and social media in Indonesia. Using Jurgen Habermas's public sphere theory and Papacharissi's virtual space theory, the study attempts to explain how the younger generation forms public opinion and responds to political issues online. The analysis shows that the political behavior of millennial and Z generations is still influenced by their respective social backgrounds, with a tendency towards negative behavior such as cyberbullying, hate speech, the spread of hoaxes, and personal attacks against those with differing political views (Wahyudi & Loilatu, 2023).

This research demonstrates that social media has become an important platform for the younger generation to express their political views, although challenges remain in communication ethics and maturity in dialogue. However, to gain a broader understanding of how Generation Z develops political awareness and accesses relevant information, further research that specifically examines media consumption patterns is needed.

Furthermore, research conducted by Evita, entitled "Generation Z in the Election: Media Patterns of Generation Z in Seeking Political Information", provides a more focused view of this generation's media behavior in the lead-up to the 2024 Election. The study sought to explore how the younger generation seeks and consumes political information amidst the torrent of digital content. Using a mixed approach, both quantitative and qualitative, Evita involved 802 respondents in the survey and conducted in-depth interviews with 19 individuals. The results showed that although social media is not always the primary source of political information, Generation Z still relies on these platforms due to their ease of access and interactive nature. Interestingly, this generation's consumption of political information is incidental with a short attention span of only around eight seconds. Nevertheless, they still prioritize the authenticity, reputation, and credibility of the information source. These findings provide valuable input for election management bodies and political parties to be able to communicate political messages in a format that is light, educational, entertaining, and visually appealing (Evita, 2023).

Evita's research provides an important perspective on how changing information consumption patterns impact the political awareness of the younger generation. However, the study focused more on the behavioral dimension of media and did not comprehensively describe the forms of political participation of Generation Z in social and institutional contexts. Therefore, further research is needed that not only highlights information access patterns but also analyzes how this generation utilizes digital spaces to concretely participate in political activities.

Furthermore, Ermawati's research, entitled "The Role of Generation Z in Facing Election Dynamics in Indonesia", broadens the understanding of this generation's involvement in the electoral political process. In the study, Ermawati highlights how Generation Z, born between 1997 and 2012, has a heightened political awareness and is actively involved in various stages of the election. This generation not only plays a role as voters but also acts as agents for disseminating political information, understanding party policy platforms, and actively participating in discussions on social media. With adaptive and innovative characteristics, Generation Z utilizes digital technology as a tool for campaigning and political education. The results of the study indicate that this generation's influence on election results is quite significant, even potentially changing the direction of public policy and social issues of public concern. Thus, the involvement of Generation Z is expected to strengthen the foundation of Indonesian democracy in the future (Ermawati, 2024).

From these three previous studies, it can be concluded that each study makes a distinct contribution to understanding Generation Z's role in politics. Wahyudi & Loilatu's research highlights political behavior in the digital space, focusing on the dynamics of communication and the ethics of online interactions. Evita's research provides an overview of Generation Z's media usage patterns in seeking political information, while Ermawati's research emphasizes the importance of this generation's active participation in the electoral process. However, there are research gaps that still need to be filled.

However, there is a lack of holistic studies that map the diverse political roles of Generation Z and project their potential future impact on Indonesia's political structure. Most previous research tends to focus on behavioral aspects or communication patterns, while the strategic, ideological, and creative dimensions of Generation Z's political participation remain unexplored. Furthermore, previous research has not explored how the synergy between digital activism, skepticism of political institutions, and campaign creativity can shape a new face of Indonesian politics that is more participatory and open to change.

This research aims to fill this gap by offering a more comprehensive approach. Combining theoretical analysis and an in-depth literature review, this study seeks to comprehensively

describe how Generation Z plays a role in reshaping Indonesian politics, both through concrete actions in the digital world and through contributions to the transformation of the political system. The primary focus of this research is not only on how they engage, but also how they create more innovative and contemporary patterns of political participation.

This research offers a new perspective by integrating digital activism, institutional skepticism, and campaign creativity into a comprehensive analysis of Generation Z's political role. Thus, this research serves not only as a phenomenological description but also as an attempt to understand how this generation's interaction patterns, communication strategies, and values are able to challenge conventional political structures. Through this approach, the research is expected to provide a deeper understanding of how "clicks" in the digital world can become symbols of real change in Indonesian politics.

By building a bridge between previous findings and the current political context, this research seeks to uncover new dimensions in how Generation Z understands, accesses, and influences the political system. This is not limited to elections or online activities, but also encompasses how they articulate their political aspirations through social participation, policy advocacy, and the formation of collective political identities in the digital age. Therefore, this research is an important step in understanding how the younger generation, through the power of technology and creativity, can act as drivers of change in Indonesia's evolving political landscape.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach with a literature review design. A qualitative approach was chosen because it provides researchers with ample room to explore meaning, interpret context, and understand social phenomena in depth through the analysis of narrative and conceptual data. Qualitative research methods are flexible and in-depth approaches aimed at examining the diversity of human experience. This approach does not focus on numbers or measurable data as in quantitative research, but rather emphasizes the meaning and context of human behavior (Creswell, 2018). Qualitative research methods aim to uncover details of individual experiences through narratives and personal stories that show the complexity of social life (Swift, 2022). Therefore, a qualitative approach allows researchers to understand the meaning behind social behavior, actions, and experiences comprehensively.

In the context of this research, the design used is library research, namely a research method that focuses on the analysis of written materials such as books, journals, official documents, and other literature sources that are relevant to the topic being studied (Dewi, 2021).

This type of research was chosen because it provides a strong theoretical foundation and allows researchers to examine previously developed scientific ideas. Literature review focuses on

the analysis and interpretation of written materials, including books, magazines, newspapers, and scholarly journals, within their context (Hadi et al., 2022). This research used this design to analyze various scientific sources related to the role of Generation Z in Indonesian politics, including understanding levels of political participation, trust in political institutions, and the influence of digital media on the political behavior of the younger generation.

The research procedure was carried out systematically through several interrelated stages. The first stage was library data collection. At this stage, researchers explored various materials and literature, such as books, scientific journals, research articles, and official documents relevant to the research theme. These sources were collected from various academic sources, such as Google Scholar, national and international journal portals, and university library collections. Library research is a scientific activity that collects data and information from various written sources, which are systematically processed and reviewed to answer the research problem. Therefore, the data collection stage in this study was carried out by considering the relevance, credibility, and currency of the sources (Sari & Asmendri, 2020). The second stage was data grouping. After the literature was collected, researchers classified the sources based on their suitability to the theme, research focus, and the type of data they contain. This process included sorting sources into conceptual, empirical, and normative sources to enable more focused analysis. Data sources are the sources from which information used as references in the research is obtained (Hardani et al., 2020). In the context of this research, all data used is secondary, as it was obtained from existing and previously published references. Therefore, secondary data sources were used to complement and strengthen the primary data from existing references, such as research reports, books, and scientific publications (Zakariah & Afriani, 2021).

The next stage is literature analysis. In-depth analysis is conducted on each selected data source with the aim of discovering patterns, meanings, and relationships between concepts relevant to the research topic (Ojoboh & Igben, 2024). Data analysis is a series of activities to systematically find, organize, and compile information for easy understanding and dissemination to others (Naamy, 2019). In this study, data analysis was conducted through three stages, as described by Miles & Huberman: data reduction, data presentation, and verification. Data reduction was carried out by summarizing primary information and selecting relevant aspects related to Generation Z's political participation, level of trust in political parties, and the influence of digital media on political behavior. Data presentation is done in the form of narrative descriptions that demonstrate the relationships between concepts, while verification is carried out by drawing gradual conclusions that are continuously tested with additional data to ensure more objective results (Miles & Huberman, 2014).

The final stage in the research procedure is literature synthesis, the process of combining the various pieces of information obtained into a coherent analysis. In this stage, researchers integrate various theoretical perspectives and previous research findings to build a more comprehensive understanding of the role of Generation Z in Indonesian politics. This synthesis process involves comparing, assessing similarities, and identifying differences between previous research findings to obtain a comprehensive picture that explains the phenomenon being studied. Literature analysis and synthesis are not only conducted after the data has been fully collected but also continue throughout the research until final conclusions are formulated (Abdussamad, 2021).

This study did not involve human subjects because it adopted a pure literature review design. All data and information analyzed came from published written sources, including books, scientific journals, policy reports, and other official documents. Therefore, this study relies entirely on the credibility and validity of data obtained from secondary sources, not from direct observation or interviews with participants. This approach aligns with the characteristics of library research, where researchers directly encounter research materials in the form of ready-to-use texts and data, rather than field experience (Mestika, 2014).

To ensure data validity, researchers conducted source triangulation by reviewing various reputable journals, academic books, and official documents. Triangulation was conducted to test the consistency and reliability of information obtained from different sources. Source triangulation is a validation technique that involves comparing data from various sources to ensure the accuracy and accuracy of the information. In this study, researchers reviewed various relevant previous research results and compared them with established theories to identify any alignments and discrepancies. Source credibility was verified based on publication standards, the authors' expertise, and their relevance to the research theme. Only sources that meet academic criteria and have gone through a peer-reviewed review process are used in the analysis (Sugiyono, 2013).

In addition to triangulation, credibility assessment was also conducted through an evaluation of the publisher's reputation, year of publication, and the socio-political context underlying the source's writing. This process aims to ensure that all data used is truly representative and scientifically accountable. The reliability of literature sources in academic research is determined by the extent to which the material is relevant, valid, and up-to-date (Ahmed, 2024). Therefore, researchers ensured that all literature used came from trusted sources and supported the research arguments logically and empirically.

With systematic procedures and rigorous validation, this study strives to produce a comprehensive, objective, and accountable analysis. The literature review approach allows researchers to obtain a broad overview of the phenomenon of Generation Z political engagement

without the need for direct field observations, while still prioritizing methodological rigor and scientific validity. The results of this literature selection, analysis, and synthesis process are expected to contribute to enriching the literature on youth political participation in Indonesia and serve as a reference for further research that examines socio-political dynamics in the digital era.

RESULT

Table 1. Forms of Political Involvement of Generation Z

Involvement Type	Source	Political Impact
Digital Campaign	Wahyudi & Loilatu (2023)	Improving youth political literacy
Policy Advocacy	Ermawati (2024)	Promoting political accountability and transparency
Voter Mobilization	KPU (2023)	Increasing the level of election participation
Online Social Movement	Rahmawati et al (2025)	Increasing public pressure on the government
Creative Campaign	Syahputri & Katimin (2024)	Forming an inclusive political awareness
Digital Campaign	Wahyudi & Loilatu (2023)	Improving youth political literacy

The role of Generation Z in Indonesian politics is becoming increasingly significant as awareness and concern for social and political issues develop in society. This generation, born and raised in a digital environment, demonstrates a strong interest in politics, especially in the lead-up to general elections. Generation Z has a strong concern for political and social issues, supported by easy access to information via the internet. This makes them more open to political issues and has a deep understanding of social and government dynamics (Ain et al., 2023). Generation Z actively participates in the political process, both as voters and campaigners. Generation Z is characterized by flexibility, critical thinking, and tolerance of differences, developed through intensive interaction with information technology. With these characteristics, Generation Z is not merely a spectator in the political process but also helps shape the direction of national policy (Wartoyo & Ginting, 2024).

Furthermore, Generation Z's ability to utilize social media to disseminate political information is a key strength that distinguishes them from previous generations. This generation's familiarity with technology and digital media makes them creative in disseminating political issues through engaging and entertaining content. Through the content they share, people become more interested in finding out about current political issues (Firamadhina & Krisnani, 2021). Therefore, Generation Z is not only a consumer of information but also a producer of ideas that shape broader public opinion. However, on the other hand, Generation Z also displays skepticism

towards existing political institutions. This generation's dissatisfaction with the perceived lack of transparency of the political system has led them to openly express criticism through social media. This critical attitude is not only a form of distrust but also an effort to pressure government institutions to be more accountable and open to public participation. Through various digital actions such as campaigns, virtual protests, and online petitions, Generation Z strives to oversee public policy to be more responsive to community needs (Rahmawati et al., 2025).

Furthermore, Generation Z's creativity in utilizing social media for political campaigns also marks a new transformation in political communication strategies in Indonesia. This generation's political campaigns are packaged in light, engaging, and relevant content, reflecting today's digital communication styles. The visual and audio elements used not only reinforce political messages but also indirectly educate the public (Syahputri & Katimin, 2024). This creative approach allows political messages to be conveyed widely in a more persuasive and less rigid manner. Furthermore, Generation Z also plays a role in influencing public policy through active participation in the digital space. Generation Z is able to utilize social media as a means to coordinate community actions, both in the form of online petitions and solidarity movements (Azizah, 2023). In this context, Generation Z is not merely a recipient of policy but also an agent of change, encouraging the government to be more responsive to citizens' needs.

Generation Z's electoral participation represents a significant shift in Indonesia's political context. Generation Z possesses a high level of political awareness and a tendency to engage directly in elections. They no longer vote based on family influence, but rather on analysis and information obtained independently (Wartoyo & Ginting, 2024). This generation's political independence marks the emergence of rational voters who evaluate potential leaders based on their track record and credibility, not solely on popularity. With its large demographic presence in Indonesia, Generation Z is a determining factor in election results and the direction of future national policy (Hemastuti et al., 2025). In addition to acting as active voters, Generation Z is also involved in election administration and outreach. The General Elections Commission (KPU) has recorded an increase in the number of young volunteers participating in voter education and monitoring the election process (KPU, 2023). This demonstrates that Generation Z views elections not only as an administrative process but also as a platform for active participation in maintaining democratic integrity.

Digital engagement is a key characteristic of Generation Z in politics. Social media plays a significant role in shaping this generation's political opinions and participation. Platforms like TikTok, Instagram, and Twitter are used as spaces for discussion, voicing aspirations, and criticizing policies. Through creative and interactive communication strategies, Generation Z has

transformed social media into a dynamic new public space (Yanti et al., 2024). Generation Z is able to package political messages in entertaining yet informative digital content. Visual elements, humor, and the use of light language create a unique appeal, making political issues more readily accepted by the public (Rois et al., 2024). With this approach, politics is no longer viewed as rigid, but rather as a relevant and engaging part of everyday life.

Despite demonstrating high levels of engagement, Generation Z tends to be skeptical of political and government institutions. This distrust stems from low transparency, persistent corruption, and social inequality. However, this skepticism is not a form of apathy, but rather a reflection of a strong desire for change (Rahmawati et al., 2025). Dissatisfaction with the political system has driven Generation Z to create new channels to express their aspirations, both through social movements and digital campaigns. This critical stance demonstrates how Generation Z no longer relies on formal mechanisms like political parties, but instead prefers to utilize digital spaces to advocate for values of justice and openness (Simbolon et al., 2021). Therefore, institutional skepticism is driving the creation of new, more transparent and participatory forms of political participation.

Generation Z is known as an agent of innovation in politics. Their campaign strategies are digitally based, prioritize visual creativity, and are delivered in a communication style appropriate for a young audience (Syahputri & Katimin, 2024). This approach has proven effective in increasing political literacy among the wider public. Generation Z's campaign style focuses not only on candidate promotion but also on public education about social issues and policies. Creative campaigns using short videos, memes, and infographics are an efficient way to convey complex political messages in a light and engaging manner. Furthermore, this innovation encourages cross-generational participation because digital content is easily accessible and disseminated. This approach expands democratic space through active public engagement in political conversations (Rois et al., 2024).

Thus, the results of this study indicate that Generation Z's role in Indonesian politics extends beyond election activities to include digital engagement, critical attitudes toward political institutions, and innovation in political communication. This generation has introduced new approaches to politics that are more participatory, transparent, and creative. Through the power of technology and a spirit of change, Generation Z has the potential to be a key driver of Indonesia's political transformation toward a more democratic and inclusive system. This role reflects not only active participation in the electoral context but also an awareness of collective responsibility for building a better political future for all citizens.

DISCUSSION

The Role of Generation Z in Reshaping Indonesian Politics

The role of Generation Z in Indonesian politics is increasingly prominent, especially in the lead-up to the general election (Kuncoro et al., 2024). This generation is highly concerned with political and social issues. The advent of the internet has made Generation Z more open to political issues, increasing political participation and a deeper understanding of political information and knowledge (Ain et al., 2023).

Generation Z demonstrates active participation in elections, both as voters and campaigners (Septian & Wulandari, 2024). Living in the information technology era, Generation Z is known for being up-to-date with the latest information, making their mindset flexible, critical, and tolerant of differences. This differentiates Generation Z's perspective on politics. With their large numbers and unique characteristics, Generation Z is considered capable of making a significant contribution and influence in Indonesian politics (Wartoyo & Ginting, 2024). This demonstrates that Generation Z is not merely a bystander but also plays an active role in determining the country's political direction (Kurniawan et al., 2024).

Furthermore, Generation Z's ability to disseminate information through various social media platforms is significant. Generation Z's affinity for technology and social media makes them a fan of anything online. Generation Z produces engaging and entertaining content with strong appeal, enabling them to disseminate political issues in unique ways. This encourages people to explore engaging content (Firamadhina & Krisnani, 2021). In this way, Generation Z can foster a more critical public discourse and encourage discussion on important issues, such as environmental concerns and social justice.

As a generation with unique characteristics that differ from previous generations, Generation Z often displays doubts about existing political institutions, reflecting dissatisfaction with systems perceived as inadequate (Yahya, 2024). This encourages Generation Z to urge the government to improve its performance through social media. Generation Z frequently uses social media as a communication network to disseminate movements such as discussions, protests, and the like (Rahmawati et al., 2025). This demonstrates that this generation does not rely solely on formal channels to convey their aspirations but also uses collective action to exert pressure on the government.

Generation Z's understanding of and familiarity with social media also initiates innovations in political campaigns that differ from those of previous generations. Currently, many political campaigns are widely circulated on social media, packaged with engaging and relevant elements, visuals, audio, and formats (Taneerat & Dongnadeng, 2024). This generation conducts creative

political campaigns while still inspiring the public (Syahputri & Katimin, 2024). Thus, political campaigns conducted with this creative approach not only educate the public but also inspire people to get involved. By presenting political issues in an engaging format, Generation Z is able to create a more open and inclusive dialogue.

Generation Z also has the ability to influence public policy through mobilization and conveying aspirations to decision-makers. This generation's attention and concern for politics. When government policies are detrimental to the public, Generation Z can utilize social media to express criticism or even coordinate actions that mobilize the public, such as rallies, online petitions, and so on (Alifatunnisa et al., 2024). In this way, Generation Z plays a crucial role in the policy-making process that is more responsive to community needs.

This study argues that Generation Z is not simply a passive demographic but a transformative force in Indonesia's political landscape. Their digital activism and political engagement are reshaping the structure of democratic participation. These findings suggest that Gen Z's political engagement is not simply a consequence of technological convenience, but reflects a cultural transformation in democratic participation that marks a paradigm shift from conventional politics to network-based politics and digital communities.

Compared to Wahyudi & Loilatu's research, which highlighted Generation Z's political behavior in the virtual space and tended to focus on negative aspects such as hate speech and hoaxes, this study demonstrates the constructive side of Generation Z's use of digital media in building political awareness. Meanwhile, compared to Evita's study, which emphasized Generation Z's media usage patterns in seeking political information ahead of the 2024 elections, this study broadens the perspective by examining how these patterns develop into an active digital political movement. Compared with Ermawati's research, which discussed the role of Generation Z in election dynamics, this paper deepens the analysis by highlighting the cultural transformation and creativity of digital politics as a new force in the democratic system.

Based on these findings, it is recommended that the government and election management bodies consider youth-oriented political communication strategies by utilizing short-form visual content on social media platforms such as TikTok, Instagram Reels, and YouTube Shorts. This strategy will not only improve the political literacy of the younger generation but also strengthen their active participation in the democratic process. Furthermore, political parties need to adopt a more inclusive and creative approach to reaching young voters to make political communication more interactive and participatory.

The Role of Generation Z in Reshaping Indonesian Politics

In recent years, the role of Generation Z in Indonesian politics has become increasingly prominent, particularly in the lead-up to general elections. The presence of the internet and social media has shaped the way this generation thinks and acts in a political context. Social media has had a significant impact on Generation Z's political participation. As a broad and accessible platform for this generation, it helps them obtain information about potential leaders before elections and political issues (Mbuina et al., 2025). This demonstrates that social media plays a crucial role in shaping political dynamics, particularly for Generation Z in Indonesia. One of Generation Z's key roles is their ability to disseminate information through various social media platforms, such as TikTok, Instagram, Twitter, and others. Generation Z plays a crucial role through these platforms to share views, discuss, and respond to emerging political issues (Yanti et al., 2024).

Furthermore, Generation Z in Indonesia often expresses doubts about existing political institutions, reflecting dissatisfaction with a system they perceive as inadequate (Jayatissa, 2023). Driven by a desire to create positive change, this generation is seeking to engage in the political process, particularly in the lead-up to the 2024 presidential and legislative elections (Venus et al., 2025). Active participation is expected to drive political reform, increasing government accountability and transparency in decision-making. Through social media, Generation Z disseminates information and builds public discourse, encouraging discussion on important issues such as environmental sustainability and social justice. Thus, Generation Z's role is not solely focused on electing leaders but also on restructuring political structures, becoming drivers of greater change for a future democracy that is inclusive and responsive to the needs of the people (Mulyadi et al., 2024).

Furthermore, Generation Z also demonstrates innovation in political campaigns. As a generation familiar with social media, Generation Z utilizes social media content for engaging, entertaining, creative, and informative political campaigns. By incorporating a variety of visual elements in a relaxed style and packaged in a way that is highly relevant to current circumstances, Generation Z can engage the public in their political campaigns (Mulyadi et al., 2024). Therefore, campaign strategies that prioritize creativity by this generation are more effective in capturing public attention and bringing new innovations to Indonesian political campaigns (Kulau, 2024). In politics, which ultimately results in public policy, Generation Z also plays a role. Generation Z has the ability to influence public policy in various ways, particularly by mobilizing and conveying their aspirations to decision-makers (Wijaya et al., 2024). Generation Z's political awareness and use of technology can enable them to organize movements and campaigns that

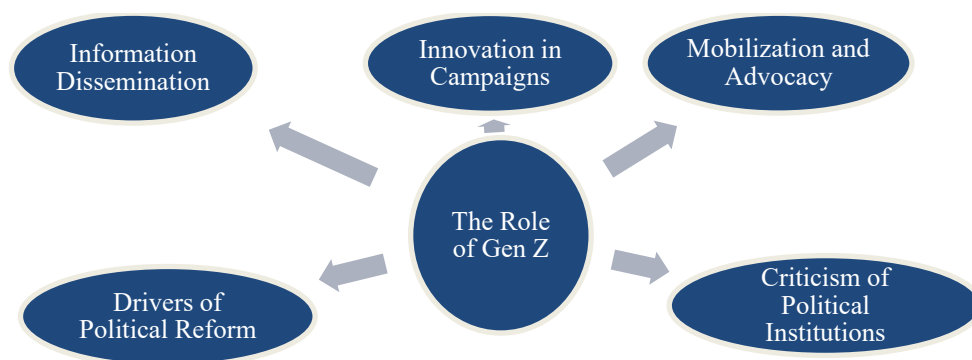
capture public attention and thus influence public policy (Sadikin, 2025). If Generation Z feels that a policy is inappropriate, they can initiate a public outreach campaign to change it. Therefore, Generation Z's role in shaping public policy is crucial.

Thus, Generation Z's role in Indonesian politics reflects a significant shift in how individuals interact with politics and government (Dewi et al., 2025). With their potential, this generation is expected to be a catalyst for positive change, helping build a more responsive and democratic political system (Panzi & Dewantara, 2023).

Therefore, the role of Generation Z in Indonesian politics reflects a significant shift in how individuals interact with politics and government. With their potential, this generation is expected to be a catalyst for positive change, helping build a more responsive and democratic political system. Furthermore, the findings in this section also corroborate Evita's research, which shows that although Generation Z's political information consumption is incidental and short-lived, they still prioritize the authenticity and credibility of the information. However, unlike that research, this study finds that Generation Z not only consumes information but also actively produces and distributes it as a form of digital political participation. These findings broaden the understanding of how Generation Z acts not only as an audience but also as a digital political actor capable of influencing public opinion.

The role of Generation Z in reshaping Indonesian politics can be presented in the following image.

Figure 1. The Role of Generation Z in Reshaping Indonesian Politics



The Future of Generation Z in Indonesian Politics

The future of Generation Z in Indonesian politics promises exciting dynamics and potential. Generation Z, accustomed to and dominated by technology since childhood, has extensive access to information and interaction with political issues. This generation will significantly influence the future direction of Indonesian politics (Yulida & Tarigan, 2024).

Generation Z shows significant interest in politics, especially as elections approach. With critical thinking and no longer dictated by their parents, Generation Z has the independence to make their own political choices (Faisal et al., 2025). Active involvement in politics creates opportunities for Generation Z to form their own views and aspirations. With better access to information, this generation can critically examine potential leaders and policies (Mulyono, 2024). This suggests that the future of Indonesian politics will be influenced by the voices and choices of this younger generation, who are increasingly aware of their rights and responsibilities as citizens (Adi et al., 2024).

Social media has become a primary tool for Generation Z to communicate and share political views. Generation Z utilizes social media effectively to disseminate political issues, as political content, movements, and discussions are generated through social media (Setyanti et al., 2024). The use of social media for innovative political campaigns is one of the hallmarks of this generation. The content they produce often combines engaging visual elements with a strong message. This approach not only makes information easier to digest but also encourages discussion and engagement among peers (Rois et al., 2024). In this way, Generation Z can shape public opinion and influence the direction of government policy.

Despite showing a strong interest in politics, Generation Z is often skeptical of existing political institutions. Dissatisfaction with a system perceived as incapable of serving them drives this generation to demand accountability and transparency from leaders (Armani & Inayatullah, 2024). This skepticism reflects a desire for real change in the political system. This dissatisfaction can also be a driving force for political innovation. Generation Z tends to seek alternative solutions and boldly raise critical questions about existing policies. With a passion for change, this generation does not hesitate to get involved in social movements demanding reform (Simbolon et al., 2021). The future of Indonesian politics will likely be influenced by Generation Z's ability to drive change and fight for social justice.

Generation Z has great potential to influence future public policy. By mobilizing and conveying their aspirations to decision-makers, this generation can shift attention to issues they deem important (Stewart, 2022). Involvement in social movements, campaigns, and political advocacy can result in significant changes in public policy. By leveraging technology, Generation Z can organize campaigns that capture the attention of the wider public (Sumerta et al., 2024). Online petitions, advocacy, and collective action are effective methods for voicing their aspirations. When the resulting policies do not meet expectations, this generation can initiate movements to change them (Chen et al., 2021). Therefore, the future of Generation Z in

Indonesian politics will depend heavily on how effectively this generation can influence decision-making.

To reinforce these findings, this study asserts that the future of Indonesian politics will be determined by Generation Z's ability to balance digital activism with conventional political participation. Efforts are needed from educational institutions, the government, and political parties to provide political education relevant to the digital world so this generation can channel their aspirations constructively. With such support, Generation Z will become not only consumers of information, but also producers of ideas and agents of change, contributing to a more participatory and sustainable democracy.

CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated that Generation Z occupies a pivotal position in reshaping Indonesian politics through multifaceted forms of participation, ranging from electoral engagement and digital campaigning to issue-based activism and policy advocacy. In line with the research objectives, the analysis shows that Generation Z not only assumes the role of voters, but also functions as agenda-setters and political communicators who strategically leverage social media to construct narratives, mobilize support, and scrutinize state performance. These patterns of engagement indicate a shift from conventional, party-centric participation toward more fluid, networked, and digitally mediated modes of political involvement.

The key findings suggest that Generation Z's combination of technological fluency, critical orientation toward political institutions, and preference for issue-focused politics carries significant implications for the quality of democracy and public policy responsiveness in Indonesia. Their activities contribute to expanding the public sphere, enhancing political accountability, and encouraging more inclusive and participatory forms of governance. Conceptually, the study contributes to the existing body of knowledge by offering a comprehensive mapping of Indonesian Generation Z's digital political behavior, thereby enriching debates on youth, digital democracy, and political transformation in the Global South. Future research should employ longitudinal and mixed-method designs to track behavioral changes beyond the 2024 general election, investigate variations across regional and rural contexts, and conduct cross-national comparisons to better understand how digital political engagement among youth may reconfigure democratic practices in diverse socio-political settings.

REFERENCES

- [1] Abdussamad, Z. (2021). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Makassar: CV. Syakir Media Press.

- [2] Adi, N., Raden, S., Varizza, P., Nana, A., Andreas, S., & Roberto, P. (2024). Literature Study : Dynamics of Young Generation Political Ethics in the Digital Era. *Malikussaleh Social & Political Reviews*, 5(1), 23–29. [https://doi.org/Malikussaleh Social & Political Reviews Volume 5, Number 1, Mei 2024 ISSN 2746-8100](https://doi.org/Malikussaleh%20Social%20and%20Political%20Reviews%20Volume%205,%20Number%201,%20Mei%202024%20ISSN%202746-8100) (online) DOI: 10.29103/mspr.v5i1.16283
- [3] Ahmed, S. K. (2024). The pillars of trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Journal of Medicine, Surgery, and Public Health*, 2(January), 100051. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.glmedi.2024.100051>
- [4] Ain, Q., Sari, A., & Candrasari, Y. (2023). Penggunaan Media Sosial Tiktok Sebagai Sarana Informasi Politik Generasi Z. *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidikan*, 9(21), 568–578. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10081522>
- [5] Alifatunnisa, H., Azzahra, M., & Nurfalah, F. (2024). Political Communication Strategies In The Digital Era For Generation Z Voters. *Eduty*, 3(11), 1026–1036. <https://doi.org/https://edunity.publikasikupublisher.com>
- [6] Alvara Research Center. (2022). Gen Z: Millennial 2.0? Perbedaan Karakter dan Perilakunya. *Alvara Beyond Insight*, 1–42. [https://alvara-strategic.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Gen-Z : -Millennial-2.0 ? -Perbedaan-Karakter-dan-Perilakunya.pdf](https://alvara-strategic.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Gen-Z%3A-Millennial-2.0-Perbedaan-Karakter-dan-Perilakunya.pdf)
- [7] Armani, & Inayatullah, F. (2024). Positive and Negative of Gen Z perception on politicians in Indonesia. *Journal of Career and Entrepreneurship*, 3(1), 29–42. <https://doi.org/10.22219/jce.v3i1.35329>
- [8] Arum, L. S., Zahrani, A., & Duha, N. A. (2023). Karakteristik Generasi Z dan Kesiapannya dalam Menghadapi Bonus Demografi 2030. *Accounting Student Research Journal*, 2(1), 59–72. <https://doi.org/10.62108/asrj.v2i1.5812>
- [9] Azizah, N. (2023). *JPPI (Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Indonesia) Social movement as a form of online political participation in social media-NC-SA license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0) Corresponding Author*. 9(4), 46–55. [https://doi.org/DOI: https://doi.org/10.29210/0202312255](https://doi.org/DOI:https://doi.org/10.29210/0202312255)
- [10] Bilişli, Y., Çakmak, F., Zetter, S. A., & Ünal, M. I. (2024). Navigating truth and disinformation: A comparative analysis of generational responses to the 6 February 2023 earthquake in digital media in Türkiye. *Heliyon*, 10(19). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2024.e38667>
- [11] Chen, Z., Oh, P., & Chen, A. (2021). The Role of Online Media in Mobilizing Large-Scale Collective Action. *Social Media and Society*, 7(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211033808>
- [12] Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, D. J. (2018). A Mixed-Method Approach. In *Writing Center Talk over Time*. Sage Publication. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429469237-3>
- [13] Dewi, E. S. D., Sanofi, Z., Wibowo, K. A., & Arifin, H. s. (2025). Political communication preferences of Generation Z in West Java: insights from an explanatory sequential study. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 30(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2025.2512841>
- [14] Dewi, I. G. A. A. O. (2021). Understanding data collection methods in qualitative research: the perspective of interpretive accounting research. *Journal of Tourism Economics and Policy*, 1(1), 23–34. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.38142/jtep.v1i1.102> Introduction
- [15] Ermawati. (2024). Peran Generasi Z Dalam Menghadapi Dinamika Pemilu di Indonesia. *Maliki Interdisciplinary Journal (MIJ)*, 2(6). <https://doi.org/1648-1652>
- [16] Evita, N. (2023). Generasi Z Dalam Pemilu: Pola Bermedia Generasi Z Dalam Pencarian Informasi Politik. *Electoral Governance Jurnal Tata Kelola Pemilu Indonesia*, 5(1), 47–66. <https://doi.org/10.46874/tpk.v5i1.1051>
- [17] Faisal, N., Abdullah, T., Mulyadi, M., Abubakar, M. bin, & Muzaffarsyah, T. (2025). From Identity to Evaluation: Political Reorientation among Generation Z Voters in Post-Conflict

- Aceh. *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama Indonesia (JSai)*, 6(1), 97–108. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jsai.v6i1.7662>
- [18] Firamadhina, F. I. R., & Krisnani, H. (2021). Perilaku Generasi Z Terhadap Penggunaan Media Sosial Tiktok: Tiktok Sebagai Media Edukasi dan Aktivisme. *Share : Social Work Journal*, 10(2), 199. <https://doi.org/10.24198/share.v10i2.31443>
- [19] Goodstats. (2020). *Sensus BPS: Saat Ini Indonesia Didominasi Oleh Gen Z*. Good Statistics. <https://data.goodstats.id/statistic/sensus-bps-saat-ini-indonesia-didominasi-oleh-gen-z-n9kqv>
- [20] Hadi, A., Asrori, & Rusman. (2022). *Penelitian Kualitatif, Study Fenomenology, Case Study, Grounded Theory, Etnografi, Biographi*. Purwokerto: CV Media Persada.
- [21] Hardani, Andriani, H., Ustiawaty, J., Utami, E. F., Istiqomah, R. R., Fardani, R. A., Sukmana, D. J., & Auliya, N. H. (2020). Metode Penelitian Kualitatif & Kuantitatif. In H. Abadi (Ed.), *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada* (1st ed., Vol. 5, Issue 1). Yogyakarta: CV. Pustaka Ilmu.
- [22] Hemastuti, T., Hidayat, D., Nurhadi, Z. F., & Rina, N. (2025). Construction of gen Z political insights after watching “Bacapres Bicara Gagasan” on YouTube. *Jurnal ASPIKOM*, 9(2), 315. <https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v9i2.1454>
- [23] Jayatissa, K. A. D. U. (2023). Generation Z – A New Lifeline: A Systematic Literature Review. *Sri Lanka Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 3(2), 179–186. <https://doi.org/10.4038/sljssh.v3i2.110>
- [24] Kartal, M. Y., & Köksal, D. (2025). Understanding Technology Use Intentions Among Generation Z English Language Learners: A Correlational Study. *Novitas-ROYAL*, 19(1), 60–80. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.15210490>
- [25] KPU. (2023). 55% Pemilih Didominasi Generasi Muda, Bantu KPU dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemilu 2024. Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi. <https://www.kpu.go.id/berita/baca/11684/55-pemilih-didominasi-generasi-muda-bantu-kpu-dalam-penyelenggaraan-pemilu-2024>
- [26] Kulau, F. (2024). Tiktok, Instagram and Presidential Election: A Study to Understand How Politainment in Indonesian Political Campaigns 2024. *Informasi*, 54(2), 164–176. <https://doi.org/10.21831/informasi.v54i2.77889>
- [27] Kuncoro, W., Wisadirana, D., & Mashuri, A. (2024). Characteristics Of Generation Z On Social Media Ahead of the 2024 Election in Indonesia. *International Journal of Religion*, 5(10), 4312–4318. <https://doi.org/10.61707/kjeegez45>
- [28] Kurniawan, A., Premananto, G. C., Candraningrat, C., Aprilus, A., & Hidayati, R. (2024). Generation Z Participation in Politics an Approach To Consumer Behavior Theory. *Business and Finance Journal*, 9(1), 12–25. <https://doi.org/10.33086/bfj.v9i1.5828>
- [29] Mbuinga, M. Y., Wantu, S. M., & Hamim, U. (2025). Role of Social Media in Shaping the Political Perception of Youth in Tanggikiki Urban Village During the 2024 General Election. *International Journal of Health, Economicx, and Social Sciences (IJHESS)*, 7(3), 1041–1050. <https://doi.org/10.56338/ijhess.v7i3.8088>
- [30] Mestika, Z. (2014). *Metode Penelitian Kepustakaan*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- [31] Miles, & Huberman. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. United State of America: Sage Publications.
- [32] Mulyadi, D., Lananda, A., Simbolon, C. C., Alvian, C. K. M. S., Farraz, M. I., & Perdana, Z. A. (2024). Pengaruh Media Massa Terhadap Generasi Z Sebagai Partisipasi Pemilu 2024: Ditinjau dari Teori Demokrasi. *Rio Law Jurnal*, 5(1), 53–59. <http://dx.doi.org/10.36355/v1i2>
- [33] Mulyono, A. (2024). Gen Z Political Participation in the 2024 Simultaneous Elections. *Informatika Dan Sains*, 14(1), 1099–1107. <https://doi.org/10.54209/infosains.v14i01>
- [34] Naamy, N. (2019). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Dasar-dasar dan Aplikasinya*. Mataram:

Pusat Penelitian dan Publikasi Ilmiah LP2M UIN Mataram.

- [35] Noer Arfah, I., Junaedi, J., & Mustari, N. (2025). Political Dynamics and Challenges of Local Elections 2024 in Bulukumba Regency, Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Local Politics*, 4(1), 117–128. <https://doi.org/10.46507/jclp.v4i1.710>
- [36] Ojoboh, T. M., & Igben, H. G. O. (2024). Impact of Research Methodology on Data Quality and Research Findings. *JPPUMA: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Dan Sosial Politik UMA (Journal of Governance and Political Social UMA)*, 12(1), 34–42. <https://doi.org/10.31289/jppuma.v12i1.11793>
- [37] Panzi, U., & Dewantara, J. A. (2023). Political Sensitive Design : Raising Public Awareness of Political Money. *JED (Jurnal Etika Demokrasi)*, 8(4), 560–570. <https://doi.org/10.26618/jed.v%vi%i.11833>
- [38] Rahmawati, Y., Lestari, B. P., Saputra, D. K., Surya, R., Lingga, D., & Siti, L. (2025). Kemandirian Generasi Z dalam Politik : Studi Tentang FoMO dan Media Sosial. *Jurnal Komputer, Informasi Dan Teknologi*, 5(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53697/jkomitek.v5i1.2269>
- [39] Rois, A. D., Politik, M. I., Ilmu, F., Politik, I., & Diponegoro, U. (2024). *Peran Media Baru dalam Meningkatkan Partisipasi Politik Generasi Z (Studi : Penggunaan TikTok sebagai Sarana Pemasaran Politik Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa Menuju Pemilu 2024) The Role of New Media in Increasing Political Participation of Generation Z (St. 7(2), 575–587. <https://doi.org/10.34007/jehss.v7i2.2418>*
- [40] Sadikin, K. R. (2025). The Influence of Social Media Use on the Political Participation of Generation Z. *De Cive : Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Pancasila Dan Kewarganegaraan*, 5(2), 52–61. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.56393/decive.v5i2.2499> This
- [41] Sari, M., & Asmendri. (2020). Penelitian Kepustakaan (Library Research) dalam Penelitian Pendidikan IPA. *Natural Science: Jurnal Penelitian Bidang IPA Dan Pendidikan IPA*, 6(1), 41–53.
- [42] Septian, E., & Wulandari, S. (2024). Smart Political Movement: Building Political Literacy With Z Generation Participation in The 2024 Elections. *Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia*, 50(1), 147–161. <https://doi.org/10.55981/jmi.2024.8703>
- [43] Setyanti, W. Y., Ridho, S., & Irfanudeen, F. (2024). Tiktok Social Media and Democracy: A Study on Generation Z in Australia Indonesia Youth Association (Aiya) Yogyakarta. *Eduvest - Journal of Universal Studies*, 4(12), 11808–11823. <https://doi.org/10.59188/eduvest.v4i12.50109>
- [44] Simbolon, S., Kurniason, H. T., & Simbolon, T. N. (2021). Pengembangan Instrument Tes Berpikir Kritis Gen-Z Dalam Materi Manusia dan Cinta. *Ganaya : Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 4(2), 607–622. <https://doi.org/10.37329/ganaya.v4i2.1379>
- [45] Stewart, S. (2022). Contemporary Business Issues I. *Contemporary Business Issues I*, 25(1). <https://doi.org/10.37609/akya.130>
- [46] Sugiyono. (2013). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D* (19th ed.). Bandung: Alfabeta.
- [47] Sumerta, I. K., Premananto, G. C., Samadara, P. D., Effasa, A. S., & Perbawa, N. I. (2024). Political Branding and the Gen Z Vote: A Phenomenological Study of Young Voters in Indonesia. *Journal of Logistics, Informatics and Service Science*, 11(6), 407–422. <https://doi.org/10.33168/JLISS.2024.0624>
- [48] Swift, A. (2022). Being Creative with Resources in Qualitative Research. In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research Design* (Issue April). Sage Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781529770278.n19>
- [49] Syahputri, I. B., & Katimin. (2024). Pengaruh Aktivis Mahasiswa Dalam Perubahan Sosial Politik. *Ganaya : Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 7(4), 25–36. <https://jayapanguspress.penerbit.org/index.php/ganaya>
- [50] Taneerat, W., & Dongnadeng, H. A. (2024). Digital Political Trends and Behaviors among

- Generation Z in Thailand. *Southeast Asian Studies*, 13(3), 521–545.
https://doi.org/10.20495/seas.13.3_521
- [51] Venus, A., Intyaswati, D., Ayuningtyas, F., & Lestari, P. (2025). Political participation in the digital age: Impact of influencers and advertising on Generation Z. *Cogent Arts and Humanities*, 12(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2025.2520063>
- [52] Wahyudi, W., & Loilatu, M. J. (2023). Analisis Perilaku Politik Generasi Milenial Dan Z Indonesia Dalam Virtual Sphere. *Sosio Edukasi Jurnal Studi Masyarakat Dan Pendidikan*, 6(2), 110–125. <https://doi.org/10.29408/sosedu.v6i2.22783>
- [53] Wartoyo, F. X., & Ginting, Y. P. (2024). Sosialisasi Generasi Z Dalam Partisipasi Pemilu 2024. *Jurnal Multidisiplin West Science*, 3(02), 132–143. <https://doi.org/10.58812/jmws.v3i02.963>
- [54] Wijaya, I., Sitompul, F. K. T., Harju, L. M., Payokwa, M. K., & Insoraky, W. A. (2024). The influence of digital competence on generation z's political participation in the city of Jayapura. *Tamalanrea: Journal of Government and Development (JGD)*, 1(3), 52–62. <https://doi.org/10.69816/jgd.v1i3.42588>
- [55] Yahya, M. A. (2024). Targeting generation Z: A systematic literature review (SLR) and bibliometric analysis for effective marketing. *Journal of Politics, Economy and Management*, 7(1), 21–44.
- [56] Yanti, S., Hudi, I., Asmawati, T., Putri, A., & Pira, W. (2024). Analisis Peran Dan Pengaruh Media Sosial Terhadap Pemilu 2024. *Ilmu Pemerintahan Dan Administrasi Publik*, 2, 18. <https://doi.org/https://journal.wiyatapublisher.or.id/index.php/kybernology>
- [57] Yulida, D., & Tarigan, V. C. E. (2024). Digital Democracy in Indonesia: Challenges and Opportunities for Generation Z Political Participation. *Konferensi Nasional Asosiasi Pengajar Hukum Tata Negara Dan Hukum Administrasi Negara*, 2(1), 157–180. <https://doi.org/10.55292/xcb160>
- [58] Zakariah, M. A., & Afriani, V. (2021). *Analisis Statistik Dengan SPSS Untuk Penelitian Kuantitatif*. Kolaka: Yayasan Pondok Pesantren Al Mawaddah Warrahmah Kolaka.