

Young Political Affirmations in Accelerating Re-generation in Political Parties

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Abstract—The presence of millennials determines the future face of the nation because they represent 40% of Indonesia's population, but they are very few as politicians. This requires an effort to understand millennial thoughts and behavior to encourage them to become cogs, including political change. Based on research from the Indonesian Parliament Concern Community Forum (Formappi), the political parties with the most number of millennial legislative candidates are the PSI (Indonesian Solidarity Party) with 240 candidates, 142 PPP candidates, and 98 candidates for Gerindra. The regeneration of politicians from each political party has experienced significant obstacles and threats, as evidenced by the fact that elected legislators and regional heads from the millennial generation are only occupied by less than 12.5%. Millennial generation should occupy more of the political stage, because the demands of the industrial era 4.0 require dynamic, creative and innovative thinking or energy. This research aims first, to obtain data and information about efforts to affirm regeneration in political parties, second, to examine the readiness of young politicians as millennial generations in facing political contestation, which is reflected through political interactions in digital media. the third examines the determinants of political regeneration in political parties. The research method used is qualitative with a case study approach and analysis of social media content. With informants from young politicians and political party leaders, namely, Gerindra, PDI-P and the Indonesian Solidarity Party. The results showed that the efforts of political party leaders to regenerate political affirmations were carried out by means of structured cadres, including face-to-face and social media.

Keywords—*political affirmations, re-generation of political parties, young politicians*

I. INTRODUCTION

The presence of millennials determines the future face of the nation because they represent 40% of Indonesia's population, but they are very few as politicians. Kompas research and development data (August 2019) found that the number of young DPR candidates elected in the 2019 elections fell significantly, from 16.4% or 92 people to 12.5% or 72 people. The key is to understand millennial thoughts and behavior and to encourage them to become a driving force for political change. Based on research by the Indonesian

Parliament Concern Community Forum (Formappi), the political party that carries the most number of millennial legislative candidates is PSI (Indonesian Solidarity Party).

The theoretical approach to studying this problem is the concept and theory of political affirmation, political communication, from an institutional perspective and the characteristics of millennial generation and political participation.

Affirmative action is one type of "fast-track policies" [1] that can be taken to strengthen efforts to strengthen political participation of Millennials. The rationale for this policy is so that Millennials can have the power to be able to influence (influential voice) of various institutions which are dominated by parents / seniors, then quantitatively, Millennials must achieve what is called the "critical mass". Another important finding from the Dahlerup study [2] applied this political affirmation to fight for women in parliament, namely that a minimum quota of 30% of women got it. This condition can be analogous to policies that help Millennials to get a place in parliament which is achieved objectively, rationally and according to ethics and regulations. In essence, "affirmative action" refers to the concept of "positive discrimination" within a certain period in order to increase the representation of Millennials. This affirmative action policy is limited by time, until the various barriers for Millennials active in politics can be removed. The affirmative action policy advocates also explained that the application of this quota is "a transitional measure that will lay the foundation for a broader acceptance of women's (millennial generation) representation ..." [1].

This institutional strategy is effective for promoting substantial equality of millennials so that they have representation in politics, in addition to equality before the law. The potential benefits not only increase the number of youth representatives, but more importantly the empowerment of the status of millennials as citizens.

Political behavior is an activity or activity related to or directly related to the political process, both in making political decisions to the implementation of periodic political activities [3]. Meanwhile, political efficacy is the ability of individuals to

play a role in or influence the components of the political system. Morrel [4] define political efficacy as the feeling that political action must be carried out as participation in the political process, as a form of civic duty. Political efficacy is the feeling of playing an individual role in the political field. In simple terms, political efficacy is the perception of the power fullness or powerlessness of citizens in political reality. This is further emphasized by Angelique et al. [5] that political efficacy is an antidote to alienation and is understood as a form of political powerfulness. Rhenson [6] who conducted a study of psychological needs and political behavior, defines political efficacy as the belief that a person has the ability and satisfies the need to control (personal control) the political process.

This is supported by Muluk and Reksodiputro [7], that there are two dimensions of political efficacy, namely: Internal political efficacy is the belief that someone is able to understand politics and government, and their actions can influence the political process; External political efficacy is the belief that government officials are responsive to the interests of a person and political institutions and the government supports officials to be responsive. So, it can be concluded that political efficacy is the sense of a person's role in running a government [8].

Millennials or Gen-Y are said to have a high sense of curiosity, are critical, tend to collaborate and are more tech-savvy than previous generations (Baby Boomers and Veterans and Generation X). The hallmark of the millennial generation is information literacy and connected through social media networks, which are connected via the internet. Social media itself has become an effective political machine for democratic life. The political direction and influence of the millennial generation in democratic life and for policy makers are at least shown from the following three factors, namely: (i). potential for political participation and stability of choice; (ii). sensitivity to social and policy issues; and (iii). preference for candidates and political choices. So then, the influence of the millennial generation in democratic life at the regional, national and global levels will depend greatly on the 3 factors above, with the assumption that the movements that emerge are purely due to personal awareness and not because they were mobilized by certain political forces at first.

According to Yoris Sebastian [9] research results from Youth Lab (a study institution on Indonesian youth) there are several advantages of the millennial generation, namely wanting to be fast, easy to change jobs in a short time, creative, dynamic, technology literate, close with social media, and so on. This generation was born and raised at a time of economic, political and social turmoil in Indonesia.

Meanwhile Deden and Wawan [10] argues that political participation pays attention to the ways citizens interact with the government, citizens try to convey their interests to public officials in the hope of realizing these interests. This means that political participation includes there is an interaction between citizens and the government, and there is an attempt by citizens to influence public officials to achieve certain goals.

Fathurohman and Sobari suggest that political participation is a private citizen activity that aims to influence government policy making [10].

Rachmiatie's [11] research results on "Political Communication Strategies and Political Party Transparency Culture", found that the Golkar Party uses party machines that are mostly affiliated with Community Organizations under the Golkar party to interact with its constituents. Meanwhile, the Social Welfare Party (PKS) uses collective collegial partnerships, with an approach not about politics (study/religion) but guidance, cadre activities through da'wah activities and conducting "personal branding". For PDIP, it has changed its image from a mass party to a cadre-based party, in addition to using party machines for socialization. For HANURA, a relatively new party, relies on the figure of General Wiranto and has a strategy through programs and achievement of goals that image a clean party and commitment to eradicating KKN, as well as many informal communications with its constituents. Thus, almost all parties have their own methods of communicating with constituents, including cadres that differ from one another. The following describes the Thinking Framework Model in this study in figure 1.

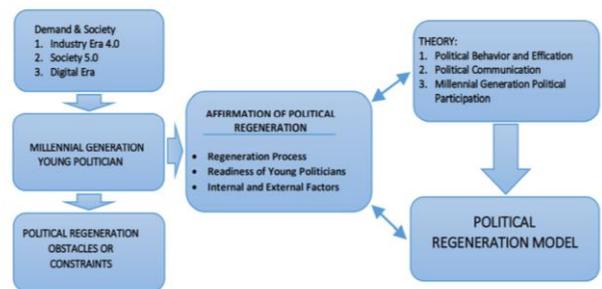


Fig. 1. State of the art (Research Result, 2019-2020).

II. METHODS

This study uses a qualitative method with a constructivist paradigm. Researchers explore the reality in political parties naturally, even though they already have initial assumptions derived from the concepts and theories of Political Affirmation and Political Communication. The analysis was carried out after data and information related to the general principles of party leaders interacting with constituents and their cadres (internal and external party institutions) were obtained. In selecting research subjects, researchers used purposive sampling technique. According to Sugiyono [12] purposive sampling is a technique of sampling data sources with certain considerations. The informants' considerations are: first, the leaders of the city / regency representative parties in Bandung Raya and Cirebon who have policies and decision-making to carry out political communication both with cadres and with constituents. Second, millennial generation (aged 20-35) who are party members are also members of the City or Regency legislature (DPRD). third, the millennial generation as activists of ORMAS (Community Organizations) affiliated with certain

parties. Because this study has various limitations, it is determined that the subject of this study is a political party that represents the characteristics of a Party with a "Nationalist" Platform (Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, Perindo, PSI, Hanura Democrat) and a Party with a "Religion" Platform (PKB, PKS, PPP, PAN and PBB) were elected as party representatives from this group.

Researchers chose in-depth interviews with millennial party leaders and party cadres. In addition, to complement the primary data, a Focus Group Discussion was held between party leaders, cadres from millennials, academics who are political observers, whose duties and functions are relevant to fostering political parties. Besides that, social media content analysis techniques (twitter and facebook) are also used which are focused on the interaction of the millennial generation of the Social Welfare Party (PKS). The data analysis technique was performed using a pattern from Hubberman and Miles [13].

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The reality is currently happening, not a few millennial generations who are apolitical even think that politics is not a necessity. In addition to this fact, PSI, PKS, PAN, PDIP, Democrat, and Perindo see politics as a basic obligation for everyone who carries out a state life. Millennial politicians think that talking politics means talking about life. Politics is an integral force that will lead people to a point between better or worse (turning point to better or worse). This meaning runs through the minds of every party member.

Seeing the current problems of the people, which are considered to be a lot of inequality and decline. Millennial politicians are here to provide a "breakthrough" to eliminate existing problems ranging from aspects of politics, economy, education, health, work, gender, and so on. It is considered that the break-out is the right way to flow ideas and struggles. This political breakdown is a way for millennial politicians to be able to show their sincerity in the efforts of the leadership of political parties in affirming the regeneration of their parties.

Interpreting what is happening to Indonesian state officials who are currently practicing imbalances in politics, especially corruption cases which have become a culture, millennial politicians have the intention to eradicate this to the root of the problem. Where military politicians see this from a grand-component perspective. On this basis, efforts are needed for the leadership of political parties in affirming the regeneration of their parties, the readiness of young politicians as millennial generation in facing political contestation, and knowing what determinants of political regeneration are in political parties. Table 1 show information data.

TABLE I. INFORMANTS DATA

Party	Name	Position	Date of Birth/Age
PSI	Sumardy Ma, MM.	Chairman DPP PSI, CEO Buzz&Co	Medan, 24 Agustus 1980
	Yoel Yosaphat, S.T.	Member of DPRD Kota Bandung 2019- 2024	Bandung, 5 Juni 1987
	Ariyo Bimmo, S.H., LL.M.	Legislative Candidate of DPR-RI Dapil Jawa Barat 1, Chairman of Koalisi Indonesia Bebas TAR (KABAR), Aktivis Reformasi Peradilan	Bandung, 01 Agustus 1974
PKS	M. Andi Jaya Kusumah	Cadre of PKS	29 tahun
	Erip Saeful	Cadre of PKS	33 tahun
	Wahyudin	Cadre of PKS	32 tahun
	Wina Nursofiah	Cadre of PKS	32 tahun
	Nur Yun	Cadre of PKS	28 tahun
	Aris Rosmana	Cadre of PKS	35 tahun
	Siti Wulansari Rasidi	Cadre of PKS	28 tahun
Rendi Ermansyah Putra	Cadre of PKS	30 tahun	
PDI-P	Sophi Zulfia, SH., MH.	Secretary of the PDI Perjuangan DPC Cirebon Regency for the Period 2019- 2024	-
Perindo	Sandi Lesmana	Activist of OKP, Activist of PPI (Perindo), Active in the wing of the United Indonesia Party (Young Coalition Perindo)	-

A. Efforts of Political Party Leaders in Regenerating Party Affirmations

PSI is not an existing party like other parties. Even though it was said to be a new party and considered to be inexperienced, PSI did not really mind it. The reason is, every thing can be learned as well as experience. Based on the research results, to be processional or not, it takes a long experience. Learning from the existing mistakes, there are interesting things in the efforts of the leadership of the PSI political party to the millennial generation who emphasize more generalist skills, not just specialist skills. The key is, someone's desire to understand and participate effectively in politics, to feel they have a role in running a government (political efficacy), and direct participation in it. The following

is the mind map of the affirmation regeneration efforts carried out by PSI (See figure 2):

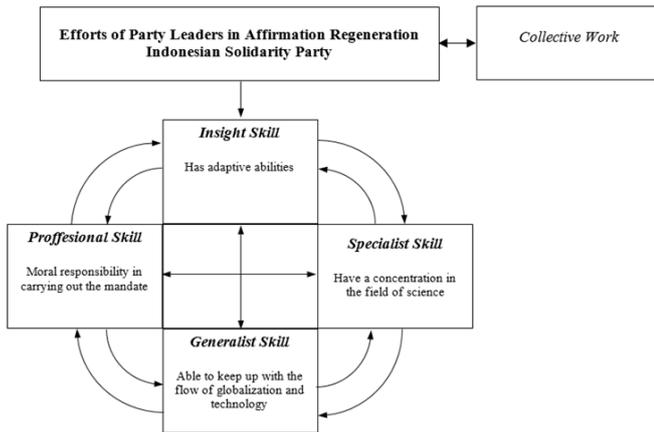


Fig. 2. Politic party leadership in party affirmation regeneration (Research Result, 2019-2020).

If the cadre of millennial politicians is carried out by face-to-face meetings, this is different from PKS (the Prosperous Justice Party which is actively producing and distributing political content on Twitter or Facebook accounts, besides shaping political culture on social media, both individually and in groups through the distribution of religious content. and Islamic politics as an effort to regenerate the affirmation of their party. The following is a mind map for spreading ideas in an effort to regenerate affirmations (Figure 3):

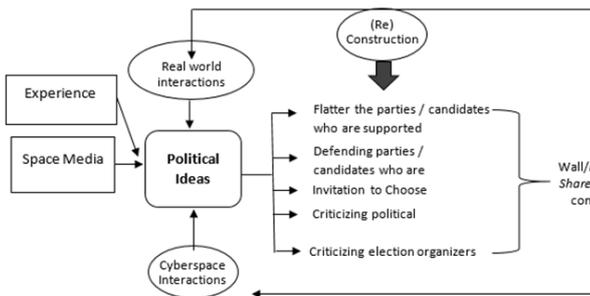


Fig. 3. Distribution of ideas on affirmation regeneration efforts (Research Result, 2019-2020).

The most basic effort of the leadership of political parties is to provide a forum for young people who want to join the world of practical politics, as did PAN (the National Mandate Party) by making Barisan Muda PAN (BM PAN) with a maximum age of 40 years. In addition, PAN formed the Young Millennial Caucus which was declared this year, which in its function is to accommodate young party cadres who adapt cadres to the changing times, besides that PAN also conducts meetings online (in network).

It is different with the PDI-P (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle). The effort made was to provide opportunities for potential young cadres to occupy strategic positions in the party

structure, starting from the DPC, PAC to sub-branch levels. In addition, PDI-P is developing party wings based on millennial circles, such as the Indonesian Democratic Struggle Volunteer (Repdem), Taruna Merah Putih and others who are given space for expression. In this case, holding activities or cadre action for high school students, creating competitions based on creativity and art, seminars and national dialogues by cooperating with student elements.

With the election of AHY (Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono) as Chairman of the Democratic Party for the 2020-2025 term. The core board of the Democratic Party for the 2020-2025 period is mostly filled with young cadres and is marked by the loss of the names of a number of senior politicians. This is touted as the regeneration step. One form of Democrat political endeavors is to create young figures in the Democrats to be at the top level of the management. For example, in the position of Deputy General Chair, Benny K Harman is in a senior position. The rest is dominated by young people.

As the first breakthrough from AHY's leadership, the regeneration process was carried out by forming the Democratic Youth Academy. There are strict rules in this activity, namely with a contract agreement not to change parties for 10 years. This regeneration pattern is a solution to building a better party going forward. In this context there is a symbiotic aspect of mutualism. Democrats finance all graduates, where it aims to form a systematic cadre. There is also a fine in the form of finance for the academy graduates of 1 billion rupiah, if the graduates violate the agreed contract agreement.

Every political party or community organization (ormas) party has a cadre method and system that fosters a sense of belonging to each person or cadre to his party or to the organization itself. As the efforts made by Perindo, which emphasize political education and a sense of belonging. Cadre levels at the party level are almost the same as those of other parties, especially the cadres in which this party targets young people. Young people continue the leadership estapet in the future. This effort uses several elements such as how active a person at the level of following party organizations, if they are able to run the organization, it will automatically enter the management of the party and cadre held by the party. This is of course very selective, especially if cadres want to run as representatives of the Indonesian Unity Party to become legislative candidates or regional leaders. As for other efforts, namely by selecting party officials by providing indirect political education, or through discussions, especially regarding policies in West Java.

B. Readiness of Young Politicians as Millennial Generation in Facing Political Contestation

Apart from all the attributes, PSI has noble ideals to create an Indonesia that is peaceful, united, and respects differences. Like a heroine, Grace Natalie, a woman whose name became known when she was a journalist, is trying to break the boundaries of the political world that are still controlled by men. In 2015, PSI was officially chaired by Grace Natalie. His

"masculine" perspective invites and provides a means for young people and women to work together to build a bright future for the country. The readiness made by PSI included political communication. Where this is considered important to declare his party in the arena of political contestation. Communication is an activity that is inseparable from people's daily lives in various fields, including political activities. The various modern political phenomena show us the increasingly important role and function of political communication. Activities, such as campaigns, propaganda, political rhetoric, lobbying and negotiations, the formation of public opinion, political publicity, and a number of other communication activities, have become very important in efforts to influence the political environment. Communication in the political process can be understood as efforts to form agreements. For example, an agreement regarding how the distribution of power (power sharing) or how the agreement is made [14].

One of the processes to achieve political goals is carried out through political branding, which is in the form of activities related to the process of building mutual understanding and good will from the internal public and the external public of a political institution or organization, such as a number of issues and special dynamics that are managed in order to get the attention of voters (voters), and have an orientation on gathering the widest possible support to the audience through various channels that can be used, both formal and informal channels.

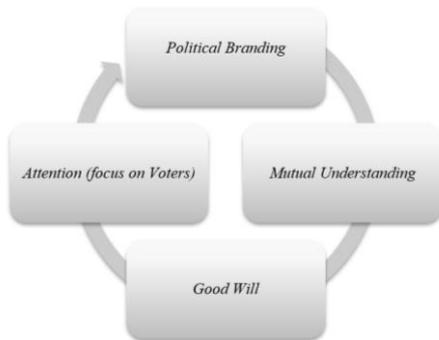


Fig. 4. PSI young political readiness (Research Result, 2019-2020).

Readiness carried out by PSI is a readiness that is implemented through face-to-face and social media. However, PKS chose to focus on the readiness of campaign language ideas through social media. The ideas and political language of PKS youth cadres on social media are the embodiment of political culture.

The form of culture is reflected in an idea, idea, value and pattern of action conveyed through social media devices. On a cognitive orientation, the political ideas conveyed by PKS millennial cadres contain the meaning of flattering the supported parties / candidates, defending the supported parties / candidates, inviting them to vote, criticizing / attacking political opponents, and criticizing election organizers. In

affective orientation, the form of feelings that are raised on social media by using the symbol of emotion or giving likes to the content they receive or feeling dissatisfied with the performance of the incumbent candidate. In evaluative orientation, informants voice their beliefs and feelings by producing and distributing content on social media (Figure 5).

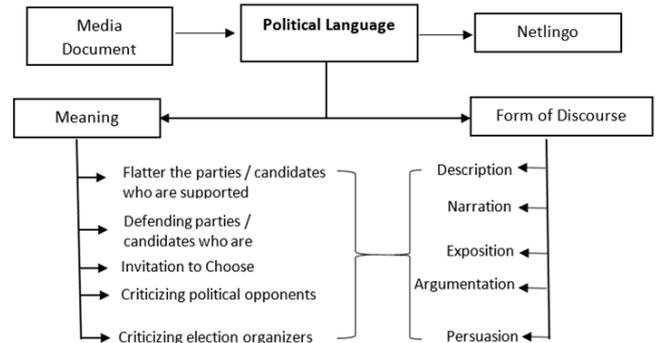


Fig. 5. PKS readiness in political contestation through spreading ideas on social media (Research Result, 2019-2020).

The readiness of millennial politicians in other parties is a form of direct involvement in the election process. As stated by a PKS cadre informant:

"We must be directly involved in every election process. Because, this is a way to learn politics and expand the network. Politics, in this case elections or pilkada, is synonymous with coalitions. The more fluid in politics, the more fluid we are in determining our position. On the other hand, the political map after Joko Widodo (Jokowi) became president forced old politicians to take a break and forced young people into high-level political circles. This is why young people get a lot of portions in strategic positions because the political actors have started to change."

In particular, PAN does not take direct decisions from the party leadership in formulating this readiness, because PAN already has a platform that is used for young people who want to take part in practical politics. But PAN is very open with the inclusion of young people as legislative candidates. Currently, strategic readiness has begun through the optimization of social media and the role of the general chairman to approach novice voters. However, it is realized that the old school approach is less effective, because currently PAN is having problems in its regeneration.

C. Determining Factors of Political Regeneration in Political Parties

Apart from efforts and readiness, of course there are inhibiting and supporting factors in the regeneration process of political parties. As happened at PSI, namely:

1) *Inhibiting factor*

- Lack of an organized system to accommodate millennial aspirations. So that millennials are considered one eye.
- Political thinking that is not good in the minds of millennials.
- Apolitical attitude towards politics.
- There are currently widespread issues of anti-corruption and anti-intolerance, in which PSI realizes that the only way to change these two things is through engaging in practical politics.

2) *Supporting factors*

- Commitment.
- Equality.
- The breakdown of political communication is different from the previous generation (baby boomers).

PDI-P stated the factors inhibiting and supporting the regeneration process of political affirmation, including:

1) *Inhibiting factor*

- Oligarchy, he admitted, most of this happened in all political parties in Indonesia. The way to fight it is by systematic and structured efforts without changing the direction and ideology of the party.
- Status quo, change and regeneration do not get adequate space in the leadership process of political parties.
- Apathy, so far many young people (millennial) are indifferent to developments or social and political dynamics that surround them.
- Skeptics, politics is identical with dirty ways. This is what needs to be straightened out, especially among millennials.
- Weak political education. Young people must continue to be given insights and explanations about political activities. That is, to fight for social, economic and other values, of course, it must be pursued with a political path so that it can become a general policy that can be adopted by all people.

2) *Supporting factors*

- Commitment (political will) to build a cadre system in internal political parties that is solid and structured.
- The need for potential cadres capable of building and raising the party.
- The decline in the number of votes in political contestation.

Turning to the Democratic party, where this party has 3 aspects of readiness to face political contestation, including: readiness in a sociological, academic and economic approach.

There are 2 main factors that hamper the regeneration process in general, namely:

- The level of popularity of young politicians in the eyes of the public tends to be low, lagging far behind senior politicians who have advanced in the previous election contestation. Their low popularity will make their electability level very low as well.
- Pragmatic political traditions and special recruitment that spoil the power of dynasties and owners of capital who are likely to take over or perpetuate power. This poses a threat to politicians who are literally crawling from the bottom, without blue blood capital and thin pockets.

However, there are still factors that support the regeneration process, including starting to improve, especially regarding the image of the party so that it is fresher, fun, cozy, hype, passionate, and millennial-friendly. This is the key in Political Branding related to efforts to get support from the millennial generation.

The readiness of another party, namely the Perindo party, is more focused on thinking readiness. This is said to be a very basic readiness to eliminate the mindset of young people towards politics. As disclosed by informant Sandi Lesmana:

"The millennial generation must change their mind set and eliminate fear of politics, it is common knowledge when the mind set in society is that the world of politics is dirty and full of intrigue that just anyone who can not enter into it. Moreover, the regeneration that is being built is targeting young people who will later hold the leadership estapeta in the future."

IV. CONCLUSION

There are parties that have recently been established (non-existing) by the millennial generation (PSI, PKS), which have efforts to regenerate politics through the formation of understanding and effective participation to play a direct role in running the government (political efficacy). This effort is through collective working by building professional skills, Insight Skills, Specialist skills and generalist skills. In addition, it forms a political culture through the dissemination of ideas and languages that suit the needs of the millennial generation on Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. For existing parties (Democrat, PDIP, Golkar) efforts are made by providing opportunities for potential young cadres to occupy strategic positions from the central to regional levels and develop party wings in mass organizations based on creativity, art, dialogue by involving students.

The readiness of young politicians in facing political contestation through various media, channels, methods, communication techniques to form political branding and personal branding, through cognitive, affective and evaluative oriented content. The political idea of young cadres on social media means flattering and defending supported parties / candidates, inviting them to vote and criticizing political

opponents and election administrators. In affective orientation, emotion forms using emoticon symbols by giving a "like" sign or emotional language for dissatisfaction with the content they receive. On an evaluative orientation, young cadres produce and distribute content on social media about their assessment of political realities. The netlingo language is mostly used by the millennial generation in the form of descriptions, narratives and persuasion.

There are two determinant factors that determine the affirmation of political regeneration within the party, namely supporting and inhibiting factors. The supporting factors are the existence of commitment, equality, innovative political communication, creative which is different from before. The inhibiting factors are mainly psychological barriers, namely apathy, skepticism, apolitics, and a negative mindset on politics. These obstacles are due to the absence of an organized regeneration system, weak political education and the still dominant oligarchic culture. This requires the efforts of the government, political parties, universities to form a political system and party leaders have the "political will" to place the potential millennial generation as political actors.

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