

# Youth Voters' Behavior in Pilkada to Realize Civic Skills (Study of Description of Medan State University Students' Perceptions in the 2020 Medan Mayor Election)

Fahmi Khalehar<sup>1,\*</sup>, Cecep Darmawan<sup>2</sup>, Prayoga Bestari<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup> Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Bandung, Indonesia \*Corresponding author. Email: <u>fahmikhalehar94@gmail.com</u>

#### **ABSTRACT**

The behavior of youth voters in Pilkada to realize Civic Skills is an interesting study in looking at the involvement of citizens (youth) in political and government life, especially in Pilkada in city government areas. This study aims to identify and describe and explore students' perceptions of voter behavior to realize Civic Skills in increasing citizen participation (youth) in the 2020 Medan Mayor Election. Civic skills are good intellectual skills and citizen participatory skills. the state (Youth) to think critically about socio-political issues related to the Mayor Election. In conducting this research, the researcher used a qualitative approach with a case study research method for students, both those who are members of the intracampus organization and those who are members of the extracampus. This research was conducted at the State University of Medan, Indonesia. The results in this study explain that students who are members of extracampus organizations (GMNI, HMI, GMKI, IMM) have shown better results in the realization of civic skills when compared to students who are members of intracampus organizations (UKM Pramuka, Menwa, UKMI, UKMK). Students who are members of the extracampus organization show the manifestation of intellectual skills that are better in recognizing, describing, explaining, analyzing, evaluating, and taking a position in the 2020 Medan Mayor Election when compared to students who are members of the intracampus organization.

Keywords: Civic Skills, Perceptions, Pilkada, Youth Voter Behavior.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The state is a tool (agency) that comes from the community and has the power to regulate systems, relationships, and bring order to life that exists in society or citizens [1]. Citizens who participate in the implementation of state life are guaranteed the basic rights of citizens in the life of the nation and state. Citizen participation is very important in democratic life which is the highest sovereignty in the hands of the people. One of the basic rights of citizens is general elections which are guaranteed in Article 28 (UUD NRI Tahun 1945), which reads "freedom of association and assembly, expressing thoughts verbally and in writing and so on are stipulated in the rule". One of the means for citizens to elect government officials is general elections. The general election itself is the right of citizens to express their aspirations and freedom in making their own choices.

Making choices in every moment of the national general election as well as in the Pilkada is a phenomenon that is always interesting to discuss, especially for youth voters or novice voters. Their very

large number attracts the attention of political parties and politicians or candidates for officials in the regions to gain votes for their votes. This is interesting because the young and trial-and-error spirit still colors the thinking lines of the novice voters. Most of them only see the moment of the election as a means of participation by giving their voting rights to the parties and figures they like.

Based on data from the Medan City KPU, the Permanent Voters List (DPT) for the election of the mayor of Medan and the deputy mayor of Medan was 1635846. The number who exercised their right to vote was only 748822 consisting of 342981 men and 405841 women. From these data, the vote acquisition of the pair (sequence number 1) Ir. Akhyar Nasution, M.Si with H. Salman Alfarisi, Lc, M.A. 342580 and the pair (sequence number 2) Muhammad Bobby Afif Nasution with H. Aulia Rachman totaling 393327. Thus, the number of valid votes was 735907 and the number of invalid votes was 12915 (KPU Kota Medan).

The magnitude of this figure becomes significant, when the existence of students as youth voters or novice



voters is placed as intellectuals. Novice voters in history have proven themselves to be the main group through their moral movement bringing changes in the dynamics of democracy in the state. Therefore, students as novice voters become an important part of voters or constituents in the 2020 Medan Mayor Election in realizing civic skills as citizens in political and government life.

This study further explores how students' perceptions of voter behavior in the Pilkada are based on sociological, psychological, rational, and vote buying approaches [4]. In addition, it can be seen from the type of youth voters seen from Rational Voters, Critical Voters, Traditional Voters and Skeptic Voters as a whole [5] in realizing civic skills.

For this reason, this study seeks to examine and explore the perceptions of young voters, especially student activists who are members of interesting intracampus and extracampus organizations to be appointed as a research topic. Based on the above background, the formulation of the research problem proposed is how are students' perceptions of student or youth voter behavior as novice voters to realize Civic Skills in increasing citizen participation in the 2020 Medan Mayor Election?

#### 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In research, a theoretical foundation is needed as the basis for research and a general explanation of the reality that occurs. Theories can be in the form of opinions based on research, data-based research, and expert arguments. In this report, at least the researcher uses several clumps of literature to analyze and describe the facts of the research.

Voter behavior based on this sociological approach states that social characteristics and social groupings have a strong basis for shaping voter behavior. This social grouping is usually classified according to age, education taken, religion, class, gender and others are considered as things that affect the formation of voting behavior. Geral Pomper and Lipset are among the scholars who developed this research approach [6], [7], by conducting research on the relationship between socio-economic developments of voters and voting families. A sociological approach that comes from the outside through the values that are instilled through the socialization process that individuals go through in living their lives.

Efriza stated that the psychological approach has several important factors in determining individual attitudes in choosing their choices, namely (a) personal assessment and perception of candidates who run; (b) self-assessment and perception of the hotly discussed themes and issues; (c) identification of a registered party [6]. The main thing from this psychological approach is the voter's perception of the party or the emotional

attachment and closeness they have. In essence, a party that has an emotional attachment to voters is something that supports a party in getting votes without being affected by other things.

The main variable of this approach is the attitude of the individual and the socialization context that causes the individual to choose with his own will. Greenstein in [4] states that the main variable is the attitude of a person to choose his choice in political behavior. There are several functions of individual attitudes in their behavior, namely attitude is a function of interest and attitude is a function of self-adjustment. Attitude is a function of interest, namely someone who behaves because of intermediaries from other people who influence the individual and the individual can follow or not follow what the other person says. While the attitude of the adjustment function is psychologically which is a desire from him to implement what he feels about a problem he faces.

According to Apter [8], Individual attitudes are not original but are formed from a long process, when he is just born until he is an adult. There are several stages that individuals will go through, namely; (1) information on the formation of attitudes that were developed when they were children, (2) political attitudes that were formed when the individual grew up and at this time he faced circumstances outside the family environment, for example at school, together with peers/groups, and others, and; (3) political attitudes formed by groups that have authority and rights, such as the example where he works in a company that affects his attitude, the political parties he follows and other associations.

Surbakti states that choosing behavior based on rational considerations is not only an alternative to choosing the most profitable (maximum gain) or avoiding a lot of losses (least risk), but prioritizing individual balance in thinking rationally [4]. So individuals in analyzing and assuming political issues submitted by the candidates and can assess the figures of the candidates who are running for office.

Next is voter behavior based on Vote buying according to Aspinall and Sukmajati [9] including one part of patronage and clientelism in Indonesian politics. In addition to vote buying above, there are several variations of forms of patronage, namely: individual gifts to bond social relations; activities and services (services and activities) by financing various activities and services for voters; group goods (club good) donated for mutual benefit in certain communities rather than individuals; and pork barrel projects, namely as government projects awarded to individuals or groups only for certain geographic areas.

Judging from the typology of voters according to Firmanzah [5] consists of 4 typologies, namely: Rational Voters, Critical Voters, Traditional Voters and Skeptic Voters. Rational voters are individual voters with a high orientation in terms of policy-problem-solving and a fairly low orientation towards ideology. A critical voter



is an individual who chooses a candidate or a political party based on understanding and thinking in terms of the orientation of political parties in solving problems and ideological orientations, voters who continue to analyze the system with the party's ideological value from making a policy. Traditional voters tend to have a high ideological orientation, political party policies are not seen as very important in determining their choices during elections. Traditional voters prioritize the closeness of social and cultural values, common understanding and religion as a benchmark in choosing candidates in the ongoing elections. Traditional voters are usually concerned with the figures who run for office and their leadership personalities, myths, and historical values of candidates and political parties. Meanwhile, skeptical voters are the actions of voters who do not have a high ideological orientation for political party candidates and their political parties, as well as policies that are not made interesting and important according to him. This indifference is the basis of this skeptical voter where the desire to contribute and involvement in an election is very lacking due to very low ideological ties. These skeptical voters are also less concerned about or concerned with work programs and policies offered by candidates and political parties.

Further, the issue of voter behavior and typology is closely related to the study of Civic Skills. Previously, first briefly explained about Civics and Civic Education. The science of citizenship (civics) is a science that emphasizes the theoretical aspects of the rights and obligations of citizens who aim to become good citizens in democratic life [7]. Civics is the science of citizenship, the relationship between individuals and other individuals in an organized manner and the relationship between individuals and their countries [10], [11]. Citizenship is a set of characteristics to be a good citizenship. Civics itself cannot be separated from citizenship. Citizenship denotes membership of the political community in society, not just the state [10], [11].

Civic education is an extension of the civics sentence itself which focuses more on aspects in the practice of citizenship [7]. Furthermore, civic education is often referred to as adult education because it aims to prepare individuals from citizens to better know the role of citizens in a country.

Cogan states that Civic education is a learning activity that takes place in schools formally in teaching the characteristics of citizens [12]. The involvement and participation of citizens in solving a problem faced in society is an orientation that is closely related to citizenship education [7]. In line with what was previously described, citizenship education has a broader study where it is not only formal learning in the classroom, but is related to one's learning experience with involvement and participation in the community. Citizenship education or citizenship education is a more inclusive term that includes learning activities at school

and outside of school, learning that occurs non-formally/informally in the family, religious organizations, media that aims to shape the character of its citizens as a whole [13].

As a study of education, Civics has a goal, namely to make and shape citizens to be good and smart in the life of the state (to be smart and good citizen). Branson [14] detailing Civic Education in 3 parts of competence, namely; civic knowledge, civic attitudes and civic skills for basic education in a country. Civic knowledge is something that citizens need to know in the context of citizenship. Citizenship knowledge is directed to knowledge that gives citizens the ability to think intelligently and well. Attitudes or civic dispositions refer to independent and public character traits important for the maintenance and improvement of democracy. The character of a citizen is developed so that it contributes to the effectiveness of the political system, control of public policies, a sense of dignity and value, and the desire to participate in the public interest. This character is developed slowly over a long period of time from experiences during learning at school, the community, family and mass organizations. Meanwhile, citizenship skills (civic skills) are intended for citizens to have a set of skills to be able to participate in the public interest. Citizens are equipped with good intellectual and participatory skills that are relevant to think critically about socio-political issues that are useful in participating in dealing with these problems.

Branson [14] stated that Civic Education in a democratic society must be centralized to the information obtained aimed at skills in effective citizen participation and the political process carried out must be accountable to the state. These skills are handling problems by the political process and society, carrying out supervision as part of the citizen. Finally, participatory skills whose reference is influenced by capacity in formal and informal political and governance processes.

In relation to the political process and government, citizens are also emphasized to be able to carry out their responsibilities as citizens and the state fulfills the rights of its citizens. As a member of the community, citizens do not only build aspects of knowledge related to politics, but must be able to master intellectual skills and participate in participation. The skills of citizens include the two skills possessed by citizens in being intellectual, the skills possessed by citizens must think critically and participatively, citizens' skills in political education must be able to interact, be able to monitor public issues and be able to influence political policy making [13]; [15]; [16].

Intellectual skills are individual skills in critical thinking in viewing political and government issues that cannot be separated from the study of political education in the state. Citizens must be able to think of ways to deal with critical political issues both historically and currently ongoing by using intellectual tools as a means of consideration. Therefore, citizens who have



intellectual skills as the basis for being a state that is able to make responsible and aware of information is a term for critical thinking skills.

Before building the thinking skills of citizens, it is necessary to instill political education first as an effort to form critical awareness for citizens. It is impossible to build critical thinking skills without first forming a critical awareness of citizens. This critical awareness is a basic thing that citizens must have in order to be able to respond and be able to find out quickly about problems so that they can quickly identify and analyze problems quickly and accurately. Khoiron [15] divides several elements of critical thinking skills, namely: (1) Listening ability, the ability of a person to focus on what other people are talking about. (2) The ability to identify and describe the problem, the ability to be able to sort out an issue that is being faced then classify the issue and know its history. (3) The ability to explain and conduct analysis, which can explain an issue being faced along with the causes of issues that can arise, for example citizens can distinguish between opinions and facts. (4) The ability to evaluate, using a certain context in assessing an issue with the aim of correcting things that are wrong or actions of deviations to be corrected.

Citizens who participate effectively and responsibly must have an adequate knowledge base and have participatory skills (political skills). In the context of political education, participatory skills include 3 skills, namely (1) Interacting skills: the ability of citizens to interact with other people directly or indirectly, able to communicate well. (2) Expertise in monitoring (monitoring) public issues: the ability of citizens to observe conditions and understand ways to address public issues related to government and politics. (3) Skills in influencing (influencing) public policies: Skills in influencing public policies, namely citizens can participate in political processes that run both formally and informally [16].

Table 1: Rincian Civic Skills

Intellectual Skills	Participatory Skills
Identify	Interact
Describing	Monitor/monitor
Explain	Influence
Analyz	
e	
Evaluate	
Taking Opinions/positions	

Source: Processed from the Center for Civic Education (1994).

#### 3. METHOD

# 3.1 Research Approach and Design

In this study using a qualitative approach. Qualitative research method is a way to explore a problem or phenomenon based on a fairly comprehensive picture, manifested in the form of a description of words, and reported in the form of in-depth information placed in natural situations [17]. Furthermore, [18] qualitative research is defined as a study that is related to aspects of quality, value/meaning found in field facts. So to describe the findings of the value/meaning obtained, it pass through the intermediary language/words. The data findings that are applied are not in numbers, scores, numbers, frequencies, values, or rankings which are often analyzed using mathematical or statistical methods.

Furthermore, this research uses a case study research design. According to Yin, a case study is an empirical research that is applied from various sources to examine contemporary phenomena in the real-life context, whose boundaries with phenomena and scope are not very clear [19].

The reasons specifically for case study research are; The researcher's case study design sees an opportunity to identify research problems into issues and renewable studies and become a tool to explore and thoroughly analyze the research problem or analysis of specific research issues.

#### 3.2 Participants and Research Site

Participants are elements of providing data/information needed in research [20]. This research is in the process of obtaining the right data, the selection of participants applies a purposive sampling mechanism. Purposive sampling is a way to determine the representative through certain reasons, it will be in accordance with the provisions, criteria and objectives [21]. The main participants in this study is student administrator of the Unimed intracampus and extra-campus organization.

Furthermore, the place of research was carried out at the Secretariat of intracampus administrators (UKM MENWA/PRAMUKA/UKMI/UKMK) and extracampus administrators (GMNI/HMI/GMKI/IMM) at Unimed Medan

#### 3.3 Data collection

The collection of qualitative research data is carried out starting with giving general questions to the informants, collecting data in the form of words/texts/images and collecting information from a person or research location [22]. Furthermore, the grouping of qualitative data collection techniques is divided into three ways including: 1) interviews, 2) document studies [23]. So we need a way to collect data in accordance with research needs to obtain data in this study.



#### 3.4 Data Analysis & Data Validity

Data analysis is a series of ways to find and write down systematically the data obtained through interviews, observations, field notes and other references with the aim that the results and research findings can be understood by other parties. The data review mechanism is carried out through grouping data, parsing into components, synthesizing, forming patterns, determining important parts to be explored and drawing conclusions. Analysis of qualitative research data was carried out from the beginning of the preparation stage for researchers to participate in collecting data in the field and from the beginning compiling and explaining research problems, which was continued in the process of compiling results and the process of taking research conclusions [24].

Furthermore, in the process of validating research data referring to interactive data analysis according to the Miles and Hurberman model, data analysis is carried out with three main processes consisting of reduction, data presentation, and data inspection [25]. Finally, drawing conclusions or verification is the final sequence in the process of qualitative research work. Researchers will draw conclusions and re-examine in terms of the meaning or validity of the conclusions. The meanings compiled by the researcher from the study of the data were first tested for validity, suitability and robustness, the reviewer must be sensitive in exploring meaning, the reviewer uses an emic view through the key informant's point of view and is not based on interpretation of meaning based on the researcher's point of view [26].

#### 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As intellectuals, students tend to behave rationally (but because of the dominance of power from the ruling party, some students also use a psychological approach (party identity) and some are still influenced by sociological backgrounds and to be influenced by vote buying is very unlikely because their rational mind is still greater impact on students [27].

The typology of Unimed student behavior in the 2020 Medan Mayor Election, tends to be more rational voters. His educational experience, the socialization he received, and his exposure to politics in his daily experiences have strengthened the articulation power of "shaper" young voters. This process gives birth to the quality of young voter participation as a cornerstone of democracy (the foundation/foundation of democracy). However, previous experiences, such as being convicted of the mayor of Medan for corruption, have made some students behave skeptically [27]

The actualization of student participation in the 2020 Medan Mayor Election as a means of conveying the aspirations of youth needs is still in the low category. This is shown by the lack of issues related to citizen empowerment for students as young people to be able to

have a number of competencies for their future needs [27].

The UKM Menwa/Pramuka/UKMI/UKMK as intracampus organization in Unimed must be a place to meet student needs, including in training students' intellectual skills. Through intracampus organizations, it is hoped that students as citizens can play a role in solving problems in the surrounding environment, and can make decisions intelligently and responsibly [27]. The existence of intracampus organizations must be a place to meet the needs of students, including in training students' participatory skills. Through intracampus organizations, it is hoped that students as citizens can play a role in acting and participating in a number of social and national activities.

This extra-campus organization (GMNI / HMI/GMKI/IMM) in Unimed, its existence is more of a place to train student leadership as a forum to actualize their participation in political and government life, including in training students' intellectual skills. Through the extracampus organization. These abilities or skills can play a role in solving problems that exist in political and government life (for example participation in the 2020 Medan Mayor Election ago). In addition, students can make decisions intelligently and responsibly [27].

Intracampus and extracampus student organizations in the era of electoral democracy should be present as a forum to be able to meet the needs of students who can equip them with civic skills in the form of intellectual skills and participatory skills. Students as citizens can play a concrete role in filling national development in every aspect of life (ideology, politics, economy, socioculture, defense and security) [28]. The main obstacle for youth or student organizations at this time, especially students who are members of extra-campus organizations, is the trapping of the existence of these organizations into a political puddle which is only limited to a struggle for power. Therefore, the presence of the organization is only engrossed in the struggle for power (if necessary justifies all means). However, students who are members of intracampus and extracampus organizations forget their existence in creating a common forum to participate in political and government life (as explained above, as an example of student participation in the 2020 Medan Mayor Election

In the study of civic education, this research is very good in order to strengthen the body of knowledge of civic education in the civic skills and political-pedagogic domains. Every citizen, including students, as the hopeful youth of the nation and the state in the future, has an obligation to improve their intellectual skills and participation skills in political and government life. In this regard, intracampus and extracampus student organizations have an important role in improving the quality of citizens at the student level. The quality of citizens who will be directed in their improvement through political-pedagogic (Political Education) in



building smart and good students so that they can be relied on in accordance with the objectives of Citizenship Education. This is in line with the opinion that civic education opens up the widest opportunities for citizens, expresses their commitment and plays an active role, to learn to mature themselves, especially regarding improving the quality of citizens or in political and government life, citizen relations with public institutions or government agencies [29].

#### 5. CONCLUSION

Students who are members of extracampus organizations have shown better results in the realization of civic skills when compared to students who are members of intracampus organizations

Students who are members of the extracampus organization show are better than the intracampus organization the manifestation of intellectual skills in recognizing, describing, explaining, analyzing, evaluating, and taking a position in the 2020 Medan Mayor Election.

## **AUTHORS'S CONTRIBUTIONS**

Authors<sup>1</sup> :Contribution to concept determination, data collection, analysis and interpretation of research findings, compiling research reports.

Authors<sup>2 and 3</sup> :Contribute to concept development and study design, provide input and critical revision of research reports.

# **REFERENCES**

- [1] M. Budiardjo, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta: Gramedia, 2008.
- [2] UUD NRI Tahun 1945, *Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945*.
- [3] KPU Kota Medan, Keputusan KPU Kota Medan Nomor: 1672/PL.02.6-Kpt/1271/KPU-Kot/XII/2020 tentang Penetapan Rekapitulasi Hasil Perhitungan Perolehan Suara dan Hasil Pemilihan Walikota dan Wakil Walikota Medan Tahun 2020.
- [4] A. Sahab, *Buku Ajar Perilaku Politik*. Surabaya: Revka Petra Media, 2012.
- [5] Firmanzah, *Marketing Politik: Antara Pemahaman dan Realitas*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2012.
- [6] Efriza, *Political Explore Sebuah Kajian Ilmu Politik*. Bandung: Alfabeta, 2012.
- [7] A. A. & S. Wahab, *Teori dan Landasan Pendidikan Kewarganeraan*. bandung: Alfabeta, 2011.
- [8] D. E. Apter, *Pengantar Analisa Politik*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985.
- [9] M. Aspinal, Edward., Sukmajati, Politik Uang di

- Indonesia: Patronase dan Klientilisme pada Pemilu Legislatif 2014. Yogyakarta: PolGov UGM, 2015.
- [10] Winarno, *Pembelajaran Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2013.
- [11] R. Cogan, J.J. & Derricott, *Citizenship for the 21st Century: an International Perspective*. New York: Routladge, 2012.
- [12] U. S. Winataputra, Profil Civic Education di Negara-Negara Kawasan Eropa, Amerika, dan Australia in Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan dalam Prespektif Internasional (Konteks, Teori dan Profil Pembelajaran). Bandung: Widya Aksara Press, 2012.
- [13] K. Budimansyah, Dasim., Suryadi, PKn dan Masyarakat Multikultural. Bandung: Program Studi Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2008.
- [14] M. S. Branson, Seri Pendidikan Politik: Belajar Civic Education dari Amerika. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999.
- [15] D. Khoiron, M. Nur., *Pendidikan Politik bagi Warga Negara (Tawaran Operasional dan Kerangka Kerja*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999.
- [16] dkk. Ubaidillah, A., *Pendidikan Kewargaan (Civic Education)*, *Demokrasi, HAM, dan Masyarakat Madani*. Jakarta: IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2000.
- [17] J. W. Creswell, *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches*. California: Sage, 2007.
- [18] S. Al-Muchtar, *Dasar Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Gelar Pustaka Mandiri, 2015.
- [19] Morissan, Riset Kualitatif. Jakarta: Kencana, 2019.
- [20] L. Moleong, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Edisi Revisi*. Jakarta: Remaja Rosda Karya, 2014.
- [21] Sugiyono, *Memahami Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: CV. Alfabeta, 2009.
- [22] J. Creswell, Riset Pendidikan-Perencanaan, Pelaksanaan, dan Evaluasi Riset Kualitatif dan Kuantitatif. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar., 2015.
- [23] Mulyadi, Seto; & dkk, Metode Penelitian Kualitatif dan Mixed Metode (perspektif yang terbaru untuk ilmu- ilmu sosial, kemanusiaan dan budaya). Jakarta: PT RajaGrafindo, 2019.
- [24] S. Nasution, *Metode Penelitian Naturalistik Kualitatif*. Bandung: Tarsito, 2003.
- [25] M. Ali, Research Methods In Sustainability Education. Bandung: UPI Press, 2019.
- [26] P. A. Usman, H; & Akbar, *Metode Penelitian Sosial*, Ketiga. Jakarta: PT Bumi Aksara, 2017.
- [27] Unimed student participants, "Primary data from interviews from Unimed student participants or informants about political behavior and civic skills of Unimed students in intra-campus and extracampus organizations," 2021.
- [28] Unimed scientist of civic education and politics, "Primary data from interviews from participants or expert informants of civic education and political scientists about political behavior and civic skills of



- Unimed students in intra-campus and extra-campus organizations," 2021.
- [29] Isep, "Peranan Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Sebagai Pendidikan Hukum Dalam Mengupayakan Internalisasi Hukum Di Kalangan Peserta Didik," *J. Penelit. Pendidik.*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 13–20, 2013.