

Analysis on Human Resource Management and Conflict Resolution in The Long Road of Indonesian Era

Sri Sundari

Faculty of Defense Management, Universitas Pertahanan Republik Indonesia

Correspondence Email: sri.sundari@idu.ac.id

Received: January 15 2022; Revised: April 19 2022; Accepted: May 27 2022

Abstract: *As a nation, Indonesia is still in the process of nation-building. Since the beginning of Indonesia's independence, youth or young groups have played a key role in the nation-building process that determines the direction of the next development of the Indonesian state. Young people, from time to time, have distinctive characteristics that are influenced by the socio-cultural-political conditions in which they grow up. The interactions that occur between young people and the government will have an impact on future leadership styles. This paper aims to describe the pattern of human resource management in Indonesia's nation-building process, particularly in analysing the pattern of conflict resolution between the youth and the government in each era of Indonesian leadership (Old Order, New Order, and Post-Reformation).*

Keywords: *Nation Building, Students Activist, Human Resources Management.*

Introduction

The momentum of the Youth Pledge in 1928 confirmed the concept of the start of Indonesia as a unified nation. Seventeen years later, Indonesia as a country was proclaimed. Indonesia as a nation is a social reality and is not the product or label of politicians (Latif, 2015).

There are two terms that go hand in hand in the process of nation-state formation, namely nation-formation and nation-building. The two concepts must be studied as a process involving various socio-cultural elements in a specific time period, rather than simply in a historical framework. Nation formation is a process that unites primordial historical and socio-cultural elements in the historical plot when various political variations are moving towards the formation of the nation-state. Meanwhile, nation-building is a dynamic that occurs when various socio-political, ideological, and cultural features react to each other in the

formation of new ideals aspired to by the nation and state. (Said, 2015). Indonesian nationality is not something natural, like other nations which are born on the basis of language and cultural similarities. Indonesia, with its high cultural diversity, has succeeded in unifying on the basis of common experience. Because Indonesian nationality is not something natural, Soekarno emphasized the importance of nation-building. Indonesia's nationality in the 21st century is now the result of nation-building, which is a continuous process.

One of the fundamental components in the process of forming a nation state is the human element. In the process of nation-building, socio-political, ideological, and cultural features are products of human thought and behavior in their time. The trials and dynamics that occurred during the process will be remembered forever as the nation's collective memory, which influences the

tendency of different attitudes toward groups in subsequent generations. (Said, 2015).

The New Order under Suharto's leadership was the longest, lasting 32 years from 1966 to 1998. The last is the reformation period, which in 2018 is 20 years old. The leaders in the old order era were those who grew up in the Dutch East Indies era. Soekarno, Hatta, Sjahrir, Natsir, Moh. Yamin, Jend. Sudirman, and other Indonesian founding fathers grew up under colonial pressure. They grew up in a time and place that did not know the word Indonesian (Gie, 1989). The term Indonesia is the fruit of their critical thinking as an educated person of their time. The founding fathers have successfully fulfilled their responsibilities as people who are not only knowledgeable, but also enlightened. In the end, Indonesia was not only successfully introduced as a term, but as an independent nation. The birth of Pancasila as the foundation of the Indonesian nation is the most important result of the founding fathers' leadership (Said, 2015).

In the new order era, the military dominated the leadership of this country. The leaders of Indonesia at that time were those who grew up in the old order era. Of course, there are contrasting characteristics. During the old order era, it could be said that Indonesia was still looking for the right "form" to implement Pancasila in the realm of state so that Indonesia's security and political conditions are in chaos (Ricklefs, 2007). Leaders in the New Order era grew up in an environment full of conflict and rebellion. This, of course, affects the leadership style of the new order era. This government has the characteristic of wanting to purify Pancasila as a form of criticism of the old order government. In the new order era, the government focused on maintaining state stability and carrying out economic development. Suharto, as the

leader of the New Order, was also known as the Father of Indonesian Development.

The last is the reform era, which is still running to this day. The leaders who are now in power are those who grew up in the new order era with conditions that tend to be stable. However, in the New Order era, information was castrated. Activists and critical thinkers are "at risk of disappearing." The government seems to be anti-criticism. The press is silenced, the truth is widely covered up, KKN is rooted everywhere, Pancasila is not fully implemented. Pancasila is misused for the benefit of the ruling group only. At the end of 1998, the monetary crisis hit Indonesia, which in turn led to the reform event. The 1998 activists who became the agents of this reform were the majority of the country's leaders.

The author focuses on deepening the ways and styles of conflict resolution between generations in general from the perspective of human resource management. This research is expected to be the beginning or initiation of a more in-depth study of intergenerational relationships in Indonesia from the perspectives of conflict management and human resource management. This paper aims to describe the pattern of human resource management in the Indonesian nation-building process. The researcher limits this study to the interactions that occur between the young, youth, and activists and the older groups, who, in this context, are the leaders of the country in power.

Human Resource Management

Human resource management is rooted in the translation of human resources. Starting to develop since the industrial revolution, which was influenced by political and economic conditions, human resource management science was initiated as a way to trigger a peaceful industrial climate through merging, mediation, and arbitration

between conservative camps and the government (Coates, 1975 in Bratton & Gold, 2007). Tensions and contradictions between the two parties became the basis that gave birth to concepts that aim to regulate human beings. Human resource management ultimately has a study dimension that does not only dwell on company-level organizations but can be used to analyze how the government or state leaders manage their people as the most important element of a larger organization called the state.

The quality of human resources is the most decisive factor for the progress or failure of a country. The high quality of human resources is determined by their ability to create comparative-competitive-generative-innovative value by using their potential. Intelligence, creativity, and imagination are the factors that determine these abilities. Physical potential from within and from the environment is not enough to create the qualities that are expected to exist in advancing a nation. The fact is that a country with few natural resources but good human resources can develop and become a developed country. On the other hand, abundant natural resources do not guarantee the achievement of a country's progress when its human resources are still below the expected quality (Edy Sutrisno, 2017).

Human resource management can be interpreted as soft/soft and hard/hard. The meaning is subtly related to commitment, learning, and leadership. While the meaning is strictly related to aspects of management that involve as rational as possible calculative and quantitative strategies (Storey, 1989 in Bratton & Gold, 2007). Broadly and generally, human resource management is defined as the coordination and utilization of people—particularly in the context of labor inputs—for the production of goods and services in all types of economies and organizations (Boxall, Purcell and Wright 2007, in Kaufman, 2014). In relation to the

state, the concept of human resource management discussed is of a macro nature, which means it must be related to the wider socio-political-economic environment in which the function of human resources is embedded and dependent. (Kaufman, 2014).

The concept of human resource management used in this study is highly dependent on its terminology definition and is not limited to the concept of organization at the company level, which aims to produce products and how to manage workers alone. In the realm of statehood, the concept of human resource management intersects with the meaning of managing the socio-educational-cultural aspect, which is the potential and capital that determines the development of the country. In addition, how to treat people is a subject of human resource management, which is directly influenced by the political-social-cultural aspects of a country (Brewster and Mayrhofer, 2012; Kaufman, 2014). The government and its people form a vertical relationship, where in the context of the state, the government plays a function as a planner, executor, controller, supervisor, and guardian of state elements so that they remain in a direction that is in accordance with the guidelines and goals of their country. In carrying out all these processes, the concept of human resource management becomes relevant.

Analysis of human resource management in the state can be seen from the methods used to achieve the nation's goals. Among the most important is the ability to make tactics and strategies that are in accordance with the conditions and dynamics of the surrounding environment and make crucial decisions at the right and best time. The terms "control" and "commitment," as well as a combination of the two, are the ways in which human resources are managed (Beer and Spector, 1984; Walton, 1985; Kaufman, 2014). The "control" method is carried out by the

military and is top-down where the superior as a thinker will give orders and the subordinates will implement the orders. The emphasis of the control approach lies in clear rules and penalties if the rules are not implemented. The "commitment" approach is carried out more subtly by prioritizing the will of subordinates rather than external pressure or control. The will of subordinates is provoked by a humanist, participatory approach, and in ways that are win-win for both parties. Thus, subordinates will carry out their duties and advance the organization with self-awareness (Kaufman, 2014).

State Conflict

Conflict, on the other hand, is a necessity as long as human civilization exists. The relationship between the government and the community is never separated from differences and friction (Malik, 2017). In every era of leadership, vertical conflict is a natural thing. In the context of conflict, human resource management in a country will be indirectly related to the national security and defense sector. Human resource management, combined with technical elements, resource management, and logistics, will form the pillars that underpin the country's defense sector (Leonard, 2011). The absence of or failure to build these pillars will be fatal damage to the state's posture. In dealing with conflict, the government can use a "control" or "commitment" approach, as explained in the previous paragraph. However, each method has its own advantages and disadvantages. The application of these methods cannot be generalized to every type of conflict.

The "control" approach, for example, will enlarge the gap and strengthen "we-versus-them", which will actually reduce performance (Kaufman, 2014) and exacerbate the conflict (Malik, 2017). This method will also make

subordinates form unions that are deemed necessary for the protection function and express opinions (Kaufman, 2014). In the context of conflict, the "commitment" approach is considered to take a long time.

Method

The methodology used in this research is a descriptive qualitative method. Researchers collect sources in the form of primary and secondary sources in the form of books and related scientific articles. The collected data is then analysed by a triangulation approach in order to retrieve the concept related to the study aims and goals.

Results And Discussion

Conflict and Youth Social Movements in Indonesia

A relationship that creates mutual dependence can, apart from creating cooperation, also create conflict. This happens when each actor has their own interests or goals and does not cooperate with each other (Gibson et al., 1997 in Ubbe, 2011). The conflict itself can emerge as a conflict if each actor is aware of its existence. It is necessary to have a common perception among actors that there has been a conflict of interests or problems. If there is no "awareness of conflict" process from each actor, then in general, conflict is considered non-existent. Conversely, if each actor is aware of the existence of a conflict, then the conflict becomes a reality (Robbin, 1996 in Ubbe, 2011).

Often, conflicts occur asymmetrically. This is due to differences in perceptions of the existence of the conflict itself. The process of realizing that there has been a conflict only occurs on one side. So, it can happen that one actor responds to the conflict while the other does not. Actors who feel that there is no conflict perceive the other actor's response as a negative attack (Robbin, 1996 in Ubbe, 2011). According to conflict theory, which is built on the basis of "social facts," society

is always in a process of change that is characterized by continuous conflict between its elements. Each element is considered to contribute to social disintegration. According to the conflict theory, order in society can only occur if there is pressure or coercion from the party or group in power (Bambang Sugeng, n.d. in Ubbe, 2011).

Social movements facilitate democratization and outline four distinct phases in the process. First, the resistance, marks a period in which the progressive pro-democracy movement operates clandestinely under the rule of an authoritarian regime. During the second phase, liberalization, the regime was pressured, both internally and externally, to begin to loosen its grip. The third phase, transition, is marked by active cooperation between the movement and pro-democracy actors to overthrow the authoritarian regime. After a successful transition, there are two paths for pro-democracy actors. Coalitions can disband, or enter periods of expansion, where they can help contribute to a deepening of democracy that goes beyond the conduct of free and fair electoral processes. (Tehusijarana, 2020).

In Indonesia's nation-building process, conflict becomes a real characteristic that occurs between the government and the community. Student activists, who represent the youth group, are elements of society who are considered quite vocal in voicing the aspirations of the people to the government. The conflict between the government, which is dominated by the elderly and student activists, is influenced by the form of relationship that exists between the two. The form of the relationship is also greatly influenced by historical records that have been internalized as communal memories for each party. Furthermore, it will affect the style of conflict resolution between the two.

Conflicts between the government (the old group) and student activists (the youth) in general can occur because of differences in value orientation. On the one hand, the government, as the old group, adheres to the old values and views what the next generation is doing as a deviation from values. On the other hand, activists with the latest values orientation view the older generation as having an archaic view. This situation can almost be found in the conditions of countries that are undergoing transformation and rapid social changes, including Indonesia, from the beginning of independence until now (Ubbe, 2011).

In general, the government, which is dominated by the older generation, has values that have been internalized and rooted in their lives. Their socialization process has taken longer than the younger group. On the other hand, the younger generation is considered not yet capable of adopting the old values. The characteristics of young people who are enthusiastic and mentally unstable, make them more receptive to new things, including new values and understandings (Naafs & White, 2012; Sebastian et al., 2014). The forms of conflict resolution commonly used are conciliation, mediation, arbitration, coercion (coercion), and detente. This order is based on the habit of people looking for a solution to a problem, namely the informal way first, then the formal way, if the first method does not bring results. (Malik, 2017).

Government Relations with Young People in the Old Order Era (1945-1966)

In general, the old order era can be divided into 2 sub-eras, namely the revolutionary era (maintaining independence) and the post-revolutionary era. During the revolutionary period (1945–1950), the youth group was the most prominent element among the

revolutionary forces in each region. They played a role in taking over control of important installations belonging to the invaders in big cities, such as train stations, electric tram systems, and radio transmitting stations, to seize weapons. Many youth groups express their revolutionary spirit by joining Laskar or armed groups, for example, the Barisan Sabilillah from religious organizations. There are also those who struggle through literature and the arts, resulting in a generation of writers and artists called the "45 Generation" (Ricklefs, 2007).

The conflict between the new government and the young people was caused by the different ways of dealing with the invaders. The government, which is dominated by the elderly, is worried that the revolutionary ways (some experts say radical) of the young could trigger Japanese anger [4]. Meanwhile, young people think that the government is too "soft" on the invaders, because it uses diplomacy (Said, 2015).

Many student activities were carried out in the intellectual realm, which was characterized by the formation of youth groups in universities and high schools. Their activities are centered on dialogues about the dynamics of Indonesian politics. The peak of the youth movement occurred in 1966, when KAMI (Indonesian Student Action Unit) and KAPPI (Indonesian Youth and Student Action Unit) held a massive action so that the government immediately implemented the Tritura (Three Demands of the People). The student movement is known as the "'66 force," which played a role in overthrowing the old order with full support from the Army military (Culla, 1999; Maxwell, 2001).

The approach to conflict resolution in the revolutionary era tends to be radical. For example, the arrest of Prime Minister Sjahrir, who had negotiated with the Dutch, was followed by the arrest of the youth by the government. Meanwhile, the style of conflict resolution in the post-

revolutionary era tends to be more lenient when compared to the younger generation in the revolutionary era. Demonstrations and struggles through writing have become the most commonly chosen approach. The chaotic political conditions in Indonesia at that time made the army, which should be on the side of the government, fully support the youth movement (Said, 2015) (Maxwell, 2001).

Based on the above characteristics, the pattern of conflict resolution during the revolutionary period was included in the type of coercion, namely a way of resolving disputes using physical or psychological coercion. The approach to human resource management is clearly using the "control" method from the government to youth. The polarization of "we-versus-them" is also evident, as evidenced by the use of physical means by the government and youth. Meanwhile, in the post-revolutionary era, youth and the government have taken a more structured approach to conflict resolution by involving other parties. Regardless of whether the intended engagement was planned or not.

Government Relations with Young People in the New Order Era (1966-1998)

After the collapse of the old order, students of the '66 class were faced with 2 choices of how to fight: as moral fighters or by getting involved in politics. There were 14 representatives of student activists who occupied parliamentary seats, but in the process there were divisions within the student body itself. As a result, a student movement emerged which was actually anti-extra-student organization. Reflecting on their predecessors, they consider the student movement to be full of political interests and not purely a moral guardian movement (Gie, 1989; Maxwell, 2001). The youth or student groups played a major role in the opposition during the New Order era. This role confirms their

reputation as a "moral" force in Indonesian politics (Sastramidjaja in Tehusijarana, 2020). This generation of students in the early 1970s had their own critical attitudes that were different from those of the 1966 class, and could even be interpreted as a corrective movement to correct the failures of their seniors. In addition, this generation can be said to have no strong emotional ties with the military, let alone the military, which they see factually, in a series of facts, as perpetrators of acts of corruption and collusion. (Aly, 2004). This generation is more focused on the resistance movement through extra-parliamentary means against corruption and anti-democratic attitudes from the authorities.

The form of government relations with students can be observed from the events of mid-January 1974 (Mietzner, 2010). Students and students held a long march from UI to Trisakti while shouting anti-foreign capital and lowering prices, known as the Malari incident. Previously, students issued a new Tritura (three demands of the people), namely: the dissolution of the ABRI dual function, lowering prices, and eradicating corruption. The action, which was attended by thousands of young people and the community, ended in chaos and claimed lives (Argenti, 2016; Ricklefs, 2007).

After the Malari incident, the New Order government issued a decree, No. 028/U/1974, which essentially contains government instructions in the context of fostering college campus life. This policy is essentially a systematic effort by the government to limit student political activities [11]. In addition, the New Order government made arrests of student leaders and community leaders who were critical of development strategy policies. The New Order government also banned several mass media outlets (Argenti, 2016). But at the same time, the government is carrying out the aspirations

of students about nationalist development policies by issuing new policies that are more favorable to the natives (Malarangeng in Argenti, 2016).

In general, the type of conflict handled between the government and students is carried out in an authoritarian manner by limiting the space for student activities. Student demonstrations are still allowed to occur if they are carried out on campus. However, when student actions began to spread and people took to the streets, the government began to take action (Mietzner, 2010). Youth demonstrations that occurred in many areas and the harsh government response in 1988 caused mass chaos until the Suharto regime came down (Sastramidjaja in Tehusijarana, 2020). The government, under the leadership of Suharto, applied an oppressive style to the younger group. This attitude was marked by the shooting and death of four Trisakti students during a demonstration in Jakarta (Mietzner, 2010). Government control is very strong and leaves no room for negotiation. Outspoken and critical youth figures were arrested, even "disappeared" on the grounds of maintaining the stability of the country (Argenti, 2016).

The approach to human resource management carried out during this period was clearly in the form of control. The government uses a coercive strategy as a resource that keeps the regime afloat. These coercive sources include the government's ability to pressure its people to do something or not to do something (R. William Liddle, 1992). All forms of intervention that are considered to be able to destabilize the government will be immediately acted upon in a way that has a negative connotation. The youth, who at that time were key actors in the government's opposition, were the most affected. One of the consequences of the New Order government's way of handling conflict was the escalation of mass riots that led to the 1998 reform.(Tehusijarana,

2020). In response, youth staged a large-scale demonstration demanding Suharto step down from the seat of president of Indonesia (Culla, 1999; Mietzner, 2010). The monetary crisis experienced by Indonesia emerged as a triggering factor for the rapidly escalating conflict. The youth group, which is considered to represent the voice of the people, exploded their voices, which during the New Order government was silenced in May 1998 (Culla, 1999; Mietzner, 2010; Tehusijarana, 2020).

Government Relations in the Reformation Era (1998–2018)

The participation of young people in the reformation era decreased drastically when compared to previous eras (Tehusijarana, 2020). Contemporary youth, or "Generation-Y", are notoriously passive and sometimes apathetic towards politics in general. They are more politically aware and informed but less eager to participate. The current generation is more educated and has a cosmopolitan perspective, but they are less concerned with national issues and thus less nationalistic. The student movement became the spearhead of the overthrow of the old and new orders (Indra, 2015).

Several factors caused the changing characteristics of the youth group in the reform era. In his writings, Sastramidjaja explains that Indonesia in the post-authoritarian era was not a friendly place for heroic youth movements. The culture of the people at that time was increasingly intolerant of anything that interfered with their daily activities. In the end, student protests became marginalized, and youth activists became "orphans of democracy" and separated from the system they fought for in the past. (Tehusijarana, 2020).

The factor of the advancement of time and technology is considered one of the causes of the decline of the student movement. Campus publications, student

press, and real-world study groups that fueled the reform process were replaced by writing participation on blogs, Twitter, and Facebook in cyberspace. Post-Reformation youth, although receiving direct benefits from the reformist process, are still victims of populist reforms and half-hearted political complacency. As a result, most of them become passive and even apathetic towards the political process, as seen in the increasing number of voter absenteeism (known as the "White Group," to cast blank ballots in the election box) in regional leadership elections (Sebastian et al., 2014).

Such conditions make young people not interested in national issues and state politics. There is an assumption that they are disappointed to see their predecessors, thus giving rise to a group of youth who are apathetic to state problems. Research obtained from the Yogrt application (a location-based social media application) on 5,000 respondents stated that the interest of the younger generation (aged 17–36 years) in national issues was only 10%, while in politics it was only 9%. Literature is the topic of the least interest (7%). Young people today are more interested in music (45%), movies (30%), and religion (28%) (Banirestu, 2017). In a more decentralized climate where participatory politics takes a central position, they are also seen as more opinionated, more self-oriented, and individualistic. (Sebastian et al., 2014).

Young people in the reform era interpreted the movement by making internet-based innovations. There is a trend among young people to create business start-ups with the characteristics of an open mind, full of innovation, freedom, flexibility, and following world developments. Fighting for the country is interpreted by those working in their respective fields. This makes the relationship between the government and young people increasingly blurred. Unlike the previous era, where student control

over government policies was quite clear physically. In this era, young people express criticism of the government on social media, which is sometimes unstoppable and goes beyond the norm. Conflict handling in the Reformation era is softer by prioritizing a familial approach and dialogue. In the realm of statehood, the government passed the Electronic Information and Transactions (EIT) Law in 2008 to control the activities of citizens (including youth) on social media. The pattern of human resource management carried out by the government is not yet very clear in its structure. The control is not clearly visible, but in fact, the control is in the form of the ratification of the EIT Law.

Conclusion

The youth group has always been the triggering factor that ignited the escalation of conflict so large that it endangered the joints of the nation and state. As recorded in Indonesian history, student demonstrations have always been the cause of the collapse of the leadership (the old order and the new order were both overthrown by the youth movement). Social unrest triggered by young people actually has historical roots and a historical transformation of the formation of the nation-state in the past.

Therefore, the management of human resources, especially in dealing with conflicts between the government and youth, needs special attention because it will affect Indonesia's nation-building in the future. It is feared that the strong and repressive handling will trigger the 1998 reform event to repeat itself. However, it is feared that too little will give birth to a weak and apathetic generation that endangers state sovereignty.

Acknowledgment

Thanks to all colleagues and mentor for the input, guidance, criticism,

and suggestions to properly finish this paper.

References

- Aly, R. (2004). *Menyilang jalan kekuasaan militer otoriter: gerakan kritis mahasiswa Bandung di panggung politik Indonesia 1970-1974*. Jakarta: Kompas.
- Argenti, G. (2016). Gerakan Sosial di Indonesia: Studi Kasus Gerakan Mahasiswa Tahun 1974. *Jurnal Politikom Indonesiana*, 1(1), 1-19.
- Banirestu, H. (2017, April). *Begini Potret Generasi Milenial Akar Rumput Menurut Hasil Riset Yogrt*. Retrieved from <https://swa.co.id/swa/trends/begini-potret-generasi-milenial-akar-rumput-menurut-hasil-riset-yogrt>
- Culla, A. S. (1999). *Patah tumbuh hilang berganti: sketsa pergolakan mahasiswa dalam politik dan sejarah Indonesia (1908-1998)*. Depok: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Edy Sutrisno. (2017). *Manajemen Sumber Daya Manusia* (1st ed.). Jakarta: Kencana.
- Gie, S. H. (1989). *Catatan Seorang Demonstran*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Indra, R. B. A. (2015). Gerakan mahasiswa pasca reformasi dinamika gerakan mahasiswa fisip unair airlangga menurut aktivis mahasiswa dalam perspektif konstruksi sosial. *Jurnal Komunitas*, 4(2), 1-10.
- Kaufman, B. E. (2014). The development of human resource management across nations: Unity and diversity. In *The Development of Human Resource Management Across Nations: Unity and Diversity* (Issue January 2014, pp. 1-508). <https://doi.org/10.4337/9780857932990>
- Latif, Y. (2015). *Negara Paripurna*,

Historitas, Rasionalitas, dan Aktualitas Pancasila (5th ed.). Jakarta: Gramedia.

Leonard, H. (2011). *Human Resources Management* (pp. 115–137).

Malik, I. (2017). *Resolusi konflik: Jembatan perdamaian*. Jakarta: Kompas Gramedia.

Maxwell, J. (2001). *Soe Hok-Gie: Pergulatan intelektual muda melawan tirani*. Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti.

Mietzner, M. (2010). Indonesia's Direct Elections: Empowering the Electorate or Entrenching the New Order Oligarchy? In *Soeharto's New Order and Its Legacy: Essays in honour of Harold Crouch*. <https://doi.org/10.22459/snol.08.2010.11>

Naafs, S., & White, B. (2012). Generasi Antara: Refleksi tentang Studi Pemuda Indonesia. *Jurnal Studi Pemuda*, 1(2), 89–106.

R. William Liddle. (1992). Indonesia's Democratic Past and Future. *Comparative Politics*, 24(4), 443–462.

Ricklefs, M. C. (2007). *M.C. Ricklefs - Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004.pdf*. Serambi.

Said, S. (2015). *Gestapu 65*. Bandung: Mizan.

Sebastian, L. C., Chen, J., & Syailendra, E. A. (2014). Pemuda Rising: Why Indonesia Should Pay Attention to its Youth. In *RSIS Monograph No. 29* (Issue 29).

Tehusjarana, J. P. (2020). *Book review: Activists in transition*. 1–7.

Ubbe, A. (2011). Pengkajian Hukum Tentang Mekanisme Penanganan Konflik Sosial. *Pusat Penelitian Dan Pengembangan Sistem Hukum Nasional Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional Kementerian Hukum Dan HAM RI 2011*, 107.