

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abendschön, S. (2017). Children and Politics. *American Behavioral Scientist Vol. 61*(2). Giessen, Germany: Sage Publication. Hlm 163-166.
- Agger, R., E, Goldstein, M., & Pearl, S., A. (1961). Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning. *The Journal of Politics Vol. 23*(3). Hlm 477-506.
- Aguiar, F., & de Francisco, A. (2009). Rational choice, social identity, and beliefs about oneself. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences Vol. 39*(4). Sage Publications. Hlm 547-571.
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The Theory of Planned Behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Process Vol. 50*. University of Massachusetts, Amherst: Academic Press, Inc. Hlm 179-211.
- Andersen, J., J., Fiva, J., H., & Natvik, G., J. (2014). Voting when the stakes are high. *Journal of Public Economics Vol. 110*. Hlm 157-166.
- Bacharach, M., & Gambetta, D. (2001). Trust in Signs. *Russell Sage Series on Trust Vol. 2 – Trust in Society*. New York, NY: US. Russell Sage Foundation. Hlm 148-184.
- Bennett, L., W., & Iyengar, S. (2008). A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication. *Journal of Communication Vol. 58*. Wiley Online Library. Hlm 707-731
- Bintarto, R. (1983). *Interaksi Desa-Kota dan Permasalahannya*. Yogyakarta: Ghalia Indonesia.
- Birch, S., & Allen, N. (2010). How Honest Do Politicians Need To Be?. *The Political Quarterly Vol. 81* (1). Hlm 49-56.
- Blais, A. (2000). *To vote or not to vote: The merits and limits of rational choice theory*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Blais, A., & Galais, C. (2016). Measuring the civic duty to vote: A proposal. *Electoral Studies Vol. 41*. Elsevier Ltd. Hlm 60-69.
- Blatterer, H. (2010). Generations, modernity and the problem of contemporary adulthood. *Contemporary Adulthood: Calendars, Cartographies and Constructions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Hlm 10-23.
- Brubaker, R., & Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond identity. *Theory and Society Vol. 29*. Hlm 1-47.
- Brusco, V., Nazareno, M., & Stokes, S., C. (2004). Vote Buying in Argentina. *Latin American Research Review Vol. 39* (2). The Latin American Studies Association. Hlm 66-88.
- Budiardjo, M. (1982). *Partisipasi dan Partai Politik*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia. Hlm 1.
- Callander, S., & Wilson, C., H. (2007). Turnout, Polarization, and Duverger's Law. *The Journal of Politics Vol. 69*(4). Wiley Online Library. Hlm 1047-1056.
- Calvert, R. (2000). Identity , expression, and rational-choice theory. *Political science: The state of the discipline*. New York: Columbia University Press. Hlm 586-596.

- Carreras, M., & Castañeda-Angarita, N. (2013). Who votes in Latin America? A Test of Three Theoretical Perspectives. *Comparative Political Studies Vol.47 (8)*. Sage Publication. Hlm 1079-1104.
- Carreras, M., & Irepoglue, Y. (2013). Trust in elections, vote buying, and turnout in Latin America. *Electoral Studies Vol. 32*. Pittsburgh, PA: USA. Elsevier Ltd. Hlm 609-619.
- Castells, M. (2007). Communication, power and counter-power in the network society. *International Journal of Communication Vol. 01*. Hlm 238-266.
- Coe, AB., & Vandegrift, D. (2015). Youth Politics and Culture in Contemporary Latin America: A Review. *Latin American Politics and Society Vol.57 (2)*. Hlm 132-153.
- Cohen, R., L., Alwin, D., F., & Newcomb, T., M. (1991). Political attitudes over the life span: The Bennington women after fifty years. Madison, US: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Creswell, J., W. (2015). *Penelitian Kualitatif & Desain Riset: Memilih di antara Lima Pendekatan Edisi 3*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Dalton, R., J. (2016). *The Good Citizen: How a Younger Generation is Reshaping American Politics Edition 2*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Damore, D., F., Waters, M., M., & Bowler, S. (2012). Unhappy, uninformed, or uninterested? Understanding “None of the Above” Voting. *Political Research Quarterly Vol. 65(04)*. Sage Publications. Hlm 895-907.
- Dawson, R., E., & Prewitt, K. (1968). *Political Socialization: An Analytical Study*. Boston: Little Brown & Co.
- van Deth, J., W. (2001). *Studying Political Participation: Towards a Theory of Everything?* paper. Presented at the Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research. Grenoble. Hlm 1-20.
- Dettrey, B., J., & Schwindt-Bayer, L., A. (2009). Voter Turnout in Presidential Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies Vol. 42(10)*. Sage Publication. Hlm 1317-1338.
- Downs, A. (1957). An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy. *Journal of Political Economy Vol. 65(2)*. The University of Chicago Press. Hlm 135-150.
- Dukes, S. (1984). Phenomenological methodology in the human sciences. *Journal of religion and health Vol. 23(3)*. Hlm 197-203.
- Edlin, A., Gelman, A., & Kaplan, N. (2007). Voting as a rational choice: why and how people vote to improve the well-being of others. *Rationality and Society Vol. 19(3)*. Sage Publications. Hlm 293-314.
- Elster, J. (1989). *Nuts and bolts for the social sciences*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Emzir. (2016). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif: Analisis Data Edisi 5*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press.
- Erikson, E., H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Ezrow, L., & Xezonakis, G. (2016). Satisfaction with democracy and voter turnout: A temporal perspective. *Party Politics Vol. 22(1)*. Colchester, UK: Sage Publication. Hlm 3-14.

- Feddersen, T., & Sandroni, A. (2006). A theory of participation in elections. *American Economic Review* Vol. 96(4), Hlm 1281-1282.
- Feldman, S., S., & Elliott, G., R. (1990). *At the threshold: The developing adolescent*. Cambridge, US: Harvard University Press.
- Ferejohn, J., A., & Fiorina, M., P. (1974). The Paradox of Not Voting: A Decision Theoretic Analysis. *The American Political Science Review* Vol. 68(2). Hlm 525-536.
- Finkel, S., E. (1985). Reciprocal effects of participation and political efficacy: A panel analysis. *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 29(4). Midwest Political Science Association. Hlm 891-913.
- Fischer, C., S. (1975). The City and Political Psychology. *The American Political Science Review* Vol. 69(2). Barkeley: American Political Science Association. Hlm 559-571.
- Fornos, C. A., Power, T. J., & Garand, J. C. (2004). Explaining voter turnout in Latin America 1980 – 2000 dalam *Comparative Political Studies* Vol.37 (8). Sage Publications. Hlm 909 – 940.
- Franklin, M., N. (2004). *Voter turnout and the dynamics of electoral competition in established democracies since 1945*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gambetta, D. (1988). *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*. British Journal of Sociology Vol.13 (1). London School of Economics and Political Science; Wiley. Hlm 213-237.
- Gamson, W., A. (1968). *Power and discontent: The Dorsey series in sociology*. Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press.
- Ghirardato, P., & Katz, J., N. (2002). Indecision Theory: Quality of Information and Voting Behavior. *Caltech Social Science Working Paper No.1106*.
- Goodin, R., E., & Roberts, K., W., S. (1975). The ethical voter. *American Political Science Review* Vol. 69(3), Hlm 926-928.
- Goodman, N. (2018). The conditional duty to vote in elections. *Electoral Studies* Vol. 53. Ontario: Canada. Elsevier Ltd. 39-47.
- Gro'nlund, K., & Seta'la., M. (2007). Political trust, satisfaction and voter turnout. *Comparative European Politics* Vol. 5(4). Hlm 400-422.
- Hajnal, Z., L., Gerber, E., R., & Louch, H. (2002). Minorities and Direct Legislation: Evidence from California Ballot Proposition Elections. *The Journal of Politics* Vol. 64(1). Hlm 154-177.
- Hanna, N. (2009). An argument for Voting Abstention. *Public Affairs Quaterly* Vol. 23 (04). University of Illinois Press. Hlm 275-286.
- Hallet, C., & Prout, A. (2003). *Hearing the voices of children: Social policy for a new century*. London, England: Routledge.
- Hayden, G., M. (2010). Abstention: The Unexpected Power of Withholding Your Vote. *Connecticut Law Review* Vol.43 (2). Hlm 1-33.
- Hedström, P. (2005). *Dissecting the social: On the principles of analytical sociology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hengst, H. (2001). Rethinking the liquidation of childhood. *Childhood in Europe: Approaches Trends Findings*. New York, NY: Peter Lang. Hlm 13-43.

- Hetherington, M., J. (2005). *Why Trust Matters: declining Political trust and the Demise of American Liberalism*. Princeton University Press.
- Howe, P. (2010). *Citizen adrift: The democratic disengagement of young Canadian*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Huckfeldt, R., R., & Sprague, J. (1995). *Cambridge studies in political psychology and public opinion. Citizens, politics, and social communication: Information and influence in an election campaign*. New York, US: Cambridge University Press.
- Huntington, S., P., & Nelson, J. (1994). *Partisipasi Politik di Negara Berkembang*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta. Hlm. 6.
- Jennings, M., K., & Langton, K., P. (1969). Mothers versus Fathers: the Formation of Political Orientations among Young Americans. *The Journal of Politics Vol. 31(02)*. Hlm 329-358.
- Juang, L., & Syed, M. (2010). Family cultural socialization practices and ethnic identity in college going emerging adults. *Journal of Adolescence Vol. 33(3)*. Hlm 347-354.
- Karp, J., A., & Banducci, S., A. (2008). Political Efficacy and Participation in Twenty-Seven Democracies: How Electoral Systems Shape Political Behavior. *British Journal of Political Science Vol.38 (02)*. Cambridge University Press. Hlm 311-334.
- Keating, D., P. (1990). Adolescent thinking. Dalam S. S. Fieldman & G. R. Elliot (Eds), *At the threshold: The developing adolescent* (hal 54-89). Cambridge, US: Harvard University Press.
- Klofstad, C. A. (2011). *Civic talk: Peers, politics, and the future of democracy*. Temple University Press. Hlm. 184.
- Kohlberg, L., & Gilligan, C. (1971). The Adolescent as a Philosopher: The Discovery of the Self in a Postconventional World. *Daedalus Vol.100 (4), Twelve to Sixteen: Early Adolescence*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. Hlm 1051-1086.
- Kuenzi, M., & Lambright, G., M., S. (2007). Voter turnout in Africa's multiparty regimes. *Comparative Political Studies Vol. 40(6)*. Hlm 665-690.
- Kuhn, D. (2009). Adolescent thinking. Dalam R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds), *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology* (hal 152-186). Hoboken, NJ, US: John Wiley & Sons' Inc.
- Laitin, D. (1998). *Identity in formation: The Russian-speaking populations in the near abroad*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Lederbogen, F., Kirsch, P., Haddad, L., et al. (2011). City living and urban upbringing affect neural social stress processing in humans. *Nature Vol.474*. Nature Publishing Group. Hlm 498-501.
- Leighley, J., E., & Nagler, J. (1992). Socioeconomic Class Bias in Turnout, 1964-1988: The Voters Remain the Same. *The American Political Science Review Vol.86 (3)*. American Political Science Association. Hlm 725-736.
- Lijphart, A. (1997). Unequal participation: Democracy's unresolved dilemma. *American Political Science Review Vol. 91(1)*. Hlm 1-14.

- Litt, E. (1963). Political Cynicism and Political Futility. *Journal of Politics Vol. 25*(2). The University of Chicago Press. Hlm 312-323.
- Loader, B., Vromen, A., & Xenos, M. A. (2015). Young people, social media and connective action: from organizational maintenance to everyday politic talk dalam *Journal of Youth Studies Vol. 18 Issue (1)*. Hlm 80 - 100.
- Long, S., L. (1981). *The Handbook of Political Behavior Vol. 4*. New York, US: Plenum Press.
- Maccoby, E., E., Matthews, R., E., & Morton, A., S. (1954). Youth and Political Change. *Public Opinion Quarterly Vol. 18*(1). Hlm 23-39.
- Marcia, J., E. (1994). Ego identity and object relations. Dalam J. M. Masling & R. F. Bornstein (Eds), *Empirical perspectives on object relations theory* (hal 59-103). Washington, US: American Psychological Association.
- Mayer, A., K. (2011). Does education increase political participation?. *Journal of Politics Vol. 73*. Hlm 3633-3645.
- Miles, M., B., & Huberman, A., M. (1984). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- Milligan, K., Moretti, E., & Oreopoulos, P. (2004). Does education improve citizenship? Evidence from the United States and the United Kingdom. *Journal of Public Economics Vol. 88*. Hlm 1667-1695.
- Misztal, B. (1996). *Trust in Modern Societies: The Search for the Bases of Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Moleong, L., J. (2018). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif Edisi 38*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya Offset.
- Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Nichter, S. (2008). Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot. *American Political Science Review Vol.102 (1)*. Hlm 19-31.
- Oakes, P. (2002). Psychological groups and political psychology: A response to Huddy's critical examination of social identity theory. *Political Psychology Vol. 23*. Hlm 809-824.
- Olsen, M., E. (1969). Two Categories of Political Alienation. *Social Forces Vol.47 (3)*. Oxford University Press. Hlm 288-299.
- Oskooii, K., A., R. (2018). Perceived Discrimination and Political Behavior. *British Journal of Political Science O*. Hlm 1-26.
- O'Toole. (2003). Engaging with young people's conceptions of the political. *Children's Geographies Vol. 01*. Hlm 71-90.
- Parry, G., Moyser, G., & Day, N. (1992). *Political Participation and Democracy in Britain*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Patton, M., Q. (1987). *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications. Hlm 329.
- Pomante Il., M., J., & Schraufnagel, S. (2015). Candidate Age and Youth Voter Turnout. *American Political Research Vol. 43*(3). DeKalb, USA: Sage Publication. Hlm 479-503.
- Powell, G., B., Jr. (1982). *Contemporary democracies: Participation, Stability, and Violence*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.



- Putnam, R., D. (2000). *Bowling alone*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Quintelier, E., & Vissers, S. (2008). The effect of internet use on political participation: An analysis of survey 16-year-olds in Belgium. *Social Science Computer Review Vol. 26(4)*. Hlm 411-427.
- Reyna, V., F., & Farley, F. (2006). Risk and rationality in Adolescent Decision Making: Implications for Theory, Practice, and Public Policy. *Psychology Science in the Public Interest Vol. 7(1)*. Ithaea, NY: Association for Psychological Science. Hlm 1-44.
- Santrock, J., W. (2012). *Perkembangan Masa Hidup Edisi 3 Jilid 1*. Penerbit Erlangga. Hlm 402 – 403.
- Sastroatmodjo, S. (1995). *Perilaku Politik*. Semarang: IKIP Semarang Press.
- Satz, D., & Ferejohn, J. (1994). Rational choice and social theory. *Journal of philosophy Vol. 91*. Hlm 71-87.
- Schaffer, J. (2007). Knowing The Answer. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research Vol. 75 (2)*. Wiley Online Library. Hlm 383-403.
- Scheff, T., J. (2000). Shame and the Social Bond: A Sociological Theory. *Sociological Theory Vol. 18*. Hlm 84-99.
- Scott, J. (2000). Rational Choice Theory. *Understanding Contemporary Society: Theories of present*. Sage Publications. Hlm 1-15.
- Searle, J. (2001). Rationality and action. *The foundation of cognitive science*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Hlm 197-210.
- Settle, J., E., Dawes, C., T., Christakis, N., A., & Fowler, J., H. (2010). *Friendships Moderate an Association between a Dopamine Gene Variant and Political Ideology*. *The Journal of Politics Vol.72 (4)*. The University of Chicago Press. Hlm 1189-1198.
- Shugart, M., S., & Carey, J., M. (1992). *Presidents and assemblies: Constitutional design and electoral dynamics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sigelman, L., & Sigelman, C., K. (1982). Sexism, racism, and ageism in voting behavior: An experimental analysis. *Social Psychology Quarterly Vol. 45*. Hlm 263-269.
- Smetana, J., G., Campione-Barr, N., & Metzger, A. (2006). Adolescent development in interpersonal and societal contexts. *Annual Review of Psychology Vol. 57*. Rochester, New York. Hlm 255-284.
- Southwell, P., L., & Everest, J., M. (1998). The electoral consequences of alienation: Nonvoting and protest voting in the 1992 presidential race. *The Social Science Journal Vol. 35(1)*. Oregon, USA: Western Social Science Association. Hlm 43-51.
- Sugiyono. (2017). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Edisi 3*. Bandung: Penerbit Alfabeta
- Surbakti, R. (1992). *Memahami Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta: Gramedia Widya Sarana. Hlm 131.
- Teorell, J., & Hadenius, A. (2007). Pathways from Authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy Vol. 18(1)*. JHU Press. 143—156.
- Turiel, E. (1983). *The Development of Social Knowledge: Morality and Covention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press



- Turner, J., M., Hogg, M., A., Oakes, P., J., Reicher, S., D., & Wetherell, M., S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.
- Ulbig, S., G., & Funk, C., L. (1999). Conflict Avoidance and Political Participation. *Political Behavior Vol. 21(3)*. Sage Publication. Hlm 265-282.
- Valenzuela, S. (2013). Unpacking the Use of Social Media for Protest Behavior: The Roles of Information, Opinion expression, and Activism. *American Behavioral Scientist Vol. 57(7)*. Sage Publication. Hlm 920-942.
- Verba, S., K., & Nie, N., H. (1972). *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Wattenberg, M., P. (2012). *Is voting for young people? 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*. New York, NY: Pearson Longman.
- Wilhelm, A., G. (2000). *Democracy in the Digital Age: Challenges to Political Life in Cyberspace*. New York: Routledge.
- Wolak, J., & McDevitt, M. (2011). The Roots of the gender gap in political knowledge in adolescence. *Political Behavior Vol. 33(3)*. Springer. Hlm 505-533.
- Wolfinger, N., H., & Wolfinger, R., E. (2008). Family structure and voter turnout. *Social Forces Vol. 86*. Hlm 1513-1528.
- Xiong, H., & Payne, D. (2017). Characteristics of Chinese rural networks: evidence from villages in central china. *Chinese journal of sociology vol.3(1)*. Sage Publications. Hlm 74-97