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Young and Faithless: Wooing Millennials in Indonesia’s 2019 Presidential Election

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Given the demographic significance of voters under 40 years old (around 40 per cent of 196.5 million eligible voters), this group referred to as “millennials” is widely viewed as the key constituency for winning Indonesia’s 2019 Presidential election.
- Both the Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto camps have gone to great lengths in their pre-election discourse and media strategies to burnish their image as being in tune with the millennials’ supposed aspirations. However their efforts in this regard have focused on political rhetoric and publicity stunts, and have fallen short of issuing clear policy platforms which substantively address the millennials’ concerns.
- Ultimately, the real impact of the millennials’ votes remains uncertain, because they are not homogenous. Although the millennials are generally regarded as the digital generation, the presidential candidates’ social media outreach would be handicapped by a significant urban-rural divide in Internet access. Surveys also indicate pervasive political apathy among millennials, as well as divergent concerns between the mature and younger millennials.

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INTRODUCTION

In a well-choreographed performance, a stuntman pretending to be presidential incumbent Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo, rode a motorbike into the stadium in the opening ceremony of the Asian Games on 18 August 2018. Politicians from the opposition criticized the stunt as a politically motivated act intended to bolster Jokowi's image, particularly among young (millennial) voters, in his reelection bid.¹

Interestingly, it was soon after the official presidential and vice-presidential nomination on 10 August 2018 that the discourse on millennial voters came to the fore. In that context, the surprising appointment of 75-year Muslim cleric Ma'ruf Amin as Jokowi's running mate seemed not to have fulfilled millennials' expectation, while 49-year businessman Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno as Prabowo Subianto's deputy seemed more attractive to millennial voters for being famous as an avid marathon runner and successful US-educated businessman.²

Since millennials comprise around 40 percent or 80 million of the total 196.5 million eligible voters in 2019, they are definitely a strategic group to consider for both presidential candidates³. However, they should not be assumed to be a homogenous group. Moreover, the upcoming presidential election is a rematch between Jokowi and Prabowo, and both already have a loyal base of voters. Thus, those millennials who commonly belong among swing or undecided voters have become the main target in both Jokowi's and Prabowo's campaigns.⁴

This paper examines discourses surrounding millennials in the upcoming Indonesian presidential election, and looks at various strategies employed by presidential and vice-presidential candidates to court millennial voters. It argues that although both presidential candidates have attempted to appeal to millennial voters in their campaigns, they have not paid significant attention to policies that directly address the aspirations of millennials.

THE CONTEXT OF INDONESIAN MILLENNIALS

The notion of 'millennial' is rather new in the political discourse in Indonesia. It refers to young people who were born in the 1980s and 1990s. There had previously been three notions related to young people, namely 'pemuda' (youth), 'remaja' (adolescent or teenager) and 'kaum muda' (youth community).⁵ The notion of 'pemuda' is used with a highly political connotation of the idealized role of youth as an agent of change; historically, Indonesian young people have indeed been a pivotal driver and major feature at critical political junctures in modern Indonesia. Meanwhile, the notion of 'remaja' is a psychological association to a period in the life course, while 'kaum muda' refers to youth subculture or community.

Currently, the notion of millennial⁶ is loosely used in the political world to refer to a huge proportion of voters that have been a main target in the campaigns. As a generational marker, the millennials come of age during a time of critical change as Indonesia entered the new century just when digital media were introduced.

Millennials are typically characterized as conspicuous consumers, digital natives, and politically apathetic. A 2014 national survey sponsored by the Indonesian Ministry of

Communication and Information in cooperation with UNICEF suggested that most young people in Indonesia (80 percent, or approximately 30 million) were Internet users.⁷ The term ‘digital native’ (or ‘Net Geners’ or ‘Google Generation’) is usually used on young people who have grown up surrounded by and immersed in digital technology (Internet) and are able to learn better and faster within the technology-based environment.⁸ However, there is still a significant gap in Internet access in Indonesia—13 percent of young people in urban areas, in contrast to the 87 percent in rural areas, have no Internet access.⁹

Despite the Internet being a channel to new information and facts, young people in Indonesia tend to use it for building social networks and finding entertainment. In a poll conducted by Alvara Research Center, 600 respondents (aged 20-34) in six major cities from 1 to 15 October 2016 indicated that urban middle-class millennials primarily use the Internet for chatting (50.6%) and social networking (31.2%), and quite rarely for seeking news (2.1%).¹⁰

Another poll, carried out by the Jakarta-based Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) with 600 millennial respondents (age 17 to 30) and 851 non-millennial respondents (above 30) in 34 provinces from 23 to 30 August 2017 reveals that millennials prefer doing sports (30.8%), listening to music (19.0%) and watching movies (13.7%) rather than discussing social and political issues (2.3%). The percentage of non-millennials preferring to discuss social and political issue is slightly higher (3.4%) and the highest percentage of preference for other activities is religious activity (23.8%), which can be a more collective activity in Indonesia, than doing sport (18.3%). This seems that millennials tend to be more self-oriented than involved in public affairs.

THE POLITICAL BATTLE OF GIMMICKS

In order to paint an image that is in tune with millennials’ aspiration, politicians from both the Jokowi and Prabowo camps perpetuate discourses on the millennial character of the candidates. For instance, Raja Juli Antoni, secretary general of PSI (Indonesian Solidarity Party), remarks that Jokowi is already a millennial as he has a millennial’s state of mind such as open-mindedness and blunt speaking style without much artificial appearance or drama. Moreover, Jokowi is frequently seen wearing sneakers, in contrast to the formality often associated with politicians.¹¹ Thus, according to Antoni, Jokowi does not need to pick a millennial running mate for the presidential race.¹² Antoni firmly believes that millennials will still prefer Jokowi and that the coalition will work hard to win the hearts of millennials.

Likewise, the chairman of Hanura, Oesman Sapta Odang states in turn that Ma’ruf Amin is millennial in terms of his progressive action and attitude rather than his age.¹³ Exactly which of Ma’ruf’s actions and attitudes qualify as millennial traits was left unelaborated. Ma’ruf is known as a conservative Islamic cleric (ulama), and was a key expert witness in the highly publicized blasphemy trial in January 2017 that sent then Jakarta governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (better known ‘Ahok’) to prison for two years.¹⁴ Moreover, the appointment of Ma’ruf Amin has sparked speculation whether it will lead to millennials changing their vote or not. According to a survey conducted by LSI (Lingkar Survey Indonesia), only 39.5 percent of new-voters and millennials will vote for Jokowi-Ma’ruf, while 47.1 percent will support Prabowo-Sandiaga¹⁵. Apparently, after Jokowi picked Ma’ruf as his running mate, the percentage of millennials who will vote for him decreased by 7.1 percent.

Meanwhile, the chairman of Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), Muhamad Sohibul Iman, has stated that Sandiaga Uno is ‘post Islamist *santri* [pious Muslim]’ or ‘millennial *santri*’ who lives a modern lifestyle but experiences spirituality and Islam despite his secular appearance and Western educational background.¹⁶ By adding ‘millennial’ to ‘*santri*,’ it would seem that Sohibul Iman was attempted to paint Sandiaga as a religious yet modern figure that suits with the image of PKS.

In order to fit Prabowo to millennial expectations, the vice-president candidate Sandiaga Uno informed the media about ‘The New Prabowo’.¹⁷ Having known Prabowo personally for 20 years, Sandiga emphasises that Prabowo is actually a fun, relaxed person who has experienced the political dynamics of the times and who understands that the democratic process should unite rather than divide the Indonesian people. In addition, deputy general-secretary Faldo Maldini has remarked that Prabowo will project a contemporary image and present his views in a way that will appeal to millennials.

Jokowi’s attempt to woo young voters heavily relies on physical signaling. For instance, Jokowi made an unusual entrance at the opening of Asian Games by riding a motorbike rather than delivering a speech immediately.¹⁸ On another occasion, wearing a denim jacket, Jokowi rode a customized motorbike (Chopper) and toured Sukabumi regent (West Java) on 8 April 2018.¹⁹ He then uploaded images into his Twitter account and it received positive responses from young people. In his visit to remote areas such as Papua province, he gave an impression that he is adventurous and has a down-to earth character, which should appeal to millennials.

It should be noted that Jokowi had occasionally visited music events or festivals. For instance, he visited Synchronize Fest 2017 on 7 October 2017 and spent about two hours with festival visitors.²⁰ Jokowi routinely attended heavy metal music performances in Jakarta and confessed that he is a big fan of heavy metal bands.

Jokowi has also surrounded himself with high-profile young figures to balance Ma’ruf’s age. For instance, the appointment of Erick Thohir as the chief of Jokowi’s campaign team seems to have been in response to the appointment of Sandiaga, who is more of an attraction to young voters than Jokowi’s running mate.²¹ According to sources familiar with the situation, Jokowi stated that Erick was chosen because of the 48-year old businessman young age and his stellar track record in the media industry, owning football and basketball clubs.²² Interestingly, Erick is a good friend of Sandiaga since their high school days, and both have become successful young businessman.

Likewise, Ma’ruf stated that he has met and connected with millennials by telling a story of an elder man who plants a fruit tree not for him but for the next generation instead.²³ He said that he agreed to be appointed vice-presidential candidate not for his own sake, but rather driven by his intention to leave a meaningful legacy for the young. He claimed that millennials support him and have formed voluntary organizations such as ‘Rumah KMA’ (House of Kyai Ma’ruf Amin) and ‘Abah Kita’ (Our Beloved Father) consisting both Muslim and non-Muslim volunteers, for that purpose.

Meanwhile, Prabowo has been building a cordial relationship with key millennial actors. For instance, on 23 October 2018, he invited young bloggers, vloggers or YouTubers and

media influencers to his house in South Jakarta.²⁴ During the meeting, he reminded them to continue learning and to create [digital content] rather than being passive players. This meeting is important for Prabowo since social media are the only platform that he can capitalize on, as the mainstream media tend to favour the Jokowi camp.²⁵

In his visit to West Java province, Prabowo met millennial mothers (*emak-emak milenial*) who formed 'Barisan Emak-Emak Milenial' (The United of Millennial Mothers) on 19 October 2018.²⁶ The young mothers (*emak-emak*) have been explicitly mentioned in Sandiaga Uno's speech after his official nomination at the KPU office. In front of members of the coalition, he said that they still lacked influence within 'partai emak-emak' (party of mothers). Since then Sandiaga actively meet young (millennial) mothers at traditional markets or other public spaces to listen to their grievance regarding costs of living and prices of basic necessities.

While the campaign team is helmed by retired military general Joko Santosa, Prabowo's spokespersons are young bloods such as Dahnil Anzar Simanjuntak (36), Faldo Maldini (28), and Gamal Albinsaid (29), who have different social and professional backgrounds for communicating with millennial voters.²⁷ Although the appointment of young people may be refreshing for the campaign, these people, being inexperienced politicians, run the risk of being entrap in old political practices.

WILL MILLENNIALS ENGAGE WITH THE ELECTORAL POLITICS?

To what extent the engagement of millennials is significant, particularly among the well-educated residing in urban areas with high exposure to the media, is unclear. For instance, vice-president candidate Sandiaga Uno predicted that millennials would only decide at the last minute at the voting booth.²⁸ Moreover, according to Sandiaga, millennials get bored easily; and there is no guarantee that they will consistently choose the same candidate.

Generally, millennials are less interested in politics, considering political activities to be 'dirty,' manipulative, and inaccessible.²⁹ Instead, most prefer to engage in leisure activities (such as doing sport, listening to music and watching movies) rather than discussing political issues as indicated by the 2017 CSIS national survey on millennials.³⁰

Indeed, capturing millennial concerns and aspirations is no easy task since millennials are a heterogeneous group divided by age, social class and location, and in aspirations. For the younger millennials, the issue of education is more important than jobs and costs of living. They aspire for free education, and better school and sport facilities.³¹ Meanwhile, for mature millennials who have graduated, issues of job (employment), co-working spaces and costs of living are more important than other issues.³²

Furthermore, for urban middle-class millennials, matters related to lifestyle or leisure time perhaps occupied most of their time, whereas rural lower-class millennials deal with survival matters amidst decreasing jobs in the agricultural sector.³³ Adjie Alfaraby, a researcher from LSI Denny JA, states that unemployment is a pertinent issue for millennials in rural areas, while urban millennials concern themselves with music and business activities. For them, the presidential election may not be seen to have any direct impact on their daily life.³⁴

Since urban millennials are technologically savvy and avid social media users, both campaign teams know to capitalize on social media in reaching out to them. For instance, Prabowo-Sandi's campaign team constantly updates their campaign trails across Indonesia through Instagram, Facebook and Twitter. Similarly, Jokowi-Ma'ruf's team regularly updates success stories regarding infrastructure and economic developments. Copying millennials, the candidates made video blogs (vlogs), took selfies with young people and conducted activities popular with youths such as sports. The presidential candidates may impress or entertain the millennials, but there is no guarantee that the millennials will be compelled to cast their votes for them.

Indeed, some politically engaged millennials pay great attention to the personality of presidential candidates³⁵ and the way the candidates actively engage with people and genuinely understand their aspirations.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As the main target of the campaigns of both presidential candidates, millennials have been figured greatly in the discourses of politicians. However, there are some remaining issues regarding the way both presidential candidates deal with millennials.

Firstly, millennials tend to be understood as a homogenous group by campaign teams without any proper understanding regarding their internal differences in terms of age, gender, class and geographical location (urban-rural).

Secondly, the strategy of appealing the millennials tends to be limited to superficial changes to the candidates' appearance. While such efforts may attract the media, they would probably not have a long lasting impact on voters for being insincere or artificial.

Thirdly, unclear and feasible proposed programmes are proposed during campaigning to win over the millennials. Both candidates tend to offer very generic programmes that do not directly address the millennials' specific aspirations and needs. This is because there is little comprehension millennials and their unique behaviours as strategic voters in the upcoming presidential election. Whether in the remaining days the presidential candidates are able to attract millennials to the voting booth remains to be seen.

¹ ‘Kontroversi Stuntman Jokowi di Pembukaan Asian Games ‘ (‘Controversy in Jokowi’s Stuntman at the Opening of Asian Games’), <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4173437/kontroversi-stuntman-jokowi-di-pembukaan-asian-games>, accessed 19 August 2018.

² See a detailed analysis of the appointment of Ma’ruf Amin and Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno as vice-president candidate: <https://iseas.edu.sg/medias/op-eds/item/8088-by-picking-conservative-cleric-as-running-mate-has-jokowi-moved-closer-to-securing-another-term-an-oped-by-hui-yew-foong-and-budi-irawanto-in-today>;
https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2018_51@50.pdf.

³ The member of Indonesia’s electoral commission (KPU), Pramono Ubaid Tanthowi estimated about 70-80 millions are millennial voters or 35-40 percent of total voters: ‘JPRR: Pemilih Milenial Kunci Pemilu Berkualitas (JPRR: Millennial Voters Are Key to Quality Election’), <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/18/09/06/pelltj377-jppr-pemilih-milenial-kunci-pemilu-2019-berkualitas>.

⁴ A poll conducted by a French-based pollster (Ipsos Indonesia) with 1,000 respondents (first voters, millennial voters and non-millennial voters) in five Indonesian major cities (Medan, Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya and Makassar) after the official presidential nomination (13-26 August 2018) indicated that 26 percent of the respondents will be swing voters who had not decided yet, although 96 percent of the respondents will participate in the upcoming presidential election. While the majority of millennial voters will cast their votes (97%), they have not yet decided what their choice will be (33%): signifying that a substantial demographic of millennials are swing voters: ‘Ipsos: 26% Pemilih Indonesia Potensial Jadi Swing Voters di Pilpres’ (Ipsos: 26% of Indonesians Potentially Will be Swing Voters in Presidential Election): <http://marketeers.com/ipsos-26-masyarakat-indonesia-berpotensi-jadi-swing-voters-di-pilpres-2019/>, accessed 30 August 2018.

⁵ For more detailed explanations of the differences between ‘pemuda ‘ and ‘remaja,’ see Lyn Parker and Pam Nilan, *Adolescents in Contemporary Indonesia* (London & New York: Routledge, 2013), 18-39. The classic study on the role of ‘pemuda’ in the anti-colonial movement in Indonesia is Benedict Anderson’s *The Pemuda Revolution: Indonesian Politics 1945-1946* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1967). For comprehensive studies on current struggles and opportunities facing Indonesia’s youth across the archipelago, see Kathryn Robinson (ed.), *Youth Identities and Social Transformations in Modern Indonesia* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2016).

⁶ There are multitude meanings of millennials popularized by political polls and circulated in the media. The US-based Pew Research Center, for instance, defines ‘millennial’ as those who born between 1981 and 1996 and the first generation to come of age in the new millennium. Millennials grew up during the Internet explosion. In other words, millennials are at the ages of 22 to 37 in 2018: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/03/01/defining-generations-where-millennials-end-and-post-millennials-begin/>. Meanwhile, the Centre for Strategic and International Studies defines millennials are those who are in the age of 17 to 29 in 2017 and participated in their national survey on ‘Social, Economic and Political Orientation of Millennial Generation’ conducted from 23 to 30 August 2017. See the CSIS survey here:

https://www.csis.or.id/uploaded_file/event/ada_apa_dengan_milenial_paparan_survei_nasional_csis_mengenai_orientasi_ekonomi_sosial_dan_politik_generasi_milenial_indonesia_notulen.pdf

⁷ ‘Riset Kominfo dan UNICEF Mengenai Perilaku Anak dan Remaja Dalam Menggunakan Internet, https://kominfo.go.id/index.php/content/detail/3834/Siaran+Pers+No.+17-PIH-KOMINFO-2-2014+tentang+Riset+Kominfo+dan+UNICEF+Mengenai+Perilaku+Anak+dan+Remaja+Dalam+Menggunakan+Internet+/0/siaran_pers, accessed 24 August 2018.

⁸ For a critical study on ‘digital natives’ and an inclusive society, see David Herold, “Digital Natives: Discourses of Exclusion in an Inclusive Society,” in Eugene Loss, Leslie Haddon, Enid Mante Meijer (eds.), *Generational Use of New Media* (Farnham Surrey: Ashgate, 2012).

⁹ ‘Riset Kominfo dan UNICEF Mengenai Perilaku Anak dan Remaja Dalam Menggunakan Internet, <https://kominfo.go.id/index.php/content/detail/3834/Siaran+Pers+No.+17-PIH-KOMINFO-2->

[2014+tentang+Riset+Kominfo+dan+UNICEF+Mengenai+Perilaku+Anak+dan+Remaja+Dalam+Menggunakan+Internet+/0/siaran_pers](#), accessed 24 August 2018.

¹⁰ Hasanuddin Ali & Lilik Purwadi, *The Urban Middle-Class Millennials Indonesia: Financial and Online Behavior*. Research report. (Jakarta: Alvara Research Center, 2017).

¹¹ 'PSI Nilai Kaum Milenial Tetap Dukung Jokowi di Pilpres 2019' ('PSI View that Millennials would Elect Jokowi in the 2019 Presidential Election'), <http://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2018/08/11/psi-nilai-kaum-milenial-tetap-dukung-jokowi-di-pilpres-2019>, accessed 12 August 2018.

¹² 'PSI Yakin Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin Tetap Dipilih Oleh Generasi Milenial' ('PSI are Confident that Jokowi-Ma'ruf will be Elected by Millennial Voters'), <http://bogor.tribunnews.com/2018/08/11/psi-yakini-jokowi-maruf-amin-tetap-dipilih-oleh-generasi-milenial>, accessed 12 August 2018.

¹³ 'New' Prabowo Looks to Appeal Millennials,' <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/09/16/new-prabowo-looks-to-appeal-to-millennials.html>, accessed 17 September 2018.

¹⁴ 'Who's Ma'ruf Amin, Jokowi's Running Mate?', <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/08/09/who-is-maruf-amin-jokowis-running-mate.html>, accessed 10 August 2018.

¹⁵ 'Jokowi Ditinggal Pemilih Millennial karena Ma'ruf, Ini Tanggapan PDIP' (Jokowi Would be Left by Millennial Voters due to Ma'ruf, This is PDIP's Response), <https://www.msn.com/id-id/berita/pemilu/jokowi-ditinggal-pemilih-milenial-karena-maruf-ini-tanggapan-pdip/ar-BBMjvwF?li=BBL55sA>, accessed 24 August 2018.

¹⁶ 'Will 'Millennial' Ma'ruf and 'Santri' Sandiaga Change Prabowo vs Jokowi Game?,' <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/08/10/will-millennial-maruf-and-santri-sandiaga-change-prabowo-vs-jokowi-game.html>, accessed 11 August 2018.

¹⁷ 'New' Prabowo Looks to Appeal Millennials,' <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/09/16/new-prabowo-looks-to-appeal-to-millennials.html>, accessed 17 September 2018.

¹⁸ In a poll conducted by LSI Denny JA during the first week of the Asian Games, Jokowi and his running mate had 50.8 percent support among voters 39 under, compared to Prabowo's 31.8 percent. According to LSI's Adjie Faraby, the opening ceremony of Asian Games gave Jokowi a boost. It would be of no surprise then that Jokowi continues to ride his success from the Asian Games as he appointed Erick Thohir, a businessman who led the event's organizer committee, as his campaign chief.

¹⁹ 'Ditemani Puluhan Bikers, Jokowi Touring Pakai Chopper di Sukabumi' (Accompanied by Many Bikers, Jokowi Rode a Chopper Across Sukabumi'), <https://otomotif.kompas.com/read/2018/04/08/124903915/ditemani-puluhan-biker-jokowi-touring-pakai-chopper-di-sukabumi>, accessed 24 August 2018.

²⁰ 'Datangi Synchronize Fest 2017, Bentuk Pendekatan Jokowi Kepada Generasi Milenial?' ('Visiting Synchronize Fest 2017, Is Jokowi's Approach to Millennial Generation?'), <http://www.tribunnews.com/seleb/2017/10/08/datangi-synchronize-fest-2017-bentuk-pendekatan-jokowi-kepada-generasi-milenial>, accessed 22 August 2018.

²¹ 'Pengamat: Erick Thohir Bisa Gaet Pemilih Milenial Untuk Jokowi-Ma'ruf' ('Observer: Erick Thohir Would Attract the Millennial Voters for Jokowi-Ma'ruf'), <http://www.tribunnews.com/pilpres-2019/2018/09/07/pengamat-erick-thohir-bisa-gaet-pemilih-milenial-untuk-jokowi-maruf>, accessed 8 September 2018.

²² 'Businessmen Among Politicians,' *Tempo*, 17 September 2018.

²³ Ma'ruf Amin made this statement when he responded to the question on his strategy to appeal to millennial voters at the RSIS [S.Rajaratnam School of International Studies] Distinguished Public Lecture on 17 October 2018. On another occasion, he admitted that he knew of the story when he was at the Islamic primary school (*madrasah ibtidaiyah*). See, 'Menjual Ma'ruf Amin, Berharap Milenial' (Selling Ma'ruf Amin, Expecting Millennials'), <https://www.merdeka.com/khas/menjual-maruf-amin-berharap-milenial.html>, accessed 2 October 2019.

²⁴ ‘Prabowo Bertemu Puluhan YouTuber, Blogger dan Influencer Milenial’ (‘Prabowo Met Many YouTubers, Bloggers and Millennial Influencers’), <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/10/23/23593541/prabowo-bertemu-puluhan-youtuber-blogger-dan-influenser-milenial>, accessed 24 October 2018.

²⁵ Many media tycoons are part of Jokowi’s coalition such as Surya Paloh (Media Group), Hary Tanoesoedibjo (Global Mediacom), Aburizal Bakrie (Visi Media Asia) and Erick Thohir (Mahaka Media): ‘8 Konglomerat Media di Indonesia Via Jalur Media TV & Cetak’ (‘8 Indonesian Conglomerate Media Through Print Media and Television’), (<https://tirto.id/8-konglomerat-media-di-indonesia-via-jalur-media-tv-amp-cetak-cEv7>), accessed 10 February 2018.

²⁶ ‘Datangi Markas Gerindra Jabar, Prabowo Disambut Emak-Emak Millenial’ (Visited the West Java Branch of Gerindra, Prabowo Was Greeted by the Millennial Moms’), <https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-barat/d-4219103/datangi-markas-gerindra-jabar-prabowo-disambut-emak-emak-milenial>, accessed 22 September 2018.

²⁷ Dahnil Simanjuntak is a former leader of Muhammadiyah Youth Wing (Pemuda Muhammadiyah), while Faldo Maldini is the former president of the student senate of Indonesian University (UI) and the deputy secretary-general National Mandate Party (PAN). Gamal Albinsaid, who is general physician as well as CEO Indonesia Medika, was appointed after the dismissal of Ratna Sarumpaet for perpetuating hoax.

²⁸ ‘Jurus Jokowi vs Prabowo Memikat Milenial, Siapa Unggul?’ (Jokowi’s Tactic vs Prabowo’s Tactic to Win Millennial Voters, Who’ll Be the Winner?), www.liputan6.com/news/2018/09/22/23648824/headline-jurus-jokowi-vs-prabowo-memikat-milenial-siapa-unggul&usg=AOvVaw3SMrABK4UdOkQKTXmZsjv-, accessed 22 September 2018.

²⁹ This is a common sentiment shared among millennials, noted during my fieldwork in the recent East Java gubernatorial election in June 2018. To view my article on millennials in the regional elections: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/07/17/millennials-matter-regional-elections.html>.

³⁰ CSIS National Survey entitled ‘What’s Up With Millennial? Social, Economic and Political Orientations’ (Ada Apa Dengan Milenial? Orientasi Sosial, Ekonomi dan Politik): https://www.csis.or.id/uploaded_file/event/ada_apa_dengan_milenial_paparan_survei_nasional_csis_mengenai_orientasi_ekonomi_sosial_dan_politik_generasi_milenial_indonesia_notulen.pdf.

³¹ Telephone interview with a 17-year leader of Surabaya Student Alliance (Aliansi Pelajar Surabaya), 31 October 2018.

³² Telephone interview with a 30-year lecturer and researcher of youth and media, 31 October 2018.

³³ It is worth noting that there are biases to a certain degree in referring to the characters of millennials as it tends to overlook their access to the technology, geographical location and particular aspirations shaped by Indonesian socio-economic conditions.

³⁴ ‘Aksi Jokowi di Pembukaan Asian Games Jadi Kekuatan Gaet Pemilih Milenial’ (Jokowi’s Act at the Opening of Asian Games Would Appeal the Millennial Voters), <https://www.merdeka.com/politik/aksi-jokowi-di-pembukaan-asian-games-jadi-kekuatan-gaet-pemilih-milenial.html>, accessed 22 August 2018.

³⁵ The global market research firm Ipsos shows that Indonesian millennials prefer strong-willed and assertive candidates, while first-time voters (17-21) tend to be idealistic, preferring candidates with a clean track record. Older voters tend to prefer assertive candidates, but expect them to be more religious: ‘Indonesian Millennials Prefer Strong-Willed, Assertive Presidential Candidates: Ipsos Survey,’ <https://jakartaglobe.id/politics/indonesian-millennials-prefer-strong-willed-assertive-presidential-candidates-ipsos-survey/>, accessed 22 August 2018.

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