

Preparing Smart Voters: Political Education and Public Policy Awareness Among High School Students (Case Study in SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, dan SMAN 1 Singaraja, Bali)

^a Gede Sandiasa; ^b Ni Ketut Sudianing

^{a,b} Program Studi Administrasi Publik, Jurusan Administrasi, Universitas Panji Sakti, Singaraja, Bali, Indonesia

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi peran pendidikan politik dan internalisasi kebijakan publik dalam meningkatkan kecerdasan politik pemilih pemula di SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, dan SMAN 1 Singaraja, Bali. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pendekatan kualitatif, dalam paradigma case study. Case study dalam riset ini diaplikasikan melalui wawancara, FGD dan observasi, bertujuan mengkaji peran pendidikan politik dalam meningkatkan kecerdasan politik dan dimensi public policy pada pemilih pemula di SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, dan SMAN 1 Singaraja. Temuan empiris menunjukkan pemilih pemula masih berada pada tingkat kecerdasan politik dan sensitivitas kebijakan sosial moderat dan belum mampu mengaitkan pengetahuan tersebut dengan evaluasi kritis terhadap calon atau kebijakan. Tingginya partisipasi pemilih pemula dalam pemilu sangat krusial untuk kemajuan demokrasi, sehingga pemahaman yang baik tentang sistem politik dan proses pemilu sangat dibutuhkan oleh siswa. Pendidikan politik berperan sebagai instrumen utama dalam mengatasi rendahnya pemahaman politik, minimnya minat politik, serta tantangan penyebaran informasi hoaks yang sering dihadapi pemilih pemula.

ABSTRACT

This study aimed to explore the role of political education and public policy internalization in improving the political intelligence of first-time voters at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja, Bali. The method used in this study was a qualitative approach, within a case study paradigm. The case study in this research was conducted through interviews, FGDs, and observations to examine the role of political education in enhancing political intelligence and the public policy dimension among first-time voters at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja. Empirical findings indicated that first-time voters were still at a moderate level of political intelligence and social policy sensitivity and were not yet able to connect this knowledge to a critical evaluation of candidates or policies. The high participation of first-time voters in elections was crucial for the advancement of democracy, making a good understanding of the political system and the electoral process essential for students. Political education is a primary instrument in addressing the low level of political experience, the lack of political interest, and the challenges of spreading false information that first-time voters frequently face.

INTRODUCTION

Political education is a significant element in shaping the character and political awareness of society, especially among first-time voters. Politically experienced first-time voters will understand the government system, the electoral process, and their rights and obligations as citizens in a democratic system. Therefore, political education at the secondary school level, especially in high schools, plays an important role in preparing the younger generation to actively participate in the political process (Evans, 2023). Political education not only provides

ARTICLE HISTORY

Submitted: 15 08 2025

Revised: 01 02 2026

Accepted: 12 05 2026

Published: 06 06 2026

KATA KUNCI

Pendidikan Politik; Kebijakan Sosial; Pemilih Pemula

KEYWORDS

Political Education; Social Policy; First-Time Voters

basic knowledge about the political system but also plays a role in developing critical attitudes and student participation in politics. This is important so that first-time voters not only have political knowledge but also the ability to analyze political issues relevant to their lives (Casuso, 2022).

From the perspective of sociology and public policy, the political praxis of the younger generation is interpreted as a “social text” that substantially contains progressive ideas or concepts. Subsequently, these progressive ideas are followed up by generalizing individual actions. Generalization indicates the presence of “social power” that directly shapes corporeal order and behavioral aspects, because the existence of the individual body is capable of representing a certain identity. This is because the body is a non-neutral arena, as it can be “assembled and disassembled” using certain political attributes attached to it.

The theoretical dimension of political education implies the creation of a level of thinking and contextualization regarding public policy knowledge. This is in line with the character of politics and the political subject itself. It is explained that political subjects who possess knowledge about the foundations of politicization play a role in observing aspects of the public sphere (*res publica*) (Steele, 2017). Over these aspects of legitimacy, political subjects formulate a policy to be implemented in social, political, economic, cultural, and other spheres of life. Life within this multidimensional scope requires political knowledge in formulating public policies to create social justice or social equilibrium (J. Schulz, 2022). The development of political discipline and education in public policy formulation focuses on efforts to improve the economic curve or social welfare, to enhance the welfare of the broader community (Ioris, 2023). Social (public) policy will become an instrument used by political agents to strengthen relationships and monitor the performance of society. The idea of dynamizing the welfare state concept highlights industrialization, interest in political groups, pressure on workers, and efforts to influence civil service by political elites (Tarca, 2018).

The idea of public policy and youth political movements can be seen in the dimension of n-Ach (need for achievement) or achievement motivation as a sublimation to maximize leisure time, and creating innovations as a way to catch up with announced backwardness. This theory has received a lot of attention because it is considered centralistic, emphasizing the nature of youth as the center of truth. To dismantle the dominance of conservative discourse in contemporary politics. This time, resistance has emerged in the form of 'counter-discourse' from the youth, as an effort to redefine their position in the public constellation. The emergence of 'counter-discourse' as a resonance from the youth serves as a tool and unit of analysis in order to trace the structure of inequality. The structure of inequality emerges in the realm of young people's experiences that are unrecognized, submerged, and simply ignored. Thus, historically, this misrecognition and powerlessness have rendered young people as 'silent subjects' – especially in the global age.

In youth research and studies, the role of the younger generation at the aspirational level sees marginalized groups as having an equal and significant role in contributing to the development of the economic base, such as jobs in agriculture, trade, arts, and other productive activities (Honneth, 2017). In another research, the younger generation has received political education and possesses reasoning skills in public policy formulation. Furthermore, political education has a linearity with the world of work and capital accumulation in creating welfare (Deranty & Dunstall, 2017). Political education, public service policy, and the political aspirations of the younger generation are important to present because they have a reflective dimension in viewing existing social policies. On the other hand, the presence of the younger generation who have internalized the values of political education has adopted a critical stance in viewing the

relationship between the state, capital accumulation, and the circulation of power among the people. The role of this younger generation can be seen from the interdependence between the state and the economic system (Featherstone, 2020). Social policies created by the government often lead to conflicts and ultimately create inequality. Inequality in the order of a state with policy concepts is not merely viewed from its efforts to create welfare, but rather the regulations made are used to organize the powers of the upper class (Pieterse, 2020). The younger generation acts as agents who critique those matters.

In essence, young people are agents of social and political change. They are in a phase of life characterized by energy, idealism, courage, creativity, and a critical perspective on various societal issues. In the political context, young people are not just an age group, but a moral, intellectual, and social force that can influence the direction of national and state life. Politics is fundamentally not just about parties, elections, or public offices, but involves the decision-making processes that affect our collective lives. Therefore, when young people talk about education, job opportunities, the environment, social justice, human rights, technology, or corruption, they are actually engaging in politics.

Research on public policy and political education in Indonesia has been conducted by several researchers. First, the publication titled "Collaborative Governance of Tourism Policy of Bali Province, Policy Study based on Local Wisdom Sad Kerthi" explains the political education purposes to encourage every individual to view the contextualization of political policies. Contextualization and correction of a policy can begin in the school setting as the primary foundation for the birth of critical thinking initiated by students (Kerti et al., 2025). Then, the research titled "Public Sector Synergy for Poverty Alleviation (Institutional Collaboration in Blitar Local Government)" explains how political education and public policy face multidimensional challenges, as it requires the simultaneous action of every individual, especially the younger generation, in applying critical thinking to oversee policy practices in society. The support of the younger generation is required to actualize the optimization of public policy so that it benefits the wider public (Saleh & Mustofa, 2025).

Young people are not objects that merely receive policies, but subjects who have the right to voice their aspirations, criticize power, and participate in determining the future of the nation. History shows that major changes are often spearheaded by the younger generation. They emerge as reformers when the political system experiences stagnation, injustice, or a crisis of public trust. In a democracy, young people play an important role in upholding the values of freedom, participation, equality, transparency, and accountability so that politics is not dominated by the narrow interests of certain elites. Young people as a bridge between the present and the future. Young people live at the intersection of current realities and future hopes. Therefore, their involvement in politics is crucial so that public policies do not only favor short-term interests but also focus on sustainability and future generations.

From the contextualization of public policy research above, the topic relevant to this study can be seen. This topic locates public policy and the role of each individual as an essential scheme that must be implemented. However, the research gap can be seen in this study, which places the role of the younger generation, particularly in the school setting, as a bearing for generating critical ideas regarding the application of public policy, especially in the political dimension. The novelty of this research can be found in the research subjects, which target high school students, the political stimulation to improve the public policy system, and their participation in public elections to transform existing policy practices. The relationship between public service and political education is very close and mutually influential, especially in the context of democratic development and the quality of citizenship. Public service is not just an administrative activity,

but also a real political learning space for the community. Thru interaction with the bureaucracy, particularly academic community schools, citizens learn about their rights and obligations as citizens, how the state and government work, public decision-making procedures, and the values of justice, transparency, and accountability. In other words, public services function as informal political education experienced directly by citizens.

The role of young people in politics is very broad. It doesn't always have to be about being a party member or a state official. Politics can be carried out thru various spaces of participation. The most fundamental role of young people is to be agents of change. They can drive social and political transformation toward a more just, democratic, and people-oriented system. Young people can become agents of change by criticizing unjust policies, offering solutions to public issues, building a healthy political culture, and mobilizing society to care about common issues. In history, youth movements have often been the driving force of national change, especially when society needs a voice of courage and moral awareness.

Political education equips society, particularly the academic community in schools, with an understanding of the right to public services, awareness to monitor government policies and performance, and the ability to express aspirations, criticisms, and demands democratically. A politically literate society will be more active in using public services, criticizing service quality, and participating in public policy planning and evaluation. On the other hand, the relationship between public service and political education is also evident in the dimension of democratic values, which reflect the values of political education, such as equality (service without discrimination), participation (deliberation, citizen forums, aspiration-based services), transparency (open and easily accessible information), and accountability (complaint and evaluation mechanisms). These values, when experienced directly, become more effective political lessons than mere theory.

Young people hold a strategic position in political life for several reasons. In many countries, including Indonesia, the population of the younger generation is very large. This means that they are a demographic force capable of determining the direction of political outcomes and public policies. Young people tend to be more open to change, technology, innovation, and new ideas. This enables them to bring a fresh perspective to political issues that are often approached with outdated methods. In the era of social media and digital transformation, young people have become the most active group in the production and dissemination of information. This gives them a significant influence in shaping public opinion. Today's policies will be felt the longest by the younger generation. Therefore, their involvement in politics is not just a choice, but a historical and moral necessity.

This research focused on the role of political education and knowledge of public policy in enhancing the political intelligence of first-time voters at three high schools in Bali: SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja. This research is purposed to explore how the political education received by students can influence their level of political intelligence, as well as the factors that support or hinder this political education process. Political intelligence in this study referred to the concept of political literacy, encompassing political knowledge, analytical skills, and a participatory attitude in making informed political decisions. While understanding the political system and election procedures is crucial, political intelligence also includes the capacity to evaluate political data and engage in political activities, both of which must be fostered through education.

Although many studies examine political education at the higher education level, very few address political education at the high school level, especially in Indonesia. This research is important because first-time voters play a significant role in determining the direction of public

policy and leadership in the future. Good political participation does not only depend on the knowledge possessed but also on attitudes that support active participation and the ability of the younger generation to create schemes while also critiquing public policies. Therefore, a deep understanding of how political education at the high school level can shape their political intelligence is very much needed. Based on the description, the formulation of the problem statement in this research is: a) how does the role of political education in the involvement in public policy formulation and the political intelligence of first-time voters at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja? b) What factors support and prevent the impact of political education and public policy concepts at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja? This research's goal is to investigate the linearity between political education, public policy, and the role of the younger generation, while also offering an approach to teaching political education at the high school level.

Literature Review

To analyze the distinction with previous publications, this research will examine and review the scope of existing research discussions. The goal is to find novelties and differences, so that it can contribute to providing a new paradigm. First, the research conducted by Sara McPhee Knowle and William Boland, titled "The Policy Shop: Innovation, Partnerships and Capacity-building", explains that first-time voters, consisting of young generations using their voting rights for the first time, often face challenges in understanding the dynamics of politics. These first-time voters tend to have a high level of enthusiasm, but still lack a deep understanding of the electoral process and their role in democracy. The younger generation often struggles to analyze complex political information and tends to be more susceptible to the influence of political propaganda. Therefore, good and effective political education is greatly needed to equip them with the knowledge and skills required to make informed political decisions (Knowles & Boland, 2016). The distinction between previous research and the current study is evident in the explanation that brings forth other implications created by the constellation of social policies with the presence of cultural life elements. That aspect is the main topic regarding the role of the younger generation in creating social justice, and the position of the younger generation that should not be subordinated. That topic is dislocated from the macro discourse of the state. What should not be overlooked in this discussion is the emergence of the state as a new social and economic force that dislocates the role of the youth. Through the ability to analyze public policy and the presence of criticism in analyzing economic, social, or political power, it is utilized by the younger generation to maximize their roles and duties in providing public services. It can be seen that the acceleration of the younger generation from the perspective of modernization theory, which emphasizes the role of the state in stimulating the younger generation to improve the productivity of political ideas and public services, enhances the acceleration of public policy. Thus, ideologically, the social policies achieved by the state involve the participation of the younger generation.

Second, the research conducted by Tauchid Komara Yuda, titled "Re-Examining the Institutional Layering of Social Policy Configuration in Indonesia", explained that political literacy is the ability of individuals to understand and analyze political information, as well as engage critically and responsibly in the political process. High political literacy encompasses several aspects, such as political knowledge, analytical skills, and participatory attitudes. This literacy is very important for first-time voters so that they can understand relevant political issues and make decisions based on valid information.

Knowledge about the political system and political parties is an essential foundation, but the skills to evaluate and analyze sources of political information must also be developed. The distinction between previous research and the current study is evident in the concept of the younger generation, which is closely related to sociological facts, political values, and public policy ideas. In politics, the idea of "public interest" from the youth generation implies the formation of values, ethics, and social structures. Politics, as a rigid state mechanism related to economic growth and progressiveness measured statistically, has undergone an expansion of meaning. The political activities of the younger generation and their utilization of knowledge about public policy are transitioning into "new social movements", raising issues of gender, women, ethnicity, age, disability, and sexuality. By interpreting the slogan "everyone is political", the younger generation, using the context of political literacy and public policy, not only talks about what can be quantified, but also considers the sociological elements that must be taken into account. Essentially, the task of the younger generation is to create equality in the "conversation" of citizens, strengthening social capital in a heterogeneous reality. The fundamental principle of justice, as an integral part of public policy, will be chosen by the younger generation from rational values as an original position (Yuda, 2020). Justice in the principle of citizenship is formed from a set of rights. The rights of citizens (especially the younger generation) operate in two realms, namely the "natural" realm and the realm of human rights values. Becoming a citizen means becoming part of the national community. The reflective idea from the younger generation that can be developed to explain the political context and the internalization of social policy aspects is to demand the presence of the state as an important element in creating balance and becoming the main basis in preventing catastrophe. The state, through the role of the younger generation with all its strength, resources, and political instruments, becomes an entity capable of directing social vision, especially social policies and welfare. An adequate political structure and strength, along with a stable legislative body, represent efforts to create regulations addressing the needs of citizens today and in the future. Without the involvement of the younger generation in the construction of public policy ideas, the vision to achieve balance or "social protection" cannot be realized (Yuda, 2020).

Third, the research titled "Connectivity of Accreditation Instrument Strengthening Policy in Realizing Excellent Primary and Secondary Education Services in Banten Province". This research discusses policy aspects of schools, involving various sectors. Policies at the school level aim to provide stimulation regarding public policy literacy and political circulation related to budget management, budget utilization, and so on. Students, as subjects in this policy, must play an active role in monitoring, controlling, and evaluating. Awareness of the policy should begin at the early stages of schooling, to habituate students' sensitivity to each policy (Jumanah et al., 2025).

Fourth, the research titled "Ethics-Driven Digital Learning Governance in the Civil Service". This research provides a visualization of public policy analysis, which relates to the effectiveness, capacity, quality, and application of policies within the government system. This context is important as an effort to show how public policy is implemented, corrected, and evaluated. Then, in every application or policy correction, an active subject is required; young people, to provide input, evaluation, and criticism on every existing policy (Herlina et al., 2025).

The state of the art in all four publications mentioned above equally focuses on public policy aspects and corrections to existing policy applications. Additionally, there are efforts to involve the role of other subjects, such as young people, in providing supervision

or control over every policy implementation. However, from the research above, there are several aspects that are not specifically discussed. Therefore, the absence of certain discussions becomes a potential novelty in the research.

Thus, the novelty in this research lies in the study's focus on high school students, the political stimulation to improve the public policy system, and their participation in public elections to transform existing policy practices. Furthermore, public policy is a product of political application, so the emphasis in this research is on examining the political dimension and involving active subjects, young people, particularly high school students. Research on public policy and politics conducted by high schools (SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja) is important because first-time voters are a potential group easily influenced by political propaganda and have unstable political attitudes. Political education is needed to develop the political intelligence of first-time voters so they can make rational and responsible political decisions.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses qualitative methods within the case study paradigm. The research scheme lays the foundation for a research design that views a reality considered dynamic. The perspective on the sub-research of the case study attempts to study several conditions that are considered the same or nomothetic. In this type, the case study, a phenomenon is analogized as singular, existing in an orderly condition, and producing a justification that is monological in nature (Qu, 2020; Walker & Baxter, 2019). The design of the research is fundamentally based on several aspects of rationality.

Data collection in this study was carried out in several stages. First, the interviews were conducted with students at several high schools: SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja. This is important because first-time voters are a potential group that is easily influenced by political propaganda and has unstable political attitudes. Political education is needed to shape the political intelligence of first-time voters so they can make rational and responsible political decisions. High participation from first-time voters in elections is crucial for the advancement of democracy, making a good understanding of the political system and the electoral process essential for students. Political education serves as a primary instrument in addressing the low political knowledge, lack of political interest, and challenges of spreading fake information that first-time voters often face. The purpose of the interview in the case study application seeks to investigate a critical case to test the formulation of a theory (this aligns with the analogy mentioned above). A case study helps researchers analyze a research topic using a single relevant theory (Lin, 2023). This first rationality aims to contribute to science and theory, due to its refocused nature in investigating particular "local" phenomena.

Second, observation and focus group discussions (FGD) aim to create a dialogic aspect regarding understanding, contributions, and practical aspects within political policy. The case study in this research will be used to examine the role of political education in enhancing political intelligence and the public policy dimension among first-time voters at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja. The case study approach was chosen because this research aims to create a deep understanding of the phenomena occurring, as well as the factors influencing first-time voters in receiving and understanding political education. The case study research is flexible and can be adjusted to the existing field conditions, allowing researchers to obtain more detailed and meaningful data. This research focuses on two main aspects. First, the role of political education in the involvement in public policy formulation and the political intelligence of first-time voters at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja. Second, the

supporting and inhibiting factors that affect the impact of political education and the concept of public policy at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja. The collected data are analyzed using an interactive analysis approach. This analysis is conducted to identify the main patterns related to the influence of political education on the political intelligence of novice voters. A case study analysis is then used to conclude the impact of political education in schools, as well as the factors that support and hinder the impact of political education and public policy concepts at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja. In the second type of rationality, the case study is backed by representative characteristics. This rationality will guide researchers to discover the objective conditions of situations and conditions in everyday life (Alperin et al., 2019). The focus of a researcher in this type of rationality is to explain a phenomenon that is difficult to uncover due to the limited accessibility to the phenomenon (Kerins et al., 2019).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

a) **The Role of Political Education in Involvement in Public Policy Formulation and the Political Intelligence of First-Time Voters at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja**

Political education plays an important role in enhancing the political intelligence of first-time voters, who are often young people participating in elections for the first time. In an era of rapidly evolving democracy, the active participation of first-time voters is crucial to ensuring the sustainability of a healthy and representative democracy. Educated first-time voters will be able to make smarter and more critical political decisions, which in turn will strengthen the quality of democracy (Liu et al., 2023). Based on the research results, the majority of first-time voters at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja showed that the political education provided has improved students' basic understanding of the political process, rights and obligations as voters, and how elections work. However, despite the increase in political understanding, the majority of students still fall into the category of sufficient understanding and have not yet reached a very deep level of understanding (Essien, 2020). This shows that the political education provided in these schools is still at a basic level and requires a more intensive approach to enhance their political intelligence (Gelardi, 2020).

Young people play a role as social control over the exercise of power. Power that is not monitored tends to give rise to abuse of authority, corruption, manipulation, and policies that do not favor the people. As a social control, young people can deliver criticism rationally and ethically, oversee government policies, reject money politics, demand transparency and accountability from public officials, and use social media for political education, not just propaganda. This role is very important to ensure that politics remains within the corridor of public interest, not just the interests of the elite. Many political issues arise due to the low political literacy of the public, such as being easily influenced by hoaxes, excessive political fanaticism, divisive identity politics, and apathy toward elections and public policies. This is where young people can play a role as pioneers of political education. They can educate the public about the importance of voting rationally, disseminate accurate political information, encourage the public to understand their rights and obligations as citizens, and foster healthy public discussions. With a high ability to adapt to technology, young people can become a bridge between politics and society through a more communicative, creative, and easily understandable approach.

These schools were chosen because they involve first-time voters aged 16-18, who are the primary target for political education and potential first-time voters. These three schools also

actively implement practice-based political education programs, such as the Strengthening the Profile of Pancasila Students (P5) project and simulations of the Student Organization Intra-School elections, making them strategic locations to study the influence of political education on the political intelligence of first-time student voters. Additionally, the diversity of students' social and academic backgrounds in these three schools makes the research results more representative. Reason for choosing the location. The location was chosen because the students of SMAN 1 Singaraja represent the school as a favorite and are located in the city center, allowing for a representative influence from political dynamics. SMAN 1 Sukasada, on the other hand, is a school representative located outside the city, and SMAN 2 Tejakula is also located outside the city, with the activity of the General Election (miniature election).

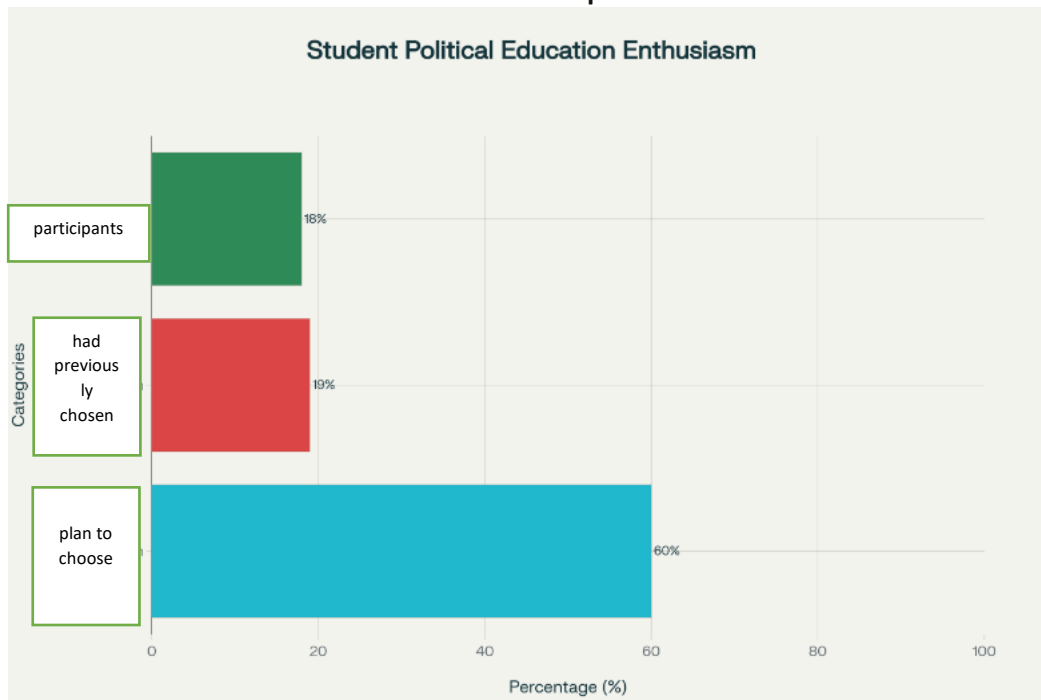
Young people also play a role as active participants in the democratic system. Political participation does not only mean voting during elections, but also includes engaging in public discussions, being active in student organizations, communities, or youth organizations, participating in policy advocacy, expressing aspirations thru formal or digital forums, and taking part in the election monitoring process. Youth political participation shows that democracy should not be dominated by the older generation or elite groups, but must be an inclusive shared space. Young people are the future leaders, but more accurately: they are also the leaders of today. Leadership does not always start from formal positions, but rather from the courage to take responsibility for shared issues. In politics, young people need to be prepared to become leaders who are integral, visionary, aligned with the interests of the people, possess public ethics, capable of dialog and collaboration, and not trapped in transactional politics. If the younger generation is not prepared or unwilling to get involved, then the political space will continue to be filled by old patterns that may actually perpetuate old problems.

Political intelligence is one of the dimensions in constructing and stimulating the younger generation to create schemes and narratives of partisanship in public aspects. In other words, political literacy is an integral part of political intelligence, which involves understanding the political system, the ability to analyze political information, and active participation in the political process (Treitler & Boatca, 2016). This helps implement the practices of the younger generation in critiquing and engaging politically in the formulation of public policies. The intelligence and political engagement of the younger generation stimulate them as subjects in the process of formulating welfare concepts based on the relationship between the state, community, market, and households, as a relative tendency that determines various types of social policies. Post the 1998 Asian economic crisis, the youth became heavily involved in public movements, and their presence intersected with Indonesia's welfare regime. One of the actions taken was the adoption of many liberal-informal characteristics, with the state's existence based on social protection prioritizing vulnerable families under the Social Safety Net Program (Kennett, 2015; Yuda, 2020). In the process of welfare formation, the younger generation is involved in welfare configuration through a layering process, where the general influence is patterned on personal interests for the benefit of the group.

From the research findings, presented in table format regarding student participation, the majority of students demonstrated a moderate to fairly good level of political understanding, as well as active involvement in school political activities such as election simulations, debates between Student Council candidates, and creative social media campaigns. However, the data also shows that students' political interest is generally still low, with most rarely following political news and only a few being very interested in political issues. Active participation outside of OSIS elections is also still limited. Here's an overview of student political participation based on questionnaire responses (in percentages): 60% of students plan to vote in the upcoming election, 19% have voted before, and other forms of participation, such as attending campaigns,

volunteering, or demonstrating, are still below 20%.

Table 1.
Student Participation



Source: Author Processed

Student responses regarding political participation indicate a nascent awareness of the importance of voting rights, although active involvement in non-electoral political activities remains very low. Most students consider political education important and recognize the positive influence of political education in improving their understanding of the democratic system and voting rights. However, there are also challenges, such as some students' lack of interest and the tendency to choose based on emotional factors or the popularity of the candidates, rather than on a rational vision and mission.

In today's era, politics has entered the digital space. Young people have a strategic role as innovators of digital politics, such as creating political education content, developing internet-based social movements, building creative public issue campaigns, utilizing data and technology for policy advocacy, and combating misinformation and hate speech on social media. This role is important because the digital space has now become the main arena for the battle of opinions, ideas, and political influence. In order to play a healthy and meaningful political role, young people need to develop several attitudes. First, be critical, but remain rational. Not everything that goes viral is true, and not all criticism is constructive. Young people must be data-driven critics, not just emotional ones. Second, be active, but not opportunistic. Getting involved in politics is important, but it shouldn't be just for the sake of popularity or personal gain. Third, idealistic, but realistic. Idealism is the strength of youth, but it must be accompanied by an understanding of social realities and political mechanisms. Fourth, be brave, but ethical. The courage to speak the truth must be accompanied by moral responsibility and public ethics. Lastly, digital literacy and democratic literacy. Young people must be able to sift thru information, understand the political system, and use technology to strengthen citizen participation.

On the other hand, the intelligence and political engagement of the younger generation stimulate them as subjects in the process of formulating social policy concepts and welfare formulation, shaped based on the institutional heritage scheme of collective actions between individuals and a community in the past, whether political interests or political regimes, creating fundamental aspects of program construction from the existence of previous organizations. In other words, the younger generation and their active political engagement and impact on active public policy formulation actions have proven to be one of the innovations that successfully enhance solidarity among welfare actors (Stasio & Solga, 2017). This reflects the emergence of collaborative actions among the younger generation, non-profit organizations, the private sector, individuals, and faith-based humanitarian organizations, with various benefits from kinship schemes, particularly in financial management. That reality also indicates the presence of a grassroots movement (Petersen & Petersen, 2013; Stasio & Solga, 2017).

Good political literacy not only provides basic knowledge about politics but also the ability to think critically and make rational decisions. In this study, although political education has provided basic knowledge about politics, students still struggle to apply that knowledge in critically evaluating existing candidates and political programs. The degree to which new voters can engage in the political process in an educated way depends in large part on their level of political education. From the research results, it is known that most students who participate in political education at school have a fairly good understanding of the electoral mechanism and their rights and obligations as voters (White, 2015). However, most students are still at a superficial level of experience, indicating that political education in schools is still limited to basic aspects and has not yet covered in-depth analysis of candidates, policies, and more complex political issues (Calnitsky, 2022; White, 2015).

A good understanding of politics requires interactive and contextual learning, which not only relies on lectures or theory but also involves students in discussions, debates, and simulations that allow them to directly understand political dynamics. This is important to enhance their engagement in the democratic process, especially in making rational and critical political decisions. The results of this study also reveal that most students at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja tend to choose candidates based on popularity or emotional factors, rather than a rational understanding of the candidates' vision, mission, and policies. This indicates the need for more in-depth political education to equip first-time voters with the ability to evaluate candidates and political programs objectively and based on valid information (Bochel & Daly, 2020; Moore, 2018).

The intelligence and political engagement of the younger generation stimulate them as subjects in the process of formulating social policy concepts and welfare formulation, implying the creation of collective movements, involving all social strata, demonstrating the process of internalizing the concept of solidarity. Political understanding and actions to engage in the praxis of social policy represent the presence of youth actions as social actors. The existence of social actors illustrates the presence of informal solidarity – the association of an action with government actors. This becomes a phenomenon in enhancing and continuing services in social policy and specifically emphasizes the presence of non-state actors – the youth, who are also involved in the circulation of a policy (Bruzelius & Shutes, 2022). Innovation and internal communication among social layers (youth, politicians, and the state) become essential aspects of the success of an action. The emergence of grassroots movements serves as an indicator of social support for social policy programs designed by the government or state. Humanitarian movements serve as a foundation to strengthen the existence of the state and its welfare programs. The reflective idea that can be explained from the above phenomenon is that social policies, particularly in the implementation aspect, can be achieved by utilizing all social layers.

Not only from the formal sector, but also from the informal sector or private sector, mobilizing resources with altruistic motives (Botelho, 2014). The philanthropic movement involving all social elements illustrates the process of public management as well as alternative actions based on social kinship.

The profile of first-time voters greatly influences how they receive political education and participate in elections. First-time voters are generally still in the stage of searching for their political identity and are vulnerable to external influences, whether from the media, family, or peers. The principals of SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja were interviewed, and the results showed that the majority of first-time voters are highly enthusiastic about taking part in political education activities at school, such as election simulations and talks. However, many of them still struggle to distinguish between choices based on political rationality and choices based on personal closeness or candidate popularity. First-time voters often face challenges in understanding political dynamics and tend to make choices based more on emotional rather than rational considerations. Therefore, it is important to develop more in-depth and applicable political education methods to cultivate critical and analytical attitudes among students toward candidates and political programs (Bochel & Daly, 2020; M. S. Schulz, 2015).

The quality of political education received by first-time voters in the schools studied shows significant variation. At SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja, political education is mostly delivered through lectures and group discussions, with little direct interaction that allows students to develop their analytical skills in assessing political issues. Nevertheless, political education based on direct experience, such as election simulations and candidate debates, has proven to be more effective in enhancing students' understanding and engagement in politics. Effective political education should integrate theory with practice, so that students can understand the relationship between political theory and real political situations occurring in society. By involving students in practical activities such as campaigns or simulated elections, political education will be more directed toward the formation of deeper political intelligence. Although the quality of political education in schools is quite good, there are several obstacles found in its implementation, such as time and resource limitations, as well as the lack of external support from competent political institutions (Kleinschmidt, 2018). Therefore, it is important to improve the quality of political education by introducing more participatory and experiential methods, as well as expanding cooperation with external institutions such as the KPU (Komisi Pemilihan Umum), which is the institution for election and political organizations.

The level of political intelligence among first-time voters indicates that most students have a basic understanding of the political system, but still struggle to critically evaluate candidates or political programs. First-time voters at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja still tend to choose based on the candidates' popularity, rather than their vision, mission, and policies. This indicates that although they have a basic understanding of politics, their ability to think critically and rationally when making choices is still limited. Political intelligence involves political knowledge, analytical skills, and active participation in politics. Politically intelligent first-time voters can critically analyze political information, objectively evaluate policies and candidates, and actively engage in the democratic process. Therefore, to enhance the political intelligence of novice voters, more in-depth political education is needed, and they should be involved in real democratic practices. With the increase in political intelligence, first-time voters will be more motivated to use their voting rights wisely and responsibly (Boni & Calabuig, 2017). Effective political education will equip them with the knowledge and skills needed to participate actively and intelligently in elections, as well as

strengthen the overall integrity of democracy (Aktas et al., 2017).

The intelligence and political engagement of the younger generation stimulate them as subjects in the process of formulating social policy concepts and welfare formulation, implying the creation of collective movements. Social policies are oriented toward welfare goals, formulating human needs, capabilities, active participation, equality, and justice. The welfare regime is an institutional matrix of the state of the market, the state, and the family, which generalizes the achievement of welfare (Bochel & Daly, 2020; Jooste & Heleta, 2017).

b) Supporting and Hindering Factors Affecting the Effectiveness of Political Education and Public Policy Concepts at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja

Factors that support the success of political education are very important to create an environment that fosters the development of political intelligence among novice voters. Based on the research findings, the main supporting factors that influence the impact of political education at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja are a relevant curriculum, participatory teaching methods, and external support from related institutions.

One of the most significant supporting factors in political education and the concept of public policy is the existence of a curriculum that is relevant to the needs and challenges of the current political world. A political education curriculum that is tailored to contemporary issues and connects theory with practice will make it easier for students to understand and engage in the political process. Research results show that the schools studied have integrated political education into their curriculum, although only a small number involve students in practical activities such as political debates or election simulations. The political education curriculum should be able to provide a comprehensive understanding of the political structure, the rights and obligations of voters, and the election mechanism (Byker & Putman, 2019). An effective curriculum must encompass two main dimensions: theoretical knowledge of politics and practical skills to analyze political issues. Thus, a relevant curriculum will provide better preparation for students to evaluate potential leaders and existing policies, as well as to actively participate in democracy (Sepulveda et al., 2022).

The essence of youth in politics is as agents of change, guardians of democracy, and determinants of the nation's future. Young people should not be positioned merely as complements or spectators in political life, but must be present as the main actors who are aware, critical, and responsible. The role of youth in politics includes functions as agents of change, social control, pioneers of political education, participants in democracy, future leaders, and digital political innovators. With the energy, idealism, and creativity they possess, young people have great potential to improve the quality of politics and public life. However, this potential will only be meaningful if accompanied by political awareness, moral integrity, digital literacy, and a commitment to the common good. Therefore, the involvement of young people in politics is not only important but also a prerequisite for the realization of a healthy, just, and sustainable democracy.

First-time voters' political intelligence and understanding of social policy are also much improved by the teaching strategies employed in political education. In this study, it was found that more participatory methods, such as group discussions, election simulations, and debates, are more effective compared to lectures that only convey information in a one-way manner. Methods that actively involve students in the learning process help them develop analytical skills, public speaking abilities, and engagement in the political process. Political literacy, which includes the ability to understand and analyze political issues, can be developed better when

learning is not only based on teaching theory but also on active student engagement. Learning based on practical experience allows students to better understand the political dynamics occurring in society and to relate the knowledge they acquire to real-life situations (Hirsh et al., 2020).

Another supporting factor is external support from institutions directly related to the political process, such as the General Election Commission (KPU), youth organizations, and non-governmental organizations engaged in the political field. From the research results, it is known that schools that collaborate with these external parties successfully enrich students' experiences through activities such as election simulations and election socialization held by the General Election Commission (KPU). The involvement of external parties in political education provides a more realistic experience for students in understanding the democratic process. Activities involving election simulations and discussions with political practitioners give students the opportunity to gain broader information and understand the complexities of politics from various perspectives (Cameron, 2018). Overall, the success of political education and social policies in the schools studied is greatly influenced by the presence of a relevant curriculum, participatory methods, and external support. These factors support the theory of political education as a process of political intelligence development, stating that effective political education not only provides basic knowledge but also develops students' analytical skills and participatory attitudes. In other words, effective political education involves the integration of theory and practice, as well as support from various parties involved in the learning process (Bosio & Torres, 2019).

The research will be conducted over 8 months, starting from August 2024 and ending in April 2025. This time period includes the collection of qualitative data through interviews, questionnaires, and observation of political education activities at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja. Student political participation in these three high schools has important implications for shaping political intelligence and democratic awareness. Practical political education, such as election simulations and participation in candidate campaign activities and debates, enhances students' understanding of citizens' rights and obligations and the importance of rational voting. However, there needs to be continuous strengthening to address political pragmatism practices, such as money politics, and to increase students' motivation to be more critical and active in politics. Another implication is the formation of a responsible young generation ready to become informed voters for the sustainability of democracy. This answer refers to the complete content of a research report documenting the results of interviews, observations, and FGDs from the three schools regarding political education and student participation in the context of first-time voters in a democracy.

In addition to supporting factors, there are also several inhibiting factors that affect the effectiveness of political education and social policies in the schools studied. Based on the research findings, the main inhibiting factors identified include time constraints, lack of student interest, limited resources, and the complexity of the material taught. One of the main inhibiting factors in political education is the limited time allocated for this subject. In most of the schools studied, the time allocated for political education in the curriculum is very limited, so the material delivered cannot cover more in-depth and applicable topics. Political education is often viewed merely as an addition or supplement in the curriculum, thus not providing enough space for the development of a more critical and comprehensive understanding of politics. Limited time in learning will reduce the quality of education, as students do not have enough time to truly digest and analyze the material in depth. In the context of political education, effective political education requires sufficient time to teach both basic knowledge and analytical skills to students (Manajemen et al., 2025; Pillay & Karsgaard, 2022).

Another inhibiting factor is the lack of student interest in political education and social policy. Research results show that most students are not very interested in political issues or social policy issues and prefer to avoid political or social policy discussions. This could be due to several factors, such as a lack of understanding of the importance of political education or the irrelevance of political issues to their daily lives. This low interest among students affects their level of participation in political activities organized at school (Boetto & Bell, 2015; Pillay & Karsgaard, 2022).

Political interest and involvement in social policies are key factors in encouraging students to be more active in political education and participation in the political process. Therefore, it is important to develop a more engaging and relevant approach to foster students' interest in political education. Effective political education must be able to connect the material with the problems faced by students in their daily lives, so that they feel more engaged and concerned about political issues and current social policy issues. The limitation of resources such as textbooks, teaching aids, and access to relevant information media also hinders political education. Some of the schools studied still lack up-to-date teaching materials that are relevant to the current political conditions and public policy issues. Without adequate resource support, teachers will struggle to effectively teach political or social policy material, and students will not be able to access the information they need to expand their political knowledge. Limited educational resources can hinder the quality of political education on public policy issues, as the lack of available information reduces students' opportunities to gain a comprehensive understanding of politics and public policy issues. Therefore, the enhancement of educational resources, such as more varied teaching materials and access to social media that provides up-to-date political information, is crucial to support political education and improve sensitivity to public policy issues (Bochel & Daly, 2020; Boetto & Bell, 2015; Saleh & Mustofa, 2025).

The complexity of the material is also one of the main obstacles in political education and public policy. Some topics in political education, such as complex political systems, government structures, and electoral processes, are often presented in a way that is too abstract and difficult for students to understand, especially if they are not allowed to practice or discuss the material in a more tangible context. To address the complexity of the material, political education and sensitivity to public policy issues should be delivered more simply and directly connected to students' lives. Using experiential learning methods and electoral simulations will help students understand difficult concepts more easily and applicably (Byker & Putman, 2019).

Overall, time constraints, low student interest, limited resources, and the complexity of the material are the main factors hindering political education and sensitivity to public policy issues in the schools studied. These factors can reduce the impact of political education, and efforts need to be made to address them through curriculum updates, resource development, and increased student engagement. The importance of connecting theory with practice in political education and sensitivity to public policy issues, so that students not only acquire basic knowledge but also the skills necessary to participate in politics or engage actively in discussions on public policy issues. To improve the quality of political education and sensitivity to public policy issues for first-time voters, this research recommends that schools expand more interactive and practical experience-based learning methods, such as election simulations and political debates (Byker & Putman, 2019). Additionally, an extension of the time allocated for political education in the school curriculum is needed so that students can understand the material more deeply and develop their analytical skills. Finally, there needs to be an increase in educational resources and a strengthening of cooperation with external institutions to enrich

students' learning experiences and provide them with a broader understanding of the political world (Bochel & Daly, 2020; Bruzelius & Shutes, 2022).

CONCLUSIONS

Based on research conducted at SMAN 2 Tejakula, SMAN 1 Sukasada, and SMAN 1 Singaraja, the findings indicated that political education and sensitivity to public policy concerns are important factors in increasing the political intelligence of new voters. Student responses regarding political participation suggested a maturing awareness of the importance of voting rights, although active involvement in non-electoral political activities remains very low. Most students considered political education important and recognized its positive influence in improving their understanding of the democratic system and voting rights. Practical political education, such as election simulations and participation in campaign activities and candidate debates, enhances students' knowledge of citizens' rights and obligations and the importance of voting rationally. However, there needs to be continuous strengthening to address political pragmatism practices, such as money politics, and to increase students' motivation to be more critical and active in politics.

REFERENCES

- Aktas, F., Pitts, K., Richards, J. C., & Silova, I. (2017). Institutionalizing Global Citizenship: A Critical Analysis of Higher Education Programs and Curricula. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 21(1), 65–80. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315316669815>
- Alperin, J. P., Gomez, C. J., & Haustein, S. (2019). Identifying Diffusion Patterns of Research Articles on Twitter: A Case Study of Online Engagement with Open Access Articles. *Public Understanding of Science*, 28(1), 2–18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662518761733>
- Bochel, H., & Daly, G. (2020). Introducing Social Policy. In *Social Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429244681-1>
- Boetto, H., & Bell, K. (2015). Environmental Sustainability in Social Work Education: An Online Initiative to Encourage Global Citizenship. *International Social Work*, 58(3), 448–462. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872815570073>
- Boni, A., & Calabuig, C. (2017). Education for Global Citizenship at Universities: Potentialities of Formal and Informal Learning Spaces to Foster Cosmopolitanism. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 21(1), 22–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315315602926>
- Bosio, E., & Torres, C. A. (2019). Global Citizenship Education: An Educational Theory of The Common Good? A Conversation with Carlos Alberto Torres. *Policy Futures in Education*, 17(6), 745–760. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1478210319825517>
- Botelho, A. (2014). Political Sociology: State–Society Relations. *Current Sociology*, 62(6), 868–885. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392114533213>
- Bruzelius, C., & Shutes, I. (2022). Towards an Understanding of Mobility in Social Policy Research. *Global Social Policy*, 22(3), 503–520. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14680181221085477>
- Byker, E. J., & Putman, S. M. (2019). Catalyzing Cultural and Global Competencies: Engaging Preservice Teachers in Study Abroad to Expand The Agency of Citizenship. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 23(1), 84–105. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315318814559>
- Calnitsky, D. (2022). The Policy Road to Socialism. *Critical Sociology*, 48(3), 397–422. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205211031624>
- Cameron, J. D. (2018). Communicating Cosmopolitanism and Motivating Global Citizenship. *Political Studies*, 66(3), 718–734. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321717726919>
- Casuso, G. (2022). Social Criticism, Dissonance, and Progress: A Socio-Epistemic Approach. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01914537211040571>

- Deranty, J. P., & Dunstall, A. (2017). Doing Justice to The Past: Critical Theory and The Problems of Historicism. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 43(8), 812–836. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0191453716685757>
- Essien, C. W. K. (2020). 'Uberization' as Neoliberal Governmentality: A Global South Perspective. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 55(5), 716–732. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909619894616>
- Evans, J. (2023). On The Very Idea of Normative Foundations in Critical Social Theory. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 49(4), 385–408. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01914537211059512>
- Featherstone, M. (2020). Problematizing The Global: An Introduction to Global Culture Revisited. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 37(7–8), 157–167. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276420957715>
- Gelardi, M. (2020). Blurring Borders: Investigating the Western/Global South Identity of Human Security. *Alternatives*, 45(3), 143–161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0304375420929586>
- Herlina, B., Syamsiar, S., & Mustaking, M. (2025). Ethics-Driven Digital Learning Governance in the Civil Service. *Jurnal Manajemen Pelayanan Publik*, 9(3), 741–762. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jmpp.v9i3.65153>
- Hirsh, H., Eizenberg, E., & Jabareen, Y. (2020). A New Conceptual Framework for Understanding Displacement: Bridging the Gaps in Displacement Literature between the Global South and the Global North. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 35(4), 391–407. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412220921514>
- Honneth, A. (2017). Recollections of a Transition. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 43(3), 245–246. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0191453716680731>
- Ioris, A. A. R. (2023). World Out of Difference: Relations and Consequences. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 49(10), 1220–1243. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01914537221101316>
- Jooste, N., & Heleta, S. (2017). Global Citizenship Versus Globally Competent Graduates: A Critical View From The South. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 21(1), 39–51. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315316637341>
- Jumanah, J., Nugroho, A., & Ratnasari, D. T. (2025). Connectivity of Accreditation Instrument Strengthening Policy in Realizing Excellent Primary and Secondary Education Services in Banten Province. *Jurnal Manajemen Pelayanan Publik*, 9(3), 727–740. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jmpp.v9i3.65016>
- Kennett, P. (2015). A Handbook of Comparative Social Policy. In *Edward Elgar Publishing Limited* (Vol. 3, Issue 1). Edward Elgar Publishing Limited. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.bpj.2015.06.056><https://academic.oup.com/bioinformatics/article-abstract/34/13/2201/4852827><https://semisupervised-3254828305/semisupervised.ppt><http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.str.2013.02.005><http://dx.doi.org/10.10>
- Kerins, C., Houghton, C., Hugh, S. M., Geaney, F., Toomey, E., Hayes, C., Perry, I. J., & Kelly, C. (2019). Implementation of a Calorie Menu Labeling Policy in Public Hospitals: Study Protocol for a Multiple Case Study. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 18, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919878339>
- Kerti, M. N. L., Effendy, K., Fitriati, R., & Faisal, F. (2025). Collaborative Governance of Tourism Policy of Bali Province, Policy Study based on Local Wisdom, Sad Kerthi. *Jurnal Manajemen Pelayanan Publik*, 9(3), 774–787. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jmpp.v9i3.65333>
- Kleinschmidt, J. (2018). Differentiation Theory and the Global South as a Metageography of International Relations. *Alternatives*, 43(2), 59–80. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0304375418811191>
- Knowles, S. M., & Boland, W. (2016). The Policy Shop: Innovation, Partnerships and Capacity-building. *Social Change*, 46(1), 124–134. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049085715619496>
- Lin, X. (2023). Using a Student-Developed Case Study Activity for Online Discussion Guided by a

- Three-Tier Case Method Model. *Adult Learning*, 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10451595231151732>
- Liu, C. L., Chung, M. L., Hui, B. P. H., & Li, H. C. (2023). The Effect of Social Capital on Outcomes of Global Citizenship Among Taiwanese Young Adults: The Mediating Role of Political Self-efficacy. *Sage Open*, 13(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440221137862>
- Manajemen, J., Publik, P., & Suwarno, P. (2025). Beyond the Uniform : Determinants of Income and Welfare Among Indonesian Navy Retirees. *Jurnal Manajemen Pelayanan Publik*, 09(03), 915–935. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jmpp.v9i3.66901>
- Moore, C. (2018). Internationalism in the Global South: The Evolution of a Concept. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 53(6), 852–865. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909617744584>
- Petersen, K., & Petersen, J. H. (2013). Confusion and Divergence: Origins And Meanings Of The Term “Welfare State” In Germany And Britain, 1840-1940. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 23(1), 37–51. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928712463160>
- Pieterse, J. N. (2020). Global Culture, 1990, 2020. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 37(7–8), 233–240. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276420958447>
- Pillay, T., & Karsgaard, C. (2022). Global Citizenship Education as a Project for Decoloniality. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17461979221080606>
- Qu, J. (2020). Case Studies Towards the Analysis of Total Social Construction. *Chinese Journal of Sociology*, 6(3), 457–493. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057150X20942969>
- Saleh, C., & Mustofa, M. Z. (2025). Public Sector Synergy for Poverty Alleviation (Institutional Collaboration in Blitar Local Government). *Jurnal Manajemen Pelayanan Publik*, 09(03), 882–901. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jmpp.v9i3.66013>
- Schulz, J. (2022). “Vergangenheitsbewältigung” Revisited: Distinguishing Two Paradigms of Working Through The Past. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01914537221117562>
- Schulz, M. S. (2015). Inequality, Development, and The Rising Democracies of The Global South. *Current Sociology*, 63(2), 261–279. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392114556591>
- Sepulveda, D., Horvitz, M. M., Joiko, S., & Ruiz, F. O. (2022). Education and The Production of Inequalities Across the Global South and North. *Journal of Sociology*, 58(3), 273–284. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14407833211060059>
- Stasio, V. Di, & Solga, H. (2017). Education As Social Policy: An Introduction. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 27(4), 313–319. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928717728712>
- Steele, M. (2017). Social Imaginaries and The Theory of The Normative Utterance. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 43(10), 1045–1071. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0191453717715294>
- Tarca, L. V. (2018). The Right to be Right: Recognizing The Reasons of Those Who Are Wrong. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 44(4), 412–425. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0191453718759161>
- Treitler, V. B., & Boatca, M. (2016). Dynamics of Inequalities in a Global Perspective: An Introduction. *Current Sociology*, 64(2), 159–171. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115614752>
- Walker, C., & Baxter, J. (2019). Method Sequence and Dominance in Mixed Methods Research: A Case Study of the Social Acceptance of Wind Energy Literature. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 18, 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919834379>
- White, C. L. (2015). Exploring the Role of Private-Sector Corporations in Public Diplomacy. *Public Relations Inquiry*, 4(3), 305–321. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2046147X15614883>
- Yuda, T. K. (2020). Re-Examining the Institutional Layering of Social Policy Configuration In Indonesia. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 13(3), 353–365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17516234.2019.1662164>

