

# Typology of Contemporary Indonesian Youth Organization

---

Part of Report Series :

**Capacity Building for the Empowerment and Involvement of  
Youth in Indonesia**

ByMaulidaRaviola

May 2013

# Introduction

## A. Indonesian Youth Among Demands and Expectations

“As the next generation, the youth are expected to be able to appear as new leaders in various fields: economy, social, cultural, and politics. On top the demand to be prepared physically and mentally, the youth is also expected to be able to uphold honestly, possess a sense of responsibility, free from violence, corruption, as well as possess a great sense of caring and unity towards their surroundings.”<sup>1</sup>

Ketertarikan Responden untuk Menjadi Pemimpin (dalam persen)							
Pemimpin dalam Bidang	Pemuda			Nonpemuda			Total
	Tertarik	Tidak Tertarik	Tidak Jawab	Tertarik	Tidak Tertarik	Tidak Jawab	
Pemimpin Negara (Presiden)	16,5	83,5	0,0	13,9	86,1	0,0	100,0
Kementerian Negara (Mentri)	26,1	73,9	0,0	15,6	84,4	0,0	100,0
Parlemen/DPR	24,1	75,9	0,0	16,6	83,4	0,0	100,0
Pimpinan Partai Politik	13,7	86,3	0,0	12,5	87,5	0,0	100,0
Pimpinan Organisasi Massa	13,9	86,1	0,0	16,4	83,6	0,0	100,0
Pimpinan Organisasi Profesi	20,1	80,0	0,0	20,2	79,7	0,0	100,0
Pemimpin Komunitas	41,0	59,0	0,0	30,7	69,3	0,0	100,0
Pemimpin Lingkungan (Kelas RT, RW)	23,7	76,3	0,0	34,6	65,2	0,0	100,0
Pemimpin Organisasi Kepemudaan (Karing Genoa)	28,5	71,5	0,0	39,1	60,7	0,2	100,0

  

Kemampuan atau Kesiapan Responden untuk Menjadi Pemimpin (dalam persen)							
Pemimpin dalam Bidang	Pemuda			Nonpemuda			Total
	Memiliki Kemampuan	Tidak Memiliki Kemampuan	Tidak Jawab	Memiliki Kemampuan	Tidak Memiliki Kemampuan	Tidak Jawab	
Pemimpin Negara (Presiden)	55,0	44,2	0,8	54,4	45,1	0,5	100,0
Kementerian Negara (Mentri)	63,5	36,3	1,2	59,6	39,3	1,0	100,0
Parlemen/DPR	61,6	37,7	0,6	59,8	39,9	0,3	100,0
Pimpinan Partai Politik	64,3	34,1	1,6	60,5	39,0	0,5	100,0
Pimpinan Organisasi Massa	64,5	35,7	0,8	66,2	33,8	0,0	100,0
Pimpinan Organisasi Profesi	74,3	24,9	0,8	66,8	32,9	0,3	100,0
Pemimpin Komunitas	75,9	23,7	0,4	73,8	27,6	0,5	100,0
Pemimpin Lingkungan (Kelas RT, RW)	63,0	34,9	1,2	63,8	34,0	0,3	100,0

  

Pendapat Responden, atas Kemampuan Generasi Muda dalam Menyelesaikan Permasalahan Bangsa, bila Saat Ini Menjadi Pemimpin (dalam persen)						
Jenis Permasalahan	Pemuda			Nonpemuda		
	Ya, Memiliki Kemampuan	Tidak Memiliki Kemampuan	Tidak Jawab	Ya, Memiliki Kemampuan	Tidak Memiliki Kemampuan	Tidak Jawab
Permasalahan Politik	53,0	46,4	1,6	50,4	47,7	1,9
Permasalahan Penegakan Hukum	54,2	44,2	1,6	50,8	47,8	1,4
Permasalahan Pemberantasan Korupsi	53,8	46,0	1,2	54,2	44,2	1,6
Permasalahan Kemiskinan dan Pengangguran	57,4	41,8	1,6	52,2	46,1	1,7
Permasalahan Kualitas Pendidikan	65,5	32,9	1,0	64,1	34,0	1,0
Permasalahan Kesehatan	58,9	38,1	0,8	64,5	34,2	0,9
Permasalahan Lingkungan dan Sumber Daya Alam	65,1	33,3	1,6	63,8	34,8	1,4

*Note: n = 626*

Metode Jajak Pendapat: Pengumpulan pendapat melalui telepon di 40 kabupaten/kota yang tersebar pada 27-28 Oktober 2010. Sebanyak 626 responden berumur minimal 17 tahun dipilih secara acak menggunakan metode pengacakan computerisasi dari buku telepon rumah. Responden berlatarbelakang di 17 kota di Indonesia. Jumlah responden di setiap kota/ kabupaten sesuai acak proporsional. Menggunakan metode ini, tidak terdapat representasi 100 persen penduduk dan pemerintah di 350 kabupaten/kota. Analisis berdasarkan data yang dipaparkan di atas adalah tidak. Analisis jajak pendapat ini tidak dapat dijadikan acuan untuk pengambilan keputusan strategis.

A poll conducted in Kompas newspaper in 2010 attempted to measure the interest among the younger generation aged 16-30 years old to become a leaders among the political elites. The result of the poll apparently showed that more than 60% of the youth respondents were not interested to becoming national leaders, ministers, members of the parliament, leaders of political parties, leaders of mass organizations, leaders of professional organizations, community leaders, neighborhood leaders (RT / RW), and leaders of youth organizations. The result of this poll of course contrasted greatly to the expectations of society on youth written in

<sup>1</sup> BE Julianery, “Optimisme Kepemimpinan Muda”, Poll from Kompas 01 November 2010.

the opening of the article, but perhaps this was the poll that could describe the situation and condition of post-reformation youth in Indonesia: reluctance to becoming a leader and lack of interest in politics.

According to Adeline Tumenggung and Yanuar Nugroho, Indonesian youth's lack of interest in post-reformation politics was a result of the absence of political regeneration in the transition era after the New Order. The aforementioned political regeneration did not only mean generational succession of politicians and political activists, but something more fundamental, which concerned the ideological and political development aspect. The absence of regeneration of ideologies and political development meant there was no change in the political process that signified post-New Order, and this situation greatly affected youth's perspective on politics<sup>2</sup>.

Not only contrasting to the expectation of society to the younger generation as the generation of successors, this situation could also be seen as an opposite of the depiction of youth in previous generations. Just a decade prior, the youth was the engine of change from Soeharto's authoritarian regime to the Reformation Order that was more transparent and democratic. If we moved backwards to previous decades, many historical events in Indonesia were engineered by the youth, including the end of the Old Order's Soekarno as the first President of The Republic of Indonesia (1966), The Youth Pledge (1928), Independence of Indonesia (1945), and National Revival, which was perceived as the first moment of the emergence of national consciousness (1908).

Political apathy and the lack of interest from the youth to get involved in post-reformation politics were some of the reasons for the enactment of the National Youth Law No. 40 in 2009 by the Ministry for Youth and Sports Affairs. This act was not only expected to be the policy that supported youth empowerment activities by the government, but also to increase youth political participation. In the end, this law was even expected to "hasten the circulation of leadership both in regional as well as national level which has so far been stagnant"<sup>3</sup>. In

---

<sup>2</sup> Nugroho, Yanuar & Adeline Tumenggung. *Marooned in The Junction: Indonesian Youth Participation in Politics*. Part of Go! Young Progressives in Southeast Asia. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Minister of Youth and Sports Adhyaksa Dault, in *RUU Kepemudaan Selesai September*, Kompas newspaper, 1 July 2009.

general, the National Youth Law did not only define what and who young people were, but also established the characteristics of Indonesian youth which were expected to be the generation that succeeded the nation.

In regard to that interest, The Ministry for Youth and Sports Affairs attempted to accommodate various Youth Organizations in Indonesia. Up to February 2013, the data showed that there were 149 Youth Organizations under the Ministry for Youth and Sports Affairs<sup>4</sup>. There were questions and constant criticisms from various parties, including the youth themselves, regarding the claim that the existing data was updated periodically and the existing mechanism for Youth Organizations to be registered “officially” as an organization under the Ministry for Youth and Sports Affairs.

In reality, there were several crucial aspects that needed to be highlighted from the National Youth Law in relation to the lives of contemporary Indonesian youth. One of the main points constantly debated was that the National Youth Law only highlighted leadership and entrepreneurship. The fact that these two things were seen as the two most important and most urgent things in the lives of Indonesian youth showed how the country positioned the youth as the subject for development in Indonesia. The element of *leadership* was clearly seen as important and relevant because the younger generation was the next generation that was expected to become future leaders, especially in the midst of the weakening interest of the youth in politics and leadership. The element of *entrepreneurship* was seen as important and relevant to the lives of today’s youth because young people were expected to become subjects of economy that was innovative and independent in the midst of competition on the state’s ability to create employment or had them absorbed by the market. In order to realize these expectations on young people according to the objective of the state’s development, the state enacted the National Youth Law that unwittingly ignored other aspects of the lives of today’s youth.

This brought us to the second criticism on the National Youth Law and its relevance to the lives of Indonesian Youth. The relationship between the state and young people in that

---

<sup>4</sup> This data could be accessed in the website of Ministry for Youth and Sports Affairs of Republic of Indonesia <http://kemenpora.go.id/index/preview/statistik/7105/2013-02>

policy was created as if it was a two-way relationship, which meant the existence of the state to protect and facilitate youth so in turn youth were able to fully participate in the development process, while in truth youth were burdened by demands and expectations from the state. The state could not fathom that today's youth were in a position that benefited tremendously from democratization and information transparency that happened post-reformation, and that youth realized that they no longer had to submit to the state, especially among the various available options and their own expectations. This was also affected by the change in youth's outlook on politics as described by Tumenggung and Nugroho above. The weakening of interest in politics and becoming a leadership *did not mean* that the youth became apathetic. This was actually interesting to observe: if not on politics, where did the interest and the energy of Indonesia's youth lie?

## **B. The Emergence of Alternative Space for Youth Movement**

*"(Youth) refers to something that is always new and consistently undergoes change to becoming something new."*

**Agnes Novita (Member of Youth Advisory Panel UNFPA)**

The political and social situation in Indonesia post-reformation created many opportunities and challenges to the lives of Indonesian youth. The oppression of youth expression and diversity that happened from regime to regime, both in the Old and the New Order, resulted in a situation that was much more democratic after the year 1998 was celebrated with overflowing energy and experimentations. This situation could be compared to the previous decade, for example, when young people/college students were weakened by the Normalization of Campus Life/Student Coordinating Board (NKK/BKK) law that limited the students' movement. Two decades prior to that, the youth's energy was consumed by the intense public upheavals of the ideologies of Nationalism, Religion, and Communism (Nasakom). During those times, the state held a key role that, both directly and indirectly, directed, consumed, as well as limited young people's energy, not with the exception to congregate and unite.

NurainiJuliastuti (in Paramaditha, 2011) argued that the individual position in the cultural space of New Order era was limited as consumers in cultural spaces, or as producers that obeyed the dominant system. Nuraini underlined the role of the younger generation as initiators of new spaces that were local in nature and motivated more involvement of local residents as producers of culture<sup>5</sup>. The younger generation's initiative that was observed by Nuraini created what was called "alternative space", which was used by youth as a new sphere to experiment and express various ideas and practices that they used to not be able to do as passive individuals under the New Order regime.

One of the forms of the idea and practical experimentations by young people in the alternative space was the emergence of *new* youth organizations that were different from the youth organizations of the previous generation. The novelty and newness of today's youth organizations were shown explicitly in how they were formed. If back then youth organizations were divided into two types, which were youth organizations based on student identity such as student unions of certain universities, faculties, or departments, including those identifying with a certain locality; and youth organizations with political or religious orientation<sup>6</sup>; then today the involvement of youth in out-of-campus organizations, such as in NGO or independent sector, became the new phenomenon that colored the movement of Indonesian youth. Institutions under UN began to see youth as an important subject that needed to be empowered in the development process and involved in policymaking process. The emergence of independent organizations as organizations that were not affiliated with any institution and existed as organizations that crossed limitations such as studentship, regionalism, and religion also became a phenomenon that was interesting to observe. These organizations were the kinds that we would like to call contemporary youth organization in Indonesia, not only due to the *novelty* they carried that differentiated them from past youth organizations, but also from a periodical standpoint were organizations that emerged post-reformation in Indonesia.

---

<sup>5</sup> Juliastuti, Nuraini. *Alternative Space as New Cultural Movement: Landscape of Creativity*, in *Kunci Cultural Studies Center Member Magazine*, 7 October 2009, in Paramaditha, Intan. *Praktik Kultural Anak Muda: Narasi 1998 dan Eksperimen*, Jurnal Prisma vol. 30, No. 2 of 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Adeline Tumenggung & Yanuar Nugroho, *Op.cit.*

### **C. Objective**

This study on the typology of contemporary youth organizations in Indonesia was part of the “Developing the Capacity of Youth for Their Empowerment and Involvement as Citizens” program series. Along with this study, we also conducted a study on Policy Review on National Youth Law in Indonesia and The Condition of Youth in Papua. The study on policy was conducted with the following objectives:

1. Observing the current situation and condition in relation to the youth movement in Indonesia
2. Mapping the typology of contemporary youth organization in Indonesia
3. Providing recommendations to increase the participation of young people in Indonesia through youth movement.

### **D. Study Questions**

The following were several of the questions that we tried to answer in the study we conducted:

1. What were the factors that drove the emergence of contemporary youth organizations in Indonesia?
2. What were the characteristics of contemporary youth organizations in Indonesia?
3. What were the issues responded by contemporary youth organizations in Indonesia?
4. What were the challenges and opportunities faced by those youth organizations?

### **E. Methodology**

The team used the *desk study* methodology, including browsing articles on information and policies related to youth organizations in Indonesia. Aside from that, in-depth interviews were conducted with policymakers and activists of youth movement in Indonesia. This study was conducted for approximately two months in Jakarta. This study was also a part of a Policy Paper research series on youth policies in Indonesia and Analysis of the Situation of Youth in Papua, so the data collection we did was also assisted by cross-referencing.

## **1. Desk Study**

We conducted a structured study collected from reviews of academic and practical literatures that discussed youth issues in Indonesia and in general, such as the ones we listed in the reference page. We also conducted media browsing on news that were relevant to this study, both current and old news which we accessed through media information center agency. We also collected statistical data released by various agencies such as the Ministry, Kompas research and development data center, Central Bureau of Statistics data center and UN Agencies. We studied the results of this data collection with analytical framework to answer the study questions.

## **2. Semi-structured interviews with key informants**

We began the interviews with general, comprehensive questions before following them with detailed questions that were more relevant to the research. Through this approach, questions were left open-ended and the conversation was not limited to asking and answering questions, so the interviewers were able to get a contextual overview while discussing detailed topics. We interviewed 16 informants, 12 through face-to-face interviews and the other 4 through online media. The total duration of the face-to-face interviews reached 20 hours. We also analyzed the interviews both through resumes and transcripts. We also interviewed representatives from government agencies, youth organizations, and young activists.

# Characteristics of Contemporary Youth Organizations in Indonesia

## A. Celebrating Public Space, Then and Now

One of the most important factors that affected the emergence and differentiated the characteristics of youth organizations then and now in Indonesia was the change of definition in *public space*. A public space during the New Order era was a space controlled by state agencies and became a sterile space, in which citizens were not allowed to do anything that was perceived to agitate and disturb public order. Therefore when the sterility of the space was disturbed, which then culminated in Soeharto's resignation as "the main ruler of public space", the public space became an open, fought-over space in which dynamic interactions between various parties occurred.

One of the implications of the change in definition of public space was that issues that previously were not allowed to be discussed in public were now widely discussed, such as issues on tribes, religion, race and intergroup relations (SARA). State laws were no longer deemed as a threat to group identity and existence. Cultural expressions and religious rituals could be done in public, along with society demands to erase various policies that discriminated cultural expressions of minority groups such as the ethnic Chinese<sup>7</sup>. In this context, youth movement responded to the openness of public space through expressions of diversity that overcame limitations from regionalism, religions, as well as ethnicities.

The strengthening of individual bargaining position against the state in public space allowed post-reformation youth movement to have something stronger as the basis of their identity, which was *youth* itself. Being young in age was enough to be a collective identity that overcame other differences such as religion, tribe, as well as political ideology. The strengthening of this *youth* identity made possible the emergence of youth movement that was more fluid, wider, inclusive, and flexible. Youth no longer had to struggle and repeatedly

---

<sup>7</sup> The New Order through Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 14 of 1967 forbid all forms of religious expression from ethnic Chinese in public. This instruction was repealed by President Abdurrahman Wahid in 2000. Abdurrahman Wahid also released Government Regulation No. 6 of 2000, which established Chinese New Year as a national holiday like other religious holidays in Indonesia.

identify themselves by ethnicity, religion, or region, and these groups may now develop interests and attention to wider issues. This then encouraged the emergence of youth organizations based on interests, hobbies, or concern over certain issues that were more diversified. Back then, the construction of the *youth* identity was dominated socio-culturally by the state, and reduced in practice into an age limitation that was used by youth organizations to recruit members, so that *youth* became an identity that was less dominant than ethnicity, religion, or political affiliation. Now, *youth* was a social-cultural identity experienced and defined by young individuals in a more complex situation, which allowed them to respond to other issues that are larger and directly relevant to their lives as young people, as well as affected how contemporary youth organizations practiced assembly and movement.

Various issues became the concern of youth, especially global issues that felt more urgent once the state no longer threatened their existence. One of the important issues that were consistently highlighted in youth movement was human rights, such as right to freedom of expression, right to freedom of religion and belief, and right to education and healthcare. Human rights issues became a strategic issue because each right was constantly linked to other basic rights, was an issue that uphold equality of all mankind with no exception so that everyone could be involved in it, as well as constantly relevant from time to time.

The openness of the public space made it possible for individuals to have control and ability to affect policies without having to enter into the path of political elite institutions such as the parliament or political parties. Contemporary youth organizations did not have to be affiliated to a certain agencies to be able to affect the making or amendment of policies, because they independently realized that they had rights as civilians whose aspirations needed to be heard by the state. This independence then became one of the most important things in the activity of contemporary youth organization.

Through strengthening independence and the tendency to avoid conservative approaches in dealing with social issues, the increased awareness and popularization of issues among the society became an important activity of the contemporary youth organizations. This activity not only spread information about an issue within the society, but also became a vessel for creative experimentations for each organization in their effort to gather the masses and volunteers.

The openness of public space as a space for youth expression, without exception expression of identity diversity through contemporary youth organizations, had created new characteristics such as movements that were *fluid, inclusive, and flexible*. The practices manifested by those characteristics would be presented in the following section.

## **B. Shape and Network: Crossing Borders, Gathering Strength**

Characteristics such as fluid, inclusive and flexible that differentiated youth organizations then and now were manifested in organizational practices, such as in the form of organizational structure and networking activities. From the perspective of organizational structure, for example, youth organizations that were formed before reformation were larger and each member had an official membership status after going through a certain recruitment process. This was vastly different from youth organizations that emerged after reformation,

Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia (KNPI, Indonesian National Youth Council) was one of the youth organizations under Ministry for Youth and Sports Affairs and was established in XX. KNPI had an organizational structure that consisted of members from the National Council (National) to the sub-district board (PK). The PK of KNPI in Setu, Tangerang Selatan of 2012-2015 consisted of 1 chairman, 8 vice-chairmen, 1 secretary, 8 deputy secretaries, 1 treasurer, 8 deputy treasurers, and 8 commissions with 25 members each. We could compare KNPI's structure to the organizational structure of Sinergi Muda organization, which consisted of 2 supervisory board members, 2 daily administrators, and 12 board members.

which were smaller in structure. Aliansi Remaja Independen (Independent Youth Alliance), a youth organization that was formed in 2007 and spread through several cities in Indonesia such as Bogor, Pati, Solo, Lombok, Kupang and Makassar, had only approximately 80 members.

How did this frugal organizational structure handle organizational work? This was where the next characteristic of the contemporary youth organization came in: networking power. The function of the network formed between youth

organizations was not only to strengthen the dissemination of issues, but also as a strategy for inter-organizational division of labor. Furthermore, true to its characteristics of fluidity and flexibility, inter-organizational network could be developed across issues and regions. This is beneficial in the establishment of inter-organizational synergy due to linkage in issues. The inclusive nature of the organizations also made working within the network easier compared to before.

In networking, the role of new media such as internet was significant in the development of the contemporary youth organization network. Media Researcher and Reviewer Ade Armando once said that “the circle that was most responsive in utilizing the new



*Speak Fest* was an art and music festival held by Suara Pemuda Anti Korupsi (SPEAK), a youth organization formed in XX, to attract the attention of public especially young people regarding anti-corruption issues in Indonesia.

media for the purpose of democratization was the civil society movement<sup>8</sup>”, including youth movement. In turn, “the purpose of democratization” did not only manifest in inter-organizational networking activities, but also networking between organizations and individuals in society at large, in which whoever could be a part of an active society responding to various social issues, strengthen the voice and the aspiration of society that could urge change on policy or socio-cultural level.

---

<sup>8</sup> Armando, Ade. *Media Baru bagi Kaum Digital Natives: Demokrasi atau Kesia-siaan?*, in Jurnal Prisma Vol. 30, No. 2 tahun 2011, hal 89-98, “Gerakan Pemuda 1926-2011: Persatuan Terhenti, Kesatuan Asimetris.

# Several Challenges for Contemporary Youth Organization in Indonesia

## A. External Challenges for Contemporary Youth Organization

The first challenge for the contemporary youth organization in Indonesia was the minimal recognition from the government of the existence and the work of these organizations within the society. Recognitions in the form of acknowledgment as well as appreciation for contemporary youth organizations were severely lacking. Judging from the National Youth Law, this was obvious when the youth organizations that were underlined were only organizations working in the fields of leadership and entrepreneurship. Constitutionally, there was no recognition from the government of the diversity of youth expression and youth issues.

Recognition from the government of youth organizations was also biased from issue standpoint, because only organizations that upheld leadership and entrepreneurship issues acquired support from the government and had their aspirations heard. Furthermore, youth organizations established/initiated by non-government/donor agencies that had a relationship with the government communicated much easier with support from the aforementioned NGO compared to other independent youth organizations.

*“As a youth organization, the government had given us YAP members enough space to participate in giving inputs or ideas, in every meetings / discussions of programs and policies related to young people, even though it is not maximum. As a whole, the government supported the existence of YAP as partner and representative of youth voice in social and/or government activities. This is proven by the existence of cooperation and programs created by the ministry and other government agencies that involved YAP in various events.”*

**Agnes Novita W. (Youth Advisory Panel UNFPA)**

*“Because young people were not given a chance to get involved, they need facilitation from donor organizations or government, for example because in the beginning we (networked) with UNFPA, then UNFPA facilitated us for important meetings. In the case of lack of experience, it is naturally difficult to get involved because in order to obtain experience we also need facilitation, [we] couldn't just participate in ministerial coordination meetings.”*

**Fita Rizki Utami (Aliansi Remaja Independen)**

Another challenge for youth organization, especially organizations that moved in sensitive issues such as sexuality, freedom of religion or diversity, was society's resistance to young activists and the issues they championed. Some of the topics that always invited arguments and resistance within the society for example are HIV/AIDS, comprehensive sexual education or homosexuality. These situations were really too bad because they hindered the work of the organization and often consumed young people's energy that could have been used for other assignments that were more focused to the issue. This was presented by two activists from an organization that worked on the issue of reproductive and sexual health for teenagers.

*"Other challenges come from external environment because the issue that we raised is the issue of right to reproductive and sexual health, in which we know that this issue is still very sensitive and it is still a taboo to discuss it in the society. This becomes one of our challenges in promoting the activities and services that we offer in Kisara and PKBI."*

**AA AyuRatna W. (PKBI danKisara Bali)**

*"When you said everyone has a right to education and to learn, everyone will agree, or will at least give support. Nine out of ten people will give support. But when we (talk about) having the right for bodily integrity, only 3 out of 10 or 2 out of 10 among the society give their support. This, in my opinion, is the shackles that prevented us from mainstreaming the issue."*

**FitaRizkiUtami (AliansiRemajaIndependen)**

## **B. Internal Challenges for Contemporary Youth Organization**

Volunteerism was an essential issue that became an opportunity as well as challenge for the sustainability of contemporary youth organization in Indonesia. We explained in the previous section that volunteerism was an essential characteristic that affected today's youth movement that was more fluid and inclusive in nature compared to past youth organizations. However, due to its fluid and non-binding nature, the commitment of the volunteers to the organization became an issue that constantly haunted the sustainability of the organization's activities.

*“Perhaps we could call this one of the obstacles, which is a (high) turnover among the volunteers in Kasara (Kita SayangRemaja). Because all the activities done are based on volunteerism, then we could not bind teenagers to stay in Kisara and perform all the activities.”*

**AA AyuRatna W. (PKBI danKisara Bali)**

In turn, this affected the professionalism and the work capacity of the organization. There was assumption that the work of these youth organizations were mostly temporal, short-term (or even project-oriented) and unprofessional. The organization’s poor management of its volunteers of course greatly affected the sustainability of the organization’s activities, and, extensively, could affect the continuity of youth movement in the future.

The next challenge for youth organizations in Indonesia was the internal capacity of the organization in relation to technical issues for the development of individual and organizational capacity. The activities of contemporary youth organization against various parties required specific expertise such as management of network and information dissemination media, identifying potential resources and donors, preparing a good work plan, preparing accountability reports, etc. Youth organizations required technical assistance in such matters because even though they were often overlooked, these things held a key role on the professionalism and the sustainability of youth organization.

The next challenge for youth organizations (in general) and youth organizations in Indonesia (specifically) were to find a philosophy and common ground from youth movement. In her observation regarding contemporary youth movement in Indonesia, Maesy Angelina argued that at the moment, popular discourse made it sound as if youth was the only requirement for youth movement, while this definition had its own biases such as class or gender. According to Angelina, youth movement needed to develop from an actor-based movement into a movement guided by a basic philosophy on what it was that this movement would like champion for young people, irrespective of whichever issue ended up being chosen.

There needed to be a collective vision or agenda to determine the direction of the youth movement in Indonesia<sup>9</sup>.

## Conclusion and Recommendation

### A. Conclusion

The study on contemporary youth organization in Indonesia attempted to give a general picture on the background of the emergence of contemporary youth organization, the characteristics that differentiated them from pre-reformation youth organizations, as well as opportunities and challenges faced by these youth organizations.

The fact that the emergence of youth organizations in Indonesia was always a form of response to various social and political issues showed that young people are not passive subjects that were apathetic towards the political process, but in fact the opposite. Democratization that birthed openness of public space made political process no longer seemed distant and limited to formal political institutions, but instead penetrated everyday life of young people. The openness of public space also strengthened young people's position as citizens as well as allowed them to manage the space creatively by utilizing their *youth* identity through interaction and networking activities to declare their concern of various issues in their surroundings.

Some of the characteristics that differentiated today's youth organization with past youth organizations were: *first*, attention to issues that crossed boundaries such as ethnicities, religion, or regionalism because the state no longer harnessed youth expression inside the three spheres, which allowed youth organizations to (*second*) adopt a fluid and inclusive membership. Young people everywhere, as long as they had a common interest and attention to a certain issue could be a part of this youth organization as volunteer. *Third*, these volunteers

---

<sup>9</sup> Angelina, Maesy (2011), *Siapakah 'Anak Muda' dalam Gerakan Anak Muda*. Makalah dapat diakses dalam [http://www.academia.edu/812230/Siapakah Anak Muda dalam Gerakan Anak Muda Who are the Youth in Youth Movements](http://www.academia.edu/812230/Siapakah_Anak_Muda_dalam_Gerakan_Anak_Muda_Who_are_the_Youth_in_Youth_Movements)

became the basis in the organizational activities to popularize issues within society at large. *Fourth*, volunteers were also important for contemporary youth organization because in general they had a small organizational structure and it would be very difficult to conduct activities without the support and aid from the volunteers. *Fifth*, these youth organizations very much counted on the strength of networking to connect youth issues that were in essence linked to each other, strengthen capacity to accomplish a mutual goal (such as a change in public policy) as well as widen the impact of the movement within the society, not only locally but also globally.

In the end, the social and political context which brought out contemporary youth organizations in Indonesia provided various opportunities and challenges for the sustainability of the youth organizations themselves. Even though young people's position became stronger and state's domination towards young people was not as strong as the previous era, the recognition and attention of state to these organizations felt very weak. The weakness of this recognition made all parties seemed to "walk alone": Ministry for Youth and Sports Affairs with their National Youth Law that ignored the dimension of identity diversity of young people, as well as the resistance from young people of government interference and the desire to be an independent entity, in the end made no significant change in participation and intervention of young people in policymaking. Inter-party dialogue was difficult to arrange because the state was often biased issue-wise and did not possess a clear mechanism allowed young people to consult with the government openly, therefore a synergy between youth organization and the government was still difficult to achieve.

Transparency of information in public space made it possible for young people to access information and discuss regarding issues that they could not dig deep previously at home or at school, but in actuality very relevant to their lives as young people, such as HIV/AIDS, reproductive health, sexuality and diversity. However, this opportunity also bred new challenge which was societal resistance towards issues that were seen as sensitive. Consequently, the argument that happened around the issue was centered to normative debate and tended to consume young people's energy.

From the internal perspective, the opportunities and challenge of youth organization emerged from the volunteerism aspect as something that could be a big capital for an organization to conduct its activities and widen their movement by traversing physical limitations, however at the same time required its own strategy in its management so that the volunteers could work and made long-term commitments to the contemporary youth organization. The second opportunity was the independence that strengthened the bargaining position of young people against external parties, but at the same time felt like a challenge because young people in actuality very much required technical assistance to develop the organizational work capacity required to expand their organization. The third opportunity and challenge, which was in no way less important than the previous points, was how the *youth* identity not to be utilized only as a strategic identity, but also strengthened by a youth philosophy that became the basis of youth movement in Indonesia. To find that philosophy, youth organizations needed to decide on a common ground, and if required created a mutual agenda to determine the direction of youth movement in Indonesia.

## **B. Recommendation**

Several recommendations for the sustainability of contemporary youth organizations in Indonesia:

1. Recognition and appreciation for contemporary youth organization in Indonesia. The government could actualize this by creating an open mechanism where youth organizations could participate in policymaking or had dialogues with stakeholders. This recognition should not only be given to youth organizations that moved in strategic issues such as youth, development, or entrepreneurship, but also for youth organizations that moved in diversity and marginal issues.
2. The creation of working synergy, starting from inter-youth organizational synergy, to synergy with other parties such as civil society and even government. This synergy could be created through discussions and intense inter-organizational interactions, so activities like forum, conference, and non-formal meetings were still needed. Each organization needed to realize the importance of work and network synergy so

a specific strategy is needed to make this activity effective for mutual work goal, not only as a chance to highlight or mainstream one's own issues.

3. A good management of the organization's constituents through routine creative activities. These activities were not only useful to strengthen socialization and campaign of the issues that were raised, but also to strengthen the commitment of the volunteers to the organization, perhaps even to recruit new volunteer so the organization would not face "volunteer crisis" in its sustainability.
4. Define and re-define the philosophy of youth movement in Indonesia by providing a special time to review the history of youth movement from past to present. This philosophy could be a "long-term guide" for youth organizations in Indonesia.