

Modality of Election in Young Legislative Election Contestation in South Sulawesi

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Abstract-This study aims to determine, understand, and map modalities in the contestation of the election of young legislative members in the Province of South Sulawesi. This type of research is descriptive qualitative. Research subjects were young legislators elected in legislative elections. The focus of research is the young legislative modality in the contestation of legislative elections and the determinants that influence the selection of young legislative members in legislative elections. The main instrument of research is the researcher himself. Data collection is carried out through observation, in-depth interviews, documentation, and research instruments to collect data relating to the modality of legislators' electability in legislative elections. Data analysis starts from the process of heuristics (collecting data), criticism or verification, interpretation (interpretation) and writing facts. The results show that political, economic, social, and cultural modalities support someone's electability in legislative election contestation, although not entirely owned, the determinants of the four modalities affect one's electability in legislative membership.

Keywords: Modalities, Contestation, and Young Legislature

I. INTRODUCTION

From 1955 to 2014, Indonesia held 11 general elections (Elections), namely 1955, 1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014. The first 1955 elections were held after 10 years of Indonesian Independence in the period The Burhanuddin Harahap Cabinet was held twice, namely 29 September 1955 to elect members of the DPR and second, 15 December 1955 to elect constituent members. The first elections in 1955 were participated in by 29 political parties and had elected 257 DPR members and 514 constituent members.[1]

The second election, held on July 5, 1971, was participated in by 9 political parties and 1 community organization by competing for 360 parliamentary seats, as well as the 1977 Election followed by 3 political contestants namely the Work Group, the United Development Party and the Indonesian Democratic Party with 360 seats. Entering the 1982 Election is still followed by the same 3 contestants in the 1977 Election, only the contested seats increased to 364 seats. The 1987 and 1992 elections were attended by 3 contestants with the number of legislative seats increasing to 400. The 1997 elections also continued to be attended by 3 contestants, with legislative candidate seats increasing to 426 seats.

Entering the 1999 Election during the reform period, the participation of political parties in the General Election

increased to 48 parties by fighting 462 seats, the level of involvement of the Indonesian people was 105,786,661 voters and was the first election since entering the Reformation and the end of the New Order period. Entering 2004, Indonesia held another election where every citizen had the right to vote, that is, he could directly elect the president and his deputy, in addition to electing members of the DPR, DPRD Level I, DPRD Level II and the election of members of the Regional Representative Council (DPD). The 2004 election was attended by 24 contestants and entered in 2009 the election was attended by 44 contestants.[2]

Entering 2014 where Indonesia entered the Election period (Indonesia Election), namely the Election to determine not only members of the DPR, DPRD, and DPD, but also elects the President and Vice President. The legislative election was held on April 9, 2014 and the Presidential Election was held on July 9, 2014. The legislative election on April 9, 2014 was attended by 15 Political Parties (12 national parties and 3 local parties). 3 local parties specifically for the Province of Nangroe Aceh Darussalam.[3]

Not all contestants in the election succeeded in getting their representatives in the parliamentary seats, the causes of failure to seat their representatives in parliament were caused by relatively small and limited known political parties, the absence of central figures in political parties that are widely known in society, limited campaign funds, lack of campaign to constituencies so that their figures are less well known, there is competition and behavior from politicians from political parties that put forward a "transactional style [4].

The contestants in their contest in the General Election need to have qualified modalities to sit in parliamentary seats. These modalities can be in the form of political capital, social capital, economic capital, and cultural capital. Political capital means the support of political parties, the support of political elites in political organizations, the support of social organizations, so that it can influence voters to elect legislators. Also legislators need to have quality personal capacity, such as position in political parties by looking at strategic positions in the structure of positions in political parties and government. The support of the elite who have the character, competence, popularity, capability, integrity, and morality are the deciding factors in the election of legislative members.

Relating to social capital, in the form of legislative support because of the personhood so as to gain trust from the community through social interaction capital and other social networks. This social capital can be in the form of a network of social relationships (social networks) and characteristics inherent in the individual human beings involved in social interaction. This social capital can be in the form of education level, occupation, figure (traditional figure, religion, profession, youth or other figures). Social capital ownership is the power of legislators to compete in the contestation in the selection of members of the legislature. In addition, legislative candidates need to be supported by economic capital, as "movers" and at the same time as "lubricants" of political machinery. Likewise, cultural capital, especially democratic culture which has become a part of political awareness in every election momentum.

The involvement of young legislative candidates in the content of general elections for the legislature in Indonesia is very high, and in fact they can sit in legislative membership at both the central (DPR) and regional (DPRD) levels. And vice versa there are young candidates for legislators who have not been able to sit in the legislative membership. The basic question is whether ownership (modality) will simultaneously determine the success of young legislative candidates in legislative elections or because certain capital is only from political capital, social capital, economic capital, and cultural capital. Prospective young legislators certainly viewed from political capital is still very minimal in terms of involvement in politics, as well as in social capital relating to figures, economic capital with ownership and a culture of awareness in politics.

The urgency of the research is to make a theoretical contribution to knowledge, understanding, and mapping of modalities in the election contestation to elect members of the DPR and DPRD (legislative). These modalities can be in the form of political capital, social capital, economic capital, and cultural capital or determinants of these modalities or there are other determinants that influence the level of electability in the election contestation for legislative candidates. Used as material for candidates for legislators to fight in the election of legislators and also for further development.

The concept of modality in the election contestation of candidates for legislative members, is interpreted in the form of political capital, social capital, economic capital, and cultural capital. Pierre Bourdieu distinguishes three forms of capital, namely economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital [5], [6]. Capital can be interpreted more broadly, including material things having symbolic value and cultural capital which can include art, education, and forms of language. According to Bourdieu, capital acts as a social relation contained in an exchange system that can be expanded in the form of goods both material and symbolic, without distinction that presents itself as something that is rare and worthy to be sought in a particular social formation [7]. The conception of Bourdieu's capital theory cannot be separated from other concepts of domination, so that it has a connection with the concept of power namely habitus and the realm (arena). Bourdieu builds his theory from the paradigm of genetic structuralism which has the characteristics of internalizing externalities and internalizing internalities in

terms of structure and agents. Bourdieu rejects the paradigm of objectivity and subjectivism, although not as a whole.

Casey understands political capital as the utilization of all types of capital owned by a political actor or a political institution to produce political action and four political markets that affect the amount of political capital owned by a political actor, a political institution, namely; first; elections are the basic instrument for electing leaders in a democratic system; second, the formulation and implementation of public policies; third, the dynamics of relations and conflicts between political actors and political institutions in the formulation and implementation of public policies; and fourth, public opinion or views about political actors or political institutions. Political capital as stated by A. Hick and J. Misra are various focuses of giving power or resources to realize things that can realize the interests of gaining power [7].

Social capital as an actual and potential resource owned by someone who comes from an institutionalized social network Bourdieu in Rahmatiah; or aspects of social structure that facilitate individual actions in these social structures [5], [6], [8], [9]. Social capital also means a value of mutual trust (trust) between community members and the community towards its leader [10], [11]. Social capital can also be interpreted as a social institution involving networks (norms), norms (norms), and social trust (social trust). Forms of social capital can be in the form of obligations and expectations, potential information, norms and sanctions, authority relations, and social organizations that are used appropriately giving birth to social contracts. Social capital is also defined as capabilities that arise from general belief in society or certain parts of it that contain aspects of values, namely universal values, the value of maintaining and improving the welfare of others, traditions or containing respect, commitment and acceptance of traditional cultural ideas and ideas and conformity, which is the value associated with self restraint against impulses and actions that harm others. Social capital is defined as the social strength of a community or a person constructed by individuals or groups that refer to social structures to achieve goals.

Economic capital is defined as resources that can be a means of production and financial means, can be converted into types of economic capital such as means of production (machinery, land, labor), materials (income and objects), and money [12]. Economic capital is considered the most flexible and independent capital because it can easily be transformed into other domains or can be inherited. Economic capital ownership for a young legislator candidate in the form of production resources and financial facilities that can be transformed into participation in legislative elections.

Cultural capital is defined as an overall intellectual that can be produced through formal education or family heritage, such as the ability to present themselves in front of the public, ownership of cultural objects, high value, certain knowledge and expertise from the results of formal education such as a bachelor's degree. Cultural capital is actually a belief in values (values) about everything that is considered right and is always followed by efforts to actualize it. Cultural capital in the form of intellectual qualifications resulting from production, can be in the form of the ability to appear in public, ownership of cultural objects, knowledge and expertise, beliefs and values.

II. METHOD

This type of research is qualitative to describe the modality of young legislative candidates in the election of legislative members in South Sulawesi Province. Approach to existing phenomena takes place now or in the past. Qualitatively the data is sourced from a broad description and has a strong foundation, and contains an explanation of the processes that occur in the local scope [13]. This research was conducted in South Sulawesi Province. Research subjects were young legislators elected in legislative elections. Subject selection is done by using purposive sampling technique, which is sampling data sources with certain considerations. The research subjects will be mapped in the ownership of modalities in the legislative election contestation in South Sulawesi Province.

The main instruments in this study were the researchers themselves and the research instruments compiled by the research team. This is caused by researchers as planners, data collectors and at the same time acting as people who interpret the data obtained during the research process. Likewise the research instrument is used to measure the 4 (four) modalities possessed by prospective legislators in legislative elections and the supporting Instrument is an interview guide for use in in-depth interviews.

Data collection is done through research instruments used to collect data related to the modalities of legislators in legislative elections. Data collection is also carried out by collecting research data through observation and sensing in accordance with the problems and objectives of the research and developing their own according to the needs of the field [14], [15], in-depth interviews, and documentation. Researchers as the main instrument of research, interact with informants and feel the meaning. Data collected (heuristic) is then carried out selection (verification) or source criticism because each source has external (true source) and internal (providing information as needed) aspects [16]. The results of verification or source criticism are followed by an interpretation of the facts, because facts are symbols or representatives of things that have never actually existed, have their own objective reality [17]. Validation of data is done by extending observation techniques, increasing perseverance, holding member checks, and triangulation [18]. The results of interpretation are written (historiography) as the culmination of everything in the historical research method by trying to capture and understand history as it happened [19], [20]

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Regional Representative Council of South Sulawesi is a unicameral legislative body located in the Province of South Sulawesi and a partner of the Government of the Province of South Sulawesi. The South Sulawesi Regional House of Representatives, abbreviated as the DPRD of South Sulawesi, has 85 members, divided into 10 factions, an increase of 10 people compared to the previous period of 75 people. The increase in seats was due to the increasing population of South Sulawesi. The type is unicameral.

To optimize the implementation of the functions, duties and authority of the South Sulawesi DPRD, as well as the rights and obligations of DPRD members, a faction was formed as a forum for the assembly of DPRD members. Each DPRD member becomes a member of one faction. The number of factions with members is at least the same as the number of commissions in the DPRD. The faction has a secretariat that is in charge of providing facilities, budgets, and experts to smooth the implementation of the faction's tasks according to the needs and by paying attention to the ability of the regional budget. The leadership of the faction consists of the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and treasurer. The duties and functions of the council secretariat help smooth implementation of the duties of DPRD members.

South Sulawesi DPRD which consists of factions has the task, namely (1). Distribute and fight for the aspirations of members of each faction; (2). Determine and regulate everything related to faction affairs; (3) Improving the quality, ability, efficiency and effectiveness of the work of the members; and (4). Give consideration to the leadership of the DPRD on matters deemed necessary. DPRD members from various Political Parties are then divided into several factions.

Members of the South Sulawesi Legislative Council for the 2014-2019 period consisted of 10 electoral districts (DAPIL) which were previously only 7 DAPIL. In addition, the South Sulawesi DPRD also has a complete DPRD, namely: Honorary Board; Budget Agency; Deliberation Board; Legislative Body; Special Committee; and Commissions. There are 85 members of the South Sulawesi DPRD, each of whom has the modality to sit as a DPRD member. The modality in question can be in the form of political, social, economic, and cultural modalities. Political modalities can be in the form of support from political parties that have been raising members of the DPRD, the support of political elites and even the support of social organizations to determine someone to sit in the DPRD membership. In addition, a DPRD member, needs to have qualified personal capacity in the form of a position in a political party and the support of party elites who have character, competence, popularity, capability, integrity, and of course morality is a determinant of electability in the election of legislative members.

In addition to political capital, social capital, including trust, because of social interaction capital and other social networks, this social modality is inherent in each DPRD member so that he or she can be elected and elected as a DPRD member. Social modalities can consist of levels of education, employment, figure. The ownership of social capital is the power of candidates for legislators. The next modality is the economic modality as an "activator" and at the same time as an "oil" in politics, and the next is the cultural capital, especially the democratic culture that one needs.

The focus of this research is the modality of young DPRD members, so that they can be elected as DPRD members. According to Law Number 40 Year 2019 Article 1 on Youth, the reading of the age limit starts from 16 - 30 years, while the latest WHO UN decree states that the age of

youth starts from 18 - 65 years. In this study, the focus of the study was the modality of young DPRD members. Of the 85 members of the South Sulawesi DPRD, the researchers took the 5 South Sulawesi DPRD members from the 85 other South Sulawesi DPRD members.

The results of the study through tracing 4 (four) South Sulawesi DPRD members into the young category, which are considered to represent ownership (modality) both political, social, economic, and cultural modalities. To explore modalities (political, social, economic, and cultural) in being elected as members of the DPRD. (1). A. RDY is considered to have a strong determinant of political modality. Political modality can mean support from political parties. A. RDY is the head of the Nasdem party who has an organizational background such as the Indonesian National Youth Committee, Pemuda Pancasila, who was in the Golkar Party before going to the Nasdem party. In addition, the support of political elites in political organizations is because he is the head of the party and also has a family who are engaged in the political world, he also has the support of social organizations for having been active in youth and community organizations namely KNPI and Pemuda Pancasila. The political modality of his organizational experience led him to sit as a member of the South Sulawesi DPRD. Political modality can also be seen from the quality of personal capacity, such as position in the party by looking at strategic positions in structural positions in political parties and government. If based on personal capacity of quality, then he has it because of his position as chairman of the party, also an alumnus of dentistry. In addition, it has political modality because it has the support of elites who have the character, competence, popularity, and integrity as determining factors in electing as a legislative member. He has a family background that has long been involved in politics. Young politician A. RDY is a politician who was elected as a member of the DPRD (South Sulawesi DPRD representative) in the 2014-2019 period because it has a strong political modality.

Another Young DPRD member in the South Sulawesi DPRD is YS, with a background as a businessman who initially only thought enough to be an entrepreneur, turned out to have also entered politics. In the notes section of his life through "My Story (1)" YS wrote, "At first I thought that I was enough to be an entrepreneur, working to build and help plan the future of my family and children. Occasionally sharing with the surrounding community that I can reach, but over time, my belief slowly fades, because there are various inequalities in the social world that I cannot translate, poverty, injustice, unemployment, regulations that do not favor the small people, and various kinds other imbalances, and armed with the reading of the leaflets, he then decided to enter the Gerindra party and eventually became the secretary of the Gerindra Regional Representative Council of South Sulawesi "(Makassar, 1 October 2013). Based on the factual fact piece from the legislative member of the South Sulawesi DPRD, YS, it can be understood that he is a DPRD member with a determinant of his background as an entrepreneur. Researchers know him better as an IT entrepreneur, he has a modality as an entrepreneur that is a resource that can be a means of production and a financial means that can be

converted into a type of economic modality. Economic modalities are considered the most flexible and independent because they are easily transformed. With the economic modality as a businessman with a background that was still lacking in the political world, initially led him to become the people's representative with the position as deputy chairman of the South Sulawesi DPRD for the 2014-2019 period.

Furthermore, the young DPRD member is WM, a member of the South Sulawesi DPRD from the Hanura Party, he is well-known as a cultural and literary writer, and is an editor in various writings. Cultural modality is defined as an overall intellectual that can be produced through formal education and family heritage, such as the ability to present themselves in front of the public, ownership of cultural objects, certain knowledge and expertise from the results of formal education. Cultural modalities presented by WM because of their expertise in understanding culture and literature in South Sulawesi, he was able to self-actualize through the intellectual qualifications of cultural and literary productions, so that he was known in the community as cultural and literary, besides that he was also the editor of various writings. He has 2 (two) times been the people's representative in South Sulawesi with the characterization of his cultural modality and is also supported by his social modality, his social modality as an actual and potential resource so as to form an institutionalized social network, as well as being a trust between community members to choose it. The strength of cultural and social capital as a determinant of WM's modality as its social strength is constructed in the social structure of society to achieve the goal of delivering it to become the people's representative for 2 periods in South Sulawesi.

Next is the EWH, with a background as an entrepreneur, the only Chinese derivative becoming a people's representative in the South Sulawesi DPRD for the 2014-2019 period can be categorized as a determinant of ownership of economic modalities, a background as an entrepreneur both from parents and from himself delivering him as a DPRD member South Sulawesi. The restaurant businessman ventured to join the Gerindra Party in 2014 to become the people's representative in South Sulawesi; he has been a loyalist of the Gerindra party since 2009. He is known as a loyal entrepreneur. His motivation to engage in politics in a note from Suara Updates, February 16, 2015, he stated "he was grateful, God gave enough fortune and could share with others, I also always remember the father's message to maintain the good name of the family and still maintain idealism" , besides that he was active in politics because "as a call of conscience to serve the people. Politics is an effective service stage for fighting for the interests of the people "if you want to serve the interests of the people, not be a spectator, you must be in the vortex of power and this legislative is the right choice for me to devote myself". With a background as an entrepreneur he has a strong economic modality so that it becomes a means of production and finance to be elected as a member of the DPRD.

Modality in the participation of general elections for someone has an important role in the selection of candidates in legislative elections. The four members of the South Sulawesi DPRD who were investigated for their

membership in the South Sulawesi DPRD membership, had determinants of each modality in terms of political, social, economic, and cultural capital, as stated by Bourdieu that distinguishes 3 forms of capital namely economic, social, and cultural capital and Casey in Pantouw, 2012, added that besides the three modalities of Bourdieu there are also political modalities as the utilization of the entire type of capital a person has for carrying out political actions.[5]–[7], [21]–[23]

The electability of the young members of the South Sulawesi DPRD, the determinants due to capital ownership, however, of the four capitals, are not simultaneously owned by the DPRD members. Some have determinants of political modality, there are economic modalities, social modalities, and there are also cultural modalities. Member / Deputy Chairperson of South Sulawesi DPRD A. RDY based on organizational experience (KNPI, Pemuda Pancasila, Golkar Party, and Now Chairperson of the Nasdem Party) and a Dentist, actively organized by youth and community organizations, suggests that he has strong organizational experience. to become a modality in legislative election. This political modality, becomes the utilization of all types of capital owned to produce political action. This political modality becomes a determinant in A. RDY's political activities without prejudice to social, economic, and cultural modalities. This political modality is important, According to Casey in Pantouw, 2012 that the four basic political influences on the amount of political capital owned by a political actor are a political institution, namely: (1) election because it is a basic instrument for electing leaders in a democratic system, (2) . Formulation and implementation of public policies, (3) dynamics of relations and conflicts between political actors and political institutions in the formulation and implementation of public policies, and (4). Opinions or general views about politics or political institutions. A. Hick and J. Misra in Pantouw, 2012, stated the granting of resource power or power to realize things that can realize the interests of gaining power. In principle, political modality determines someone's election in the election contestation.

In addition to political modalities, economic modalities also determine someone in the election. Economic modality is defined as a resource that can be a means of production and financial means. Economic modality is considered as the most flexible and independent modality because it can easily be transformed into other domains or be inherited. Based on the results of the study, a person in the election contestation can be chosen because of ownership of economic capital, in the form of production resources, electability in the DPRD membership, one of which is because of the determinants of economic modality, without prejudice to political, social, and cultural modalities. Based on political experience that still cannot be chosen in political contestation, this might be categorized as ownership of other modalities, such as economic and social. Other modalities in legislative elections are social and cultural modalities, as actual potential resources needed by someone who is from an institutionalized social network. Social modality is also defined as capabilities that arise from general belief in society or certain parts of it that contain aspects of value and at the same time social capital is defined as the social power

of a community or someone constructed by individuals or groups related to social structures to achieve goals. The social and cultural modalities of determination are represented by WM and EWH so that they can be chosen at a meeting of the South Sulawesi DPRD

IV. CONCLUSION

Political, economic, social, and political modalities determine one's electability in the legislative election contestation in South Sulawesi. Ownership of the modalities in the election contestation for legislative candidates leads someone to be elected in the election contestation. The four modalities (political, economic, social, and cultural) determine the choice of someone in the legislative election contestation, although not entirely owned by the contestants, but the determinants of political, economic, social, and political modalities can place a person in South Sulawesi DPRD membership . The results also show that legislative election contestants have determinants of modalities that cause a person to be elected in a legislative membership in the South Sulawesi DPRD.

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