

## Progressive Politics of the Millennial Community in Support of the 2024 Maros Regency Regional Head Candidate Pair

Muh. Gemilang Pagessa<sup>1</sup>, Nurlinah<sup>2</sup>, Gustiana A. Kambo<sup>3</sup>

### Abstract

This study examines the dynamics of progressive politics among millennial communities in Maros Regency during the 2024 Regional Head Elections. Grounded in generational theory and contemporary social movement perspectives, the research explores how millennials construct political orientations, mobilize resources, collaborate across networks, and sustain collective action beyond the electoral moment. Using a qualitative, interpretive, and phenomenological approach, data were collected through in-depth interviews, non-participatory observation, and documentary analysis involving volunteer communities supporting both candidate pairs and the empty box option. The findings reveal that millennial political participation in Maros is characterized by hybrid strategies that integrate digital media with offline mobilization, reflecting adaptive responses to local political contexts. Resource mobilization relies heavily on trust-based networks, personal relationships, and affective loyalty rather than formal bureaucratic structures, enabling flexibility while simultaneously creating risks of elite dominance. Progressive values are expressed not through rigid ideology but through everyday practices of presence, coordination, and collective work, which also serve to challenge stereotypes of youth political apathy. Collaboration and coalitions among millennial communities are fluid and pragmatic, facilitating political learning and network expansion, yet remain vulnerable to patronage dynamics. Post-election, community sustainability shifts from electoral mobilization toward relational cohesion, revealing a tension between democratic ideals and pragmatic local politics. Overall, the study highlights the evolving role of millennial communities as key actors in shaping participatory democracy at the local level in the digital era.

**Keywords:** *Progressive Politics, Millennial Community, 2024 Regional Elections, Digital Social Movements, Local Democracy.*

### Introduction

Each generation is formed through different historical contexts, social experiences, and political events. Therefore, generations including the younger generation cannot be understood solely based on biological age, but must be seen as social constructs shaped by shared historical experiences. Berkup (2014) and Aboim & Vasconcelos (2014) emphasized that generations are the result of individuals bonding within a shared time horizon and social experiences.

Collectively experienced historical experiences and social events form a collective memory that influences how a generation thinks, behaves, and acts in social and political life. Lustiger-Thaler & Farro (2016) and Aguilar & Ramírez-Barat (2019) explain that this collective memory has a long-term impact on the value orientations and behaviors of generations, including their response to political dynamics.

Mannheim further explains that generations have three interrelated dimensions. First, the biological dimension, which refers to shared birth years. Second, the relational dimension, which emphasizes that social change occurs through intergenerational interactions. Third, the dimension of

---

<sup>1</sup> Postgraduate Program, Doctoral Study Program in Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University, Makassar

<sup>2</sup> Postgraduate Program, Doctoral Study Program in Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University, Makassar.

<sup>3</sup> Postgraduate Program, Doctoral Study Program in Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University, Makassar

shared historical experience, which gives rise to shared values, beliefs, and socio-political behavioral patterns.

The concept of generations was further developed by Kowalski (2019) through their theory of the generational cycle. They divided generations into several main categories Veterans, Baby Boomers, Generation X, and Millennials each with distinct social characteristics and political orientations according to their surrounding historical context.

Millennials, born between 1982 and 2000, grew up in an era of accelerated information technology and the internet. This generation is often referred to as the digital generation or net generation, with key characteristics including openness to change, the ability to build social networks, and a tendency to collaborate within communities (Taipale, 2016; Leung, 2013; Brescia, 2017; Panteli & Marder, 2017).

Furthermore, millennials are known to have a progressive value orientation. They value freedom of thought, embrace innovation, and tend to reject rigid hierarchical patterns. Aboim & Vasconcelos (2014) describe this generation as a group that views the world more openly and critically, including in interpreting political practices.

In a political context, millennials demonstrate a relatively high level of attention to public issues, particularly through their use of social media as a source of information and a platform for political expression. However, this attention does not always translate directly into formal electoral participation, such as voting, as noted by Boccagni et al. (2018).

In Indonesia, voter characteristics have undergone significant changes from one election to the next. In the 2004 to 2014 elections, voting behavior was still dominated by sociological factors and loyalty to certain political parties or elite figures. Party identity was a major factor in determining voters' political choices (Dinasm 2014).

This change began to be evident in the 2019 election, when voters particularly millennials showed a more rational and critical tendency. Voters no longer relied solely on party affiliation, but began to evaluate candidates based on their performance, track record, and policy vision.

In the 2024 election, this trend has only intensified. Millennials, as the largest voter group, appear more independent, heterogeneous, and pragmatic in making their political choices. Issues such as unemployment, economic inequality, education quality, and social welfare have become key considerations in determining political support.

The shift in the political orientation of millennials is also marked by the strengthening role of non-partisan communities and networks. Through social media and digital platforms, millennial communities are able to organize themselves, disseminate political information, and build support independently without relying entirely on conventional political party structures.

This phenomenon demonstrates the emergence of progressive political practices, where political participation is not only defined as involvement in formal institutions, but also through social movements, digital communities, and collective action based on social awareness. Bherer et al. (2016) described this form of participation as an indication of the development of participatory democracy outside formal channels.

In the local context, Maros Regency presents an interesting space for examining the progressive politics of the millennial generation (Dewi & Fuady, 2024). In the 2024 regional elections, millennial communities in Maros emerged as active political actors, not only as voters but also as campaign organizers, volunteers, and mediators of political information.

The millennial community's support for the 2024 regional head candidates in Maros Regency demonstrates their pragmatic political orientation and oriented toward concrete solutions. Candidates are assessed based on their capacity to address local issues, such as job opportunities, equitable development, and the use of technology in governance.

Therefore, research on the progressive politics of the millennial community in supporting the 2024 Maros Regency regional head candidate pairs is crucial for understanding the transformation of local political participation. This study is expected to provide a comprehensive picture of how millennials develop political orientations, organize themselves through communities, and contribute to shaping the direction of local democracy in the digital era.

## **Methods**

### **Research Design and Approach**

This research uses a qualitative approach with an interpretive paradigm. This approach was chosen because the research seeks to understand the meanings, motives, and political awareness underlying the actions of the millennial generation, who are members of various communities in Maros Regency, during the 2024 Regional Elections. Specifically, this research begins from a phenomenological perspective, examining the subjective experiences of young political actors in interpreting their involvement in the local democratic process. The phenomenon of increasing political awareness among millennials, which previously focused more on social, environmental, and educational issues, is understood as a social process that cannot be explained solely quantitatively but requires deeper understanding through direct interaction with the research subjects. The qualitative approach also allows researchers to capture the political dynamics that occur in real social contexts, where individuals and communities develop different political strategies in response to local political situations. Thus, this research not only captures political behavior but also interprets how millennials collectively construct their political awareness, preferences, and direction.

### **Research Location and Timeline**

This research was conducted in Maros Regency, South Sulawesi Province, a strategic area directly adjacent to Makassar City, a center of regional economic and political growth. Maros Regency was chosen as the research location because its demographic characteristics are dominated by a productive-age population, particularly millennials and Generation Z, who constitute more than 40 percent of the total population, according to 2023 data from the Central Statistics Agency. The research was conducted during the 2024 Regional Head Elections, focusing on the campaign period, voting period, and post-election dynamics. This timeframe allowed researchers to directly observe the engagement patterns of the millennial community before, during, and after the political contestation, thus providing a comprehensive picture of the transformation of their political participation.

### **Data Sources and Types**

The data in this study were sourced from primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with actors directly involved in the dynamics of the 2024 Maros Regional Election, particularly community volunteers supporting the Chaidir Syam-Muetazim Mansyur ticket and volunteers campaigning for the empty box. Interviews were also conducted with the winning team, voters, community leaders, and local political actors directly involved in the election process. Secondary data were obtained through reviewing various supporting documents, such as campaign documentation, online and print media coverage, election monitoring reports, survey results, and academic studies relevant to millennial political participation and the dynamics of regional elections in Indonesia. This secondary data was used to enrich the analysis and strengthen the field findings.

### **Data Collection Techniques**

Data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews, non-participatory observation, and documentary studies. In-depth interviews served as the primary technique for exploring the experiences, perspectives, and political strategies of informants. Informants were selected purposively based on their level of involvement in campaign activities, experience during the regional election process, and their capacity to understand local political dynamics. This study did not specify a specific number of informants, as qualitative research prioritizes data depth. The interview process was discontinued when data saturation reached and no significant new information emerged. Non-participatory observation was conducted to directly observe volunteer community activities, including public discussions, open campaigns, social activities, and mobilizing support through social media. This observation helped researchers understand the daily political practices of the millennial community in their natural context. Furthermore, a documentary study was conducted by reviewing campaign archives, media reports, and official reports to verify and complement the interview data. During the data collection process, researchers applied the principle of bracketing, suspending assumptions, theories, and personal views to prevent them from influencing the interpretation of informants' experiences.

### **Research Informants**

The informants in this study came from various volunteer communities active in the 2024 Maros Regional Election, including the Empty Box People's House Volunteers, the Chaidir-Muetazim Youth

Volunteer Community, and the Cool Maros Community. In addition to community volunteers, informants also included the regent and vice-regent candidate pairs, volunteer spokespersons and coordinators, young politicians, and representatives of the official campaign teams from each camp. The selection of informants was based on their active involvement in the local political process, direct experience during the election stages, and willingness to provide open and in-depth information. The diverse backgrounds of the informants allowed researchers to gain a comprehensive perspective on campaign strategies, volunteer mobilization patterns, and the relationship between the millennial community and formal political actors.

### **Data Analysis Techniques**

Data analysis was conducted in stages starting from the data collection process. Data obtained from interviews, observations, and documentation were first examined, sorted, and classified according to the research focus. Next, the researcher compiled an in-depth description of the phenomenon of volunteer community involvement in the 2024 Maros Regional Election, specifically regarding mobilization strategies, patterns of political support, and the meanings volunteers attach to their political activities. This research uses a narrative analysis approach to understand how individuals and communities interpret their political experiences. Through narrative analysis, the researcher not only examines the actions of volunteers but also interprets the motivations, values, and political orientations underlying those actions. To ensure data validity, triangulation was conducted by comparing the results of interviews, observations, and documentation, and linking them to theories and previous research findings. The analysis results were then contextualized within the theoretical framework of political participation, volunteer mobilization, and local political dynamics to gain a more comprehensive understanding.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **Online, Offline & Digital Strategy Actions**

The political transformation in the 2024 Maros Regency Election demonstrated a shift toward hybrid politics, combining digital spaces and offline social activities. The Andalan Hati Millennial Community utilized social media—particularly Facebook, Instagram, and TikTok—as a primary instrument for shaping public perception through visual content such as activity videos and infographics. This strategy reflects the practice of symbolic politics and operates within a hybrid media system adapted to the local media ecology of Maros. Social media was also used as a counter-narrative arena to respond to hoaxes and candidate delegitimization through clarifying content that encouraged voter participation, emphasizing the function of digital space as a field of discursive contestation. In contrast, the Kotak Kosong community experienced restrictions on digital access, which can be understood as a form of digital repression through algorithmic mechanisms and mass reporting.

Beyond the digital space, offline strategies remained a key pillar of mobilization. The community conducted fieldwork such as door-to-door visits, distribution of campaign materials, and public discussions. These practices demonstrated the continuity of repertoires of contention in local politics, while also opening informal deliberative spaces through the presentation of candidates' visions and missions at the village level. This combination of online and offline strategies confirms that millennial mobilization in Maros does not replace conventional patterns, but rather integrates them within a hybrid political framework that is adaptive to the local context.

### **Resource Mobilization**

Resource mobilization within the millennial community in Maros Regency exhibits a configuration that differs substantially from modern bureaucratic models commonly found in formal organizations such as political parties and state institutions. Rather than relying on administratively documented hierarchical structures, these millennial communities rely on trust-based social networks, personal relationships, and affective loyalties as the primary foundation for accessing, managing, and distributing political resources.

The Andalan Hati Millennial Community exhibits a mobilization pattern that can be categorized as personalistic centralization, where resource management rests with core figures. An informant stated:

*"The management is carried out directly by the leader and the zero ring."*

This pattern reflects what Panebianco (1988) proposed as a personalized organizational structure, namely an organizational structure based not on institutional procedures but rather on personal loyalty

to the core elite. In this model, the leader and the zero ring serve as the center of power distribution, the point of resource coordination, and the guardian of the community's political direction.

The advantages of this model lie in its speed of decision-making, flexibility of movement, and relatively high internal cohesion. However, structurally, this model carries the risk of internal oligarchization, as Michels (1911) argued in his Iron Law of Oligarchy, where the concentration of power in a small group has the potential to create elite domination that is difficult to control.

Unlike candidate support communities, the Empty Box community represents a mobilization pattern based on limited material resources. An informant stated:

*"The challenge... is also the lack of funding sources."*

This situation results in what can be called the politics of askesis—politics under conditions of limitation—which forces the community to rely on non-material resources, such as ideological commitment, moral solidarity, and a collective identity of resistance.

Several other millennial communities demonstrated mobilization through internal cooperation. As one informant stated:

*"Managing logistics and volunteers well by forming partnerships."*

This pattern aligns with Olson's (1965) collective action framework, which emphasizes the importance of selective incentives and a sense of collective ownership in overcoming the free-rider problem. In the Maros context, incentives are not always material, but symbolic: recognition of social status, proximity to local elites, and opportunities for access to power networks.

Within this framework, cooperation is not merely a technical strategy but also a means of reproducing the community's collective identity. Every logistical activity and distribution of roles reinforces the sense of "we" that underpins the movement's sustainability. Volunteers play a central role as informal political apparatuses. They are not merely implementers but agents of discourse distribution, logistics, and electoral persuasion.

One of the most important dynamics is the process of converting social capital into political capital. Relationships of friendship, trust, and community networks do not cease to be social capital but are converted into political bargaining power. Candidates and local elites recognize that community support is not always measured by the number of formal members, but rather by their capacity to mobilize informal networks. Thus, communities become a kind of political broker, selling their social influence in the local arena of power.

Resource mobilization also reveals a latent tension between idealism and pragmatism. On the one hand, volunteers are driven by values and hopes for change. On the other, the mobilization structure continues to operate within the transactional logic of local politics.

### **"Progressive" Values and Practices**

In the tradition of contemporary political thought, progressivism is not merely understood as an ideological orientation, but rather as a moral ethos that drives social transformation toward conditions deemed more just, inclusive, and adaptive to change (Dewey, 1916; Fraser, 2009). In the context of the millennial political community in Maros Regency during the 2024 regional elections, progressive values are articulated not in the form of a systematic ideological manifesto, but as everyday social practices operating within the realm of personal relationships, community networks, and direct engagement with the community. This is evident in the statement of one informant from the Gemilang Volunteers, who emphasized that progressivity is articulated through direct presence and consistent social relations:

*"To this day, our leader still goes down and socializes with the youth."*

This statement reflects what Putnam (2000) calls bridging social capital, namely the practice of building bridges of social relations that are not only instrumental but also produce mutual trust and social cohesion. Progressivity does not always manifest in the form of structural transformation, but in the ongoing reproduction of an ethic of presence.

One of the most prominent dimensions of progressive values within this community is a collective work ethic characterized by coordination, organizational neatness, and internal discipline. For some actors, progressiveness is defined as the orderliness and effectiveness of teamwork, not merely an ideological vision. The leader of the Gemilang Volunteer Millennial Team stated:

*"Our community is considered progressive because the performance of its members and the coordination within it are very neat."*

From the perspective of new institutionalism theory (March & Olsen, 1989), this practice reflects the formation of a logic of appropriateness, namely a set of internal norms that determine what is considered appropriate and correct in political action. Progressivity, in this case, does not exist as a normative discourse on deliberative democracy, but rather as operational habits that shape the political habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) among the younger generation. Another important dimension of progressive practice is the effort to deconstruct the social stigma against young people as apathetic, passive, or incompetent actors in politics. The head of the Millennial Andalan Hati Maros group emphasized:

*"Progressive change involves young people because of the widespread societal stigma that young people are lazy... even though the recent regional elections proved that young people are faster and more agile in their work."*

This practice aligns with Inglehart's (1997) thesis on post-materialist values, where the younger generation acts not merely as political objects but as subjects reconstructing their collective identity and capacity. In other words, progressivity here takes the form of the politics of recognition (Taylor, 1994), namely the demand to be recognized as legitimate and effective political actors.

### **Collaboration and Coalition**

Collaboration and coalitions are crucial elements in the political dynamics of the millennial generation, serving not only as instrumental strategies but also as mechanisms for the formation of collective identity and social solidarity. Collaboration is practiced through fluid, flexible, and informal network-based horizontal cooperation, in line with the logic of collective action and the networked organization characteristics of millennials as digital natives. Coalitions, meanwhile, are more strategic and pragmatic, built through rational calculations to consolidate resources and increase the chances of success in electoral contests. In practice, collaboration provides a foundation of trust and social capital, while coalitions serve as a structural framework for mobilizing political power, so the two often overlap and complement each other.

In the local political context, including in Maros Regency, millennial collaboration and coalitions are realized through community networks, joint campaigns, resource exchange, and collective digital content production, reflecting participatory politics and the embryonic nature of deliberative democracy at the grassroots level. However, these dynamics also harbor ambivalence, such as the risk of domination by certain actors, transactional coalitions, and fragmentation due to polarization and disinformation in the digital space. Thus, millennial collaboration and coalitions not only reflect electoral political strategies, but also serve as indicators of the maturing process of local democracy, which moves between the idealism of solidarity and the pragmatic realities of power contestation.

Within the Relawan Gemilang community, collaboration was built through cross-team and cross-network collaboration during the regional elections. One informant explicitly stated:

*"The ideal team to jointly monitor electability."*

This statement indicates that collaborative practices are not merely symbolic but also operational, particularly in monitoring, data collection, and distribution of political information. From the perspective of McCarthy and Zald (1977), this form of collaboration is part of a resource mobilization strategy, where collective capacity is strengthened through the integration of networks and resources across communities.

Meanwhile, coalitions are also evident in the form of cross-community collaboration among millennials that transcends district administrative boundaries. One informant stated:

*"We formed a coalition with the Andalan Hati (School of Health) team in the district/city working areas in South Sulawesi."*

This brief phrase implies the existence of a cross-regional network that serves as a channel for political coordination. Within the framework of network society theory (Castells, 2010), this pattern suggests that local politics among millennials has undergone "deterritorialization," where geographic boundaries are no longer a major obstacle to coalition building.

In the Millennial Andalan Hati Maros community, collaboration patterns appear more structured, although informal coordination mechanisms remain dominant. One informant explained:

*"Coordination is done through WhatsApp groups between sub-districts and across South Sulawesi."*

Digital media here serves as the primary infrastructure for collaboration, replacing bureaucratic physical meetings. Jenkins (2014) refers to this phenomenon as participatory political infrastructure, where social media becomes a space for collective strategy production.

However, field data also revealed a problematic aspect of coalitions. Several informants acknowledged internal competition between groups to gain closer access to leadership figures. As stated:

*"Other teams are competing to get closer to Mr. Gemilang."*

This suggests that coalitions are not always built on the basis of equality but are often trapped in the logic of patronage. Within Scott's (1972) framework, this practice reflects a patron-client relationship model, where access to resources depends on personal proximity, rather than institutional mechanisms. Interestingly, for some actors, cross-community collaboration is seen as a means of political learning. One informant stated:

*"Directing community members to be active in other communities like KNPI so they can learn."*

The interview results demonstrate that collaboration is not solely electorally oriented but also has a pedagogical function and fosters civic capacity. This aligns with Almond and Verba's (1963) notion of the importance of civic culture in strengthening democracy.

### **Post-Regional Election Sustainability**

In contemporary social movement studies, sustainability is understood as the collective capacity to maintain network cohesion, identity, and influence after the intensive mobilization phase ends. Regional elections (Pilkada) serve as a critical juncture, triggering a surge in political participation within a temporary and emotional cycle of contestation. However, after the electoral momentum, political opportunities narrow, and community networks—particularly those driven by the millennial generation—face the risk of disintegration due to weak institutionalization, dependence on central figures, and dwindling resources and public attention.

The sustainability of post-Pilkada movements is determined by the ability to manage resources, reproduce collective identity, and negotiate relationships with formal institutions without losing autonomy. Millennial communities are required to convert the energy of electoral mobilization into long-term agendas such as policy advocacy, public oversight, and political education, while simultaneously nurturing networks to prevent collective exhaustion. In the local context, the post-Pilkada phase becomes a space of abeyance, where movement energy is not completely dissipated but rather stored in latent networks with the potential to be reactivated according to evolving political dynamics.

Field data shows that the millennial community in Maros Regency underwent a post-election transformation, moving from a victory-based movement structure to one based on relational sustainability. One informant from Relawan Gemilang stated:

*"After the election, we didn't immediately disband. But the atmosphere did change. Only those who were committed from the start remained."*

This quote demonstrates a shift from euphoria-based participation to normative commitment-based participation, which, in Giddens' (1984) theory, can be understood as a form of actor reflexivity in reproducing socio-political practices.

After the election, the millennial political community no longer operates within the logic of intensive campaigning but instead enters a phase of organizational selection. McCarthy and Zald (1977) in their resource mobilization theory emphasize that the sustainability of a movement is largely determined by the organization's ability to manage resources after the peak momentum of mobilization has ended. Relawan Gemilang, for example, represents a pattern of sustainability based on figures and emotional relationships. One informant stated:

*"What keeps us going is no longer the candidate or the party, but the sense of togetherness. We're like a family."*

This pattern reflects what Putnam (1993) calls bonding social capital, namely social ties that strengthen the internal cohesion of a community. However, sustainability that relies too heavily on a

particular figure creates the risk of oligarchization, as Michels (1911) warned about with his concept of the iron law of oligarchy.

However, there are also communities whose sustainability remains tied to the cycle of power:

*"Our goal remains to win the candidate and maintain our support."*

This demonstrates that post-election sustainability exists in tension between the ideals of deliberative democracy and the realities of political pragmatism. Post-election sustainability ultimately represents a dialectical arena between democratic ideals and local pragmatism. Offe (1984) described civil society as an ambivalent entity: simultaneously serving as a supporter. This demonstrates a hybrid pattern: some communities move toward institutionalizing oversight roles, others maintain an electoral orientation, and still others build sustainability through emotional relationships and informal networks. Based on empirical field data, post-election sustainability in Maros demonstrates that local democracy does not stop at the voting booth, but continues in the daily practices of millennial political communities who continue to negotiate positions within the interests of the state and society.

## Conclusion

This study concludes that the quality of deliberation in local democracy remains limited. Although the practice of discussion and deliberation within communities is beginning to develop, the public sphere remains dominated by the logic of electoral mobilization and political pragmatism. Democracy operates procedurally through formal legal stages, but lacks a substantive exchange of ideas. As a result, the formation of citizens' political preferences is not entirely based on a reflective and rational process, but rather is more affective and relational.

## References

- [1] Aboim, S., & Vasconcelos, P. (2014). From political to social generations: A critical reappraisal of Mannheim's classical approach. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 17(2), 165-183.
- [2] Aboim, S., & Vasconcelos, P. (2014). From political to social generations: A critical reappraisal of Mannheim's classical approach. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 17(2), 165-183.
- [3] Aguilar, P., & Ramírez-Barat, C. (2019). Generational dynamics in Spain: Memory transmission of a turbulent past. *Memory Studies*, 12(2), 213-229.
- [4] Andrałojć, M. (2024). Generational differences in the perception of the meaning and value of work: an attempt at explanation using strauss-howe generational theory. *Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Śląskiej. Organizacja i Zarządzanie*, (201).
- [5] Berkup, S. B. (2014). Working with generations X and Y in generation Z period: Management of different generations in business life. *Mediterranean journal of social Sciences*, 5(19), 218-229.
- [6] Bherer, L., Dufour, P., & Montambeault, F. (2016). The participatory democracy turn: an introduction. *Journal of civil society*, 12(3), 225-230.
- [7] Boccagni, P., Laffleur, J. M., & Levitt, P. (2018). Transnational politics as cultural circulation: Toward a conceptual understanding of migrant political participation on the move. In *Crossing Borders* (pp. 102-121). Routledge.
- [8] Brescia, R. H. (2017). The Strength of Digital Ties: Virtual Networks, Norm-Generating Communities, and Collective Action Problems. *Dickinson L. Rev.*, 122, 479.
- [9] Dewi, K. H., & Fuady, A. H. (2024). Millennials and Politics in Indonesia. *Understanding the Role of Indonesian Millennials in Shaping the Nation's Future*, 40.
- [10] Dinas, E. (2014). Does choice bring loyalty? Electoral participation and the development of party identification. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(2), 449-465.
- [11] Kowalski, M. (2019). Generational cycles and changes in time and space. *Geographia Polonica*, 92(3), 253-273.
- [12] Leung, L. (2013). Generational differences in content generation in social media: The roles of the gratifications sought and of narcissism. *Computers in human behavior*, 29(3), 997-1006.
- [13] Lustiger-Thaler, H., & Farro, A. L. (2016). Occupying human values: Memory and the future of collective action. In *Reimagining Social Movements* (pp. 47-62). Routledge.
- [14] Panteli, N., & Marder, B. (2017). Constructing and enacting normality online across generations: the case of social networking sites. *Information Technology & People*, 30(2), 282-300.
- [15] Taipale, S. (2016). Synchronicity matters: defining the characteristics of digital generations. *Information, Communication & Society*, 19(1), 80-94.