Youth Policies in Indonesia:

Activating the Role of Youth

Part of a Report Series :

Capacity Building for the Empowerment and Involvement of Youth in Indonesia

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Summary

This policy review consisted of analyses on the existence of policies related to Indonesian youth, including how the state viewed its youth as policy instruments, and the problems in the existing policies accompanied by recommendations. This review aimed to obtain an overview of the policy development on Indonesian youth and present recommendations based on youth needs and problems. This report explained analysis results from materials acquired through interviews with various related parties and relevant literary

reviews. Several important discoveries from this research were summarized in the following points:

- An integrated youth policy in Indonesia did not exist. There were eight
 policies related to youth and each had its own definition of "youth". Only Law
 No. 40 of 2009 on Youth had specifically defined the criteria of being a youth.
 All the policies intersected and even overlapped in trying to target youth
 problems.
- The fragmentation of youth-related policies resulted in unintegrated distribution of funding for programs and they often overlapped between one ministry and another, when in actuality the amount of funding for youth programs in Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs combined with other ministries' programs was quite significant.
- From time to time, even though youth was seen as the next generation, their
 roles had not been activated in practice. Youth were still perceived as objects
 that needed to be guarded and controlled. The complicated bureaucracy and
 transparency in government institutions kept limiting youth access to be
 involved in programs that targeted their group.
- The existing youth policies, especially National Youth Law, did not represent the needs and problems of today's youth. According to several sources, this was due to the closed and unsocialized nature of the formulation process, so there was a lack of representation from youth in the formulation. The process of formulating policies also did not maximize the existing comprehensive research and studies on the needs and problems of youth.
- The main challenge faced by Indonesian youth included education, employment, health (including reproductive health), food security, and fundamentalist movements that encouraged intolerance and violence.

- The state had not viewed youth as a diverse group with specific needs and problems, such as disabled youth, street youth, and young women. Both from the definition and program aspects, the state still uniformize youth and had not given affirmation to marginalized youth groups.
- Even though the National Youth Law had regulated on youth organization, it
 still used the old framework in defining youth organization that many
 initiatives or contemporary youth organizations did not meet those criterion.
 This resulted in difficulties for such groups to access resources provided by
 the government. The youth organizations in the Ministry of Youth and Sports
 Affair's list were usually affiliated to existing political parties, religious and
 ethnic groups, or other mass organizations.
- Youth participation in every stage of various youth-related programs and
 policies was the key to success of the policy implementation. Activating youth
 role would actually lighten government's burden in managing youth needs
 and overcoming youth problems.
- One of the most basic inhibiting factors in active youth participation was the
 political culture that had been embedded and practiced since the New Order
 regime. By the regime's power structure, Indonesia was envisioned as a big
 family, namely a National Family. Youth were positioned as "children", told to
 respect and obey older leaders, the "fathers". This cultural hierarchy could be
 found in government bureaucracy in Indonesia.
- The development of youth creativity and initiative required support from government's resources. To date, many youth groups with potentials worked on their own initiative and resources, and their programs did well. Support from the government could amplify the impact of their initiatives, because the government had structure and influence. Especially with the existence of regional autonomy, each region could develop the potentials of their local youth to collaborate in designing effective programs.

Acronyms

RUU Rancangan Undang-Undang (Draft of Law)

UU Undang-Undang (Law)

Keppres Keputusan Presiden (Presidential Decree)

PP Peraturan Pemerintah (Government Regulation)

Permen Peraturan Menteri (Minister's Regulation)

BPS Badan Pusat Statistik (Central Bureau of Statistics)

GBHN Garis Besar Haluan Negara (State Guidelines)

MPR Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative

Assembly)

DPR Dewan Permusyawaratan Rakyat (House of

Representative)

NKK/BKK Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus / Badan Koordinasi

Kemahasiswaan (Normalization of Campus Life / Student

Coordinating Board)

OSIS Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah (Student Union)

KPAN Komisi Penanggulangan AIDS Nasional (National AIDS

Commission)

KNPI Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia (Indonesian Youth

National Committee)

Kemenpora Kementrian Pemuda dan Olah Raga (Ministry of Youth

and Sports Affairs)

Kemendikbud Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (Ministry of

Education and Cultural Affairs)

Kemenkes Kementrian Kesehatan (Ministry of Health)

RPJMN Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional

(Medium-Term Development Plan)

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural

Organization

WHO World Health Organization

Explanation of the Term "Youth"

In Indonesian language, there were several terms to describe the transition period from children to adults. In The Great Dictionary of Indonesian Language (KBBI) ...

Many researchers chose to use the term "anak muda" compared to "Pemuda" (both translated to "youth") or "adolescent" due to the following reasons:

1. The term "Pemuda", according to the socio-political history in Indonesia, was identical to the younger generation during the struggle for independence era and the newly-formed Republic of Indonesia. President Soekarno associated "pemuda" as revolutionists and political mobilization engine. After the Old Order era was replaced by the New Order, the term "pemuda" became closely-associated to development. The population group who was no longer children and nearing adults were encouraged to achieve successful development guided by Pancasila. The revolutionary "pemuda" after the 'development "pemuda" generation rebelled to topple the New Order, and the term "pemuda" faded and was rarely used in popular media anymore. From reformation era until the era in which this research was conducted, there had been many organizations built by the younger generation. These organizations tended not to use the term "pemuda", but "anak muda" instead. The term "pemuda" was no longer perceived as representative to the spirit of the era and the definition had an attachment to political and moral attributes. The term "anak muda" was more frequently used because this term was free from intervention outside of their authority¹. According to Hilmar Farid, the term "anak muda" provided more agency to these groups compared to the term "pemuda" which was given by people outside of their group. The term

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ Farid, Hilmar. Meronta dan Berontak, Pemuda dalam Sastra Indonesia. Prisma Vol.30 (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011), page 73

"anak muda", which symbolized activity, represented the objective of this policy review, which was to activate the role of youth as equal partner in policy formulation and decision making in their civic life.

- 2. The term "adolescent" (remaja) tended to refer to "adolescence", which perceived youth as a psychological and physical transition phase. This term was often found in researches or studies on the psychological or health aspect of youth. The term "adolescent" was also frequently used when youth was positioned as an object. This term was also detached from socio-political context, just like how youth in the 2000s were positioned as adolescents that were apathetic to politics and low on nationalism.² By calling them "adolescents", youth became a strategic target market that the image of youth was attached to consumptionism. Hence, this study chose to not use the term adolescents in defining youth groups in Indonesia.
- 3. There were many age limitations in defining youth. These age limitations were defined by socio-political and cultural context in their respective region. Each region had a different limitation; various agencies also had different age limitations. In the UN, for example, *youth* was aged 15-24 years old, whereas *young people* 10-19 years old³. In Law No. 40/2009 on Youth, the age limitation was 16-30 years old. In the interest of being consistent in this study, we used the age limitation set by the government to ease data collection and adjusted to Indonesia as a context. However, there were some data taken from the UN using the age framework of 15-24 years old.

² See: Nugroho Yanuar & Tumenggung, Adeline M. *Marooned in The Junction: Indonesian Youth Participation in Politics.* Part of Go! Young Progressives in Southeast Asia. Friedrich Ebert Stifftung.

 $^{^{3}}$ UNESCO. Empowering Youth Through National Youth Policy. (Paris: UNESCO, 2004), hal. 10-11

Introduction

The discourse around youth usually took Indonesia to romanticizing history, to the eras when the nation's political transition was driven by the younger generation. Youth's position was seen as important in civic life through the term 'successor generation', both in the context of struggle for independence and development. Discussions on this group was often linked to the population number, both in global or national scale. Indonesia was not separated from this population trend. Just like every other country in Asia, Indonesia was

experiencing increase in group aged 16-30 years old. With a population number of over 230 million in 2011, youth made up approximately 37% (62.343.755 million) of the total population.⁴ This large number could mean two things to a country, becoming both a challenge and an opportunity for its development. In response to this situation, Indonesian government needed a special strategy in developing youth's potentials and maximizing their role as citizens.

On one hand, Indonesian youth experienced various problems that hindered their personal development in the transitional period from children to adults. Disparity in access to education, employment, and technology experienced by youth in various regions in Indonesia reflected that the government's attention to youth did not have a significant impact to their development. As seen from the school participation number, there were 1.2 million youth that did not or had never accessed formal education (569.8 thousand males and 626.4 thousand females). On the other hand, youth was burdened with an image of an immature group whose opinions were not seen as important in decision making. This double standard in perceiving youth caused all efforts to empower them to become nonoptimal.

Responding to youth problems and empowering them through policy instruments was not a new idea for Indonesian government. Since the New Order era until now we recorded several youth-related policies issued by the government. Even though they did not have an integrated National Youth Policy, the government enacted Law No. 40 of 2009 on Youth which was made into national reference basis in discussions on youth. Even though Indonesian government had several policies related to youth outside of the National Youth Law, it was the only law that specifically aimed to empower Indonesian youth. There was much feedback when the law was made official; questions on how the policy was formulated and how it would be implemented also emerged.

Unfortunately, even though the fate of youth under one regime to another was not vastly different, the transformative nature of the social, political, and cultural context demanded a serious commitment from today's government. The lack of

⁴ Central Bureau of Statistics. Statistik Pemuda 2010. (Jakarta: BPS, 2010) hal.10

⁵ Central Bureau of Statistics, ibid

vocabulary or policies related to youth resulted in lack of reference basis for various parties to develop a comprehensive plan to formulate policies and programs for youth. It was obvious that the policies from the New Order era to present day still departed from the same perspective about youth. Jargons such as "noble youth" were insufficient to answer the concrete problems faced by this group. Coupled with the ambiguity of the expression "youth participation in development", it could be said that national policies on youth were not yet effective because their perspective on youth was questionable.

Youth policy review became urgent in the agenda as an input for the existing policy. Moreover, this policy study aimed to formulate the needs and problems that needed to be answered by a policy. We believed that a policy could not be effective without involving the subjects of the policy in its formulation and implementation. The oft-undermined youth perspective needed to be immediately responded and followed up. This study also aimed to enrich youth perspective in responding to policies related to their lives. As there was an assumption during the New Order and post-reformation era that youth were becoming more apathetic, this study also attempted encourage their participation to respond to such policy. We believed that if the government aimed to answer youth needs and empower youth, the government needed to involve youth in full. Democracy would be mere lip-service without participation. As the legendary Indonesian litterateur Pramoedya Ananta Toer said: "Only the youth could answer". 6

Objective

This study on Indonesian youth was part of the "Developing the Capacity of Youth for Their Empowerment and Involvement as Citizens" program. Aside from this study, we also did a study on Contemporary Youth Organization in

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 $^{^6}$ Quoted from the interview video with Pramoedya Ananta Toer by Daniel McGuire, Injil Abubakar, Lexy Rambadeta. 26 Agustus 1999

Indonesia and Condition of Youth in Papua. The policy study was conducted with the following objectives:

- 1. Observing the development of youth-related policies that had been legislated by Indonesian government.
- 2. Studying the existing policies to then observe its effectiveness in empowering youth.
- 3. Providing an overview on the needs and issues that were prioritized by today's youth.
- 4. Providing recommendations to increase youth participation in the making of government policies and programs.

Study Questions

- 1. What are the basic needs of Indonesian Youth?
- 2. How does the government understand their role as implementer of youth-related programs and policy formulator?
- 3. Are the priorities of the government in accordance with the priorities of youth?
- 4. What are the policy frameworks that regulated Indonesian youth?
- 5. How does youth policy respond to the specific needs of vulnerable and marginalized youth?
- 6. How is the implementation of youth policy on the national level?
- 7. How is the involvement of youth as civilians in policy and decision making in Indonesia?

Methodology

The study team used the *desk study* methodology, including browsing national news in both print and online media, and individual and group consults with stakeholders. We analyzed the obtained qualitative data, and we also conducted

direct observation during meetings between the government and lawmakers. This study was conducted for approximately two months in Jakarta. This study was a series with the research on typology of youth organization and analysis on youth situation in Papua, thus our data collection 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 did media browsing on news that were relevant to this study both current (for a period of 2 months) and old news that we accessed from media information center agency. We also collected statistical data released by various institutions such as Ministries, Central Bureau of Statistics data center (BPS), 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 to then follow them with detailed questions that were more relevant to the objective of 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 in discussing detailed topics. We interviewed 16 informants, 12 through face-to-face interviews and 4 others through online media. The total duration of the face-to-face interviews reached 20 hours. We then analyzed the interviews both through resumes and transcripts. We interviewed representatives from government agencies, youth organizations, and young activists.

3. Consults with Stakeholders

On 18 February 2013, halfway through the study, we held a presentation for our findings and invited various youth groups and representatives of youth

 $^{^{7}}$ Gubrium, Jaber F & Holstein, James A. Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method. (California: Sage Publications, 2002)

organizations, university research institutes, representatives from government including related Ministries (Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs, Ministry of Social Services, Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, and Ministry of Health), National AIDS Commission, and Presidential Working Unit for the Supervision and Management of Development (UKP4), as well as Non-Government Organizations. We presented our interim findings and collected input on problems, needs, and youth organizations. We integrated the results of the meeting in this study, particularly under Recommendations.

Youth Policies in Indonesia

State's Perspective on Youth

Youth Policies in Indonesia: Somewhere between 'There' and 'Not There'

"Many people, especially youth themselves, are unaware of the existence of the National Youth Law, because the socialization is minimum and the formulation process is not transparent or participatory."

Fita Rizki Utami- Aliansi Remaja Independen

In every regime, young people always became one of the topics highlighted in the development agenda. The plan to improve and empower youth were always included the strategic plan of related ministries, such as Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs (Kemenpora), Ministry of Health (Kemenkes), and Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs (Kemendikbud). The Government of Indonesia themselves had legitimized it in the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) of 2005-2025 (found in Law No. 17/2007) section IV.1.2.A Item 6, which stated that "The development of youth is focused on the improvement of the quality of the human resources, development of national character, and youth participation in the development of economy, social, cultural, science and technology, politics with national insight and ethics of Indonesia". That section was made into a juridical basis by Kemenpora and House of Representative Commission X to formulate and enact Law No. 40 of 2009 about Youth.

Until January 2013, out of all 198 countries around the world, there were 99 that already had their own National Youth Policy; 56 were revising existing policies, and 43 did not have an integrated policy.⁸ There were 6 countries in Southeast Asia that owned a National Youth Policy, 1 revising, and 4 nonexistent. Indonesia was one of the countries who did not have a strategy for an integrated national policy on youth affairs.

Even though Law No. 40 of 2009 on Youth became the only reference basis in defining youth in Indonesia as well as the program direction and purpose, there were still several youth-related policies outside of the scope of responsibility of Kemenpora. These policies were under the scope of responsibility of other Ministries and became a part or an article under a Law with a specified topic. This proved that youth issues were a cross-sectoral responsibility. In addition, the age limitation of youth, which intersected with the age limitation for children in Law No. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection (until the age of 18), further expanded the scope of the ministry involved in youth affairs.

Based on the study on the existing law, policies related to Indonesian youth were as follows: (Refer to Table 1)

⁸ The State of Youth Policy in 2013. http://www.youthpolicy.org/blog/2013/01/state-of-youth-policy-2013/ accessed on 10 February 2013

No	Youth-related Laws and Regulations	Definition of Youth	R	ights Regulated under the Rules and Regulations	Conclusion of the Rules and Regulations		Notes
			•	Citizenship	The initial phase of youth	•	This law was based
1	Law No. 23 of 2002	Child: from the	•	Religion, speech, and	groups; youth under 18		on the Convention of
	on Child Protection	utero to age 18		thought	years old were included in		Rights of the Child
			•	To be nurtured	the child category so this		and Eradication of
		Youth aged 16-17	•	Healthcare & Social	policy applied to them. This		Child Labor and
		which fell under		Security	law included children's		conventions related
		this category.	•	Education	rights such as protection,		to other basic human
			•	Rights for children who	access to education,		rights.
				were disabled and with	healthcare; protection and	•	This law could be
				special needs	access for special needs		made into the basis of
			•	To opine and be heard	children, such as street		protection for youth
			•	Rest, play, and create	children, disabled children,		groups (under 18
			•	Protection from	children in conflict areas,		years old) who were
				discrimination,	etc. This policy also		not regulated in other
				violence, exploitation,	contained criminal		laws, such as disabled
				neglect.	provisions for violations,		children, neglected

			Protection from war,	and authorities of	children, children in
			persecution, political	Commission for Child	conflict areas, etc.
			activities, armed	Protection.	
			conflict, etc.		
			 Rights for neglected, 		
			disabled, and foster		
			children.		
2	Law No. 20 of 2003	Learners (members	Rights for quality	This policy was a guide for	Youth education was
	on The National	of the community	education for all	provision of education in	included in the
	Education System	trying to develop	citizens	Indonesia as a whole. It	information on informal
	(Sisdiknas)	their self-potential	 Special education for 	contained discussions on	education (article 26), so
		through the	disabled groups	curriculum, funding system,	was training to develop
		learning process	• Education for	authority of local	profession. The rights
		provided in certain	indigenous or remote	government, formal	and duties of youth's role
		educational	societies	education, informal	as learners were
		channels, levels,	• Lifelong learning	education, facilitators,	regulated under this law.
		and types.)	Compulsory Primary	facilities / infrastructure,	
			Education for 7-15	national standard, and	
		School-age Children	years age group	criminal provisions.	

			• The role of		
			community on		
			monitoring and		
			evaluating the		
			provision of		
			education		
			Informal Education*		
			* Life skills education, early		
			childhood education, youth		
			education, women's		
			empowerment education,		
			vocational and job training		
			education, equality		
			education, and other		
			educations aimed to develop		
			learners' skills.		
3	Law No. 36 of 2009	Adolescents (no	Provision of healthcare	Similar to laws on the	This law also
	on Health	specification of	for adolescents	national educational	mandated health

age range, but if			system, Health Law		education for
this law	•	Reproductive	regulated various aspects		adolescents, but it
referenced		healthcare for	related to provision of		was not explained
WHO, the age		adolescents	services and healthcare on		concretely if it should
limitation			the national level. What		be done through
would be 10-19	•	Education, information	differentiated this law to		formal or informal
years old)		and services related to	law on the national		educational channels.
		adolescent health	educational system was		
• School-age		Effort to improve the	that Health Law contained a	•	This law guaranteed
children (no age		nutritional health of	specific section on		health services for
limitations, in		female adolescents	regulating "adolescent		adolescents,
general 7-18		remaie adolescents	health" (article 136 and		including
years old)			137). These articles stated		reproductive health.
			that healthcare efforts for		
			adolescent, including		
			reproductive healthcare,		
			must be implemented by		
			Government, Local		
			Government, and Society.		

				Most interestingly was	
				article 137 on the	
				obligations of local	
				government in	
				guaranteeing access to	
				education, information, and	
				health services so	
				adolescents could live	
				healthily and responsibly.	
				This policy pointed out	
				specific needs for health	
				education and services for	
				adolescent phase which age	
				range was not specifically	
				defined but included in	
				school-age category.	
4	Law No. 40 of 2009	Youth: 16-30 years	Protection, especially	This law naturally became	From the perspective
	on Youth	old	from destructive	the instrument that	of definition, age
			influence	dominated studies about	limitation of youth

	Service in using youth	youth policies in Indonesia.	intersected with the
	facilities and	With a total of 54 articles,	definition of "child" in
	infrastructure without	National Youth Law focused	Child Protection Law
	discrimination	on regulations on defining	and "adolescents" in
	• Advocacy	youth (especially on age),	Health Law
	Access to personal	empowerment of	
	development	potentials, developing	This law regulated
	Opportunity to	leadership,	functions,
	participate in the	entrepreneurship,	characteristics,
	planning,	initiatives, partnership,	directions, and
	implementation,	youth organization, and	strategy of youth
	monitoring, evaluation,	funding allocation, as well	services according to
	and strategic decision	as mandate on cross-	state perspective.
	making in youth	sectoral coordination on	
	programs.	youth affairs. As the main	It was obvious in this
		reference basis, this policy	law that youth
		was expected to be able to	participation was
		respond to challenges faced	their right and role.
		by youth and answer their	

					needs. Thus, further studies		
					and follow up were		
					required on this law since		
					its enactment in 2009.		
5	Law No. 52 of 2009	Adolescents	•	Improving the quality	This law was created as a	•	In this law, youth was
	on Population	(without specific		of adolescents by	response to the population		perceived to have a
	Growth and Family	age limitation), but		providing access to	growth and to handle		role on preparing
	Development	possibly equal to		information, education,	population explosions and		themselves to
		the definition of		counseling, and	negative impacts of		planning family life.
		Health Law		services about family	unbalanced population		
				life.	growth. In order to support	•	It was not explained
					national development, the		in this law if the
					policy aimed to control		provision of access to
					population number as well		information was part
					as the establishment of		of the duties of formal
					Families with Quality and		educational
					Planning. In the "family"		institutions or if the
					area as listed in Chapter VII,		information could
					Article 48.b, improvement		just be provided

					of adolescent's qualities		through seminars and
					through access to		equivalent.
					information, education,		
					counseling, and services		
					were related to family life.		
					With the existence of this		
					policy, youth as a part of		
					family unit possessed		
					related rights guaranteed		
					by the state.		
6	Law No. 12 of 2010	Learners in Scout	•	Participating in scout	Since the New Order era,	•	Pramuka was seen by
	on Scout Movement	Education aged 7 –		education	Gerakan Pramuka (Scout		Kemenpora (Min. of
	(Gerakan Pramuka)	25 years old.			Movement) was seen as a		Youth & Sports
			•	Wearing scout	vessel to shape young		Affairs) as a tool to
				attributes	people in accordance to the		develop youth
					vision of development and		characters and
			•	Obtaining certificate	Pancasila. The policy made		national education.
				and/or Scout Skill	to comprehensively		
				Sign/Badge	regulate Pramuka (scout)	•	The issue of who had

					focused on training and		the authority to
			•	Protection during	embedding scout values.		regulate Pramuka
				participation in scout	Aside from regulating the		often became an
				activities.	codes, bases, and activities		argument between
					of scout education, Gerakan		Ministry of Youth and
					Pramuka Law also define		Ministry of Education,
					youth as learners within		keeping in mind that
					the age limitation of 7 to 25		Ministry of Education
					years old, as well as		had authority over
					regulating curriculum,		schools, where
					attributes, authorities, and		Pramuka was
					objectives of scout training.		implemented.
7	Government	Youth: 16-30 years	•	Development of youth	This policy was derived	•	This regulation was
	Regulation No. 41 of	old		entrepreneurship	from Law No. 40 of 2009 on		clearer on the
	2011 on				youth which focused on		mandate and
	Development of		•	Development of youth	three aspects:		authority of both
	Youth			initiative	entrepreneurship,		central and local
	Entrepreneurship				initiative, and supporting		government to
	and Initiative as		•	Provision of youth	facilities and infrastructure		develop the capacity

well as Provision of	facilities and	for youth programs. Even	of youth.
Youth	infrastructure	though there had been no	
Infrastructure and		concrete definition or	• The focus on youth
Facilities		limitations on the definition	entrepreneurs
		of entrepreneurship, this	actually intersected
		Government Regulation	with other Ministry's
		aimed to regulate	program such as
		development of	Entrepreneurship
		entrepreneurship through	Movement that
		trainings, support on access	belonged to the
		to capital, internship,	Ministry of
		partnership, etc. Also	Cooperatives and
		contained in it was an	Small and Medium
		explanation on what kind of	Enterprises or the
		support could be obtained	Entrepreneurship
		from the government for	Program from
		the purposes of	Ministry of Industry.
		entrepreneurship. On the	
		youth initiative part,	

					articles concerned	
					regulated on trainings,	
					mentoring, and youth	
					leadership forum as a tool	
					to develop initiative. The	
					facilities and infrastructure	
					aspect regulated on the	
					provision, maintenance,	
					utilization, and funding. The	
					authority to monitor this	
					Government Regulation	
					was given to the central	
					government and local	
					government.	
8	Regulation of the	Child: from the	•	Right to be involved in	As a policy instrument that	This regulation was
	Ministry of Female	utero - 18 years old		the decision-making on	was more technical on	created in response to
	Empowerment and			anything related to	implementation, Ministry's	Indonesia's socio-
	Child Protection No.	Youth of 16-17		children and for it to be	Regulation No. 3 of 2011	cultural context that
	3 of 2011 on Child	years of age		conducted with mutual	was the only policy which	limited children's

Participation in	included in this		awareness,	regulated children's	participation.
Development	category.		understanding, as well	involvement (and youth	
			as willingness so	aged 16-18 years old) on	This regulation could be
			children could reap the	every level of child-related	used as a basis for the
			benefits or results of	decision-making. The	initial phase of youth
			such decisions.	involvement started from	advocacy in an effort to
				the level of family,	participate in various
		•	Right for their opinions	community, school, NGOs,	levels of program made
			to be heard and used as	to Public Policy. This policy	by government.
			input in decision	was important to include in	
			making or creation of	this study because it listed	
			programs.	government and other	
				legislative bodies' duty to	
				involve children in giving	
				input on the formulation	
				and decision-making	
				process.	

This study limited itself on an in-depth review of Law No. 40 of 2009 on Youth as the national basis to define and regulate youth in Indonesia. However, this study also reviewed other related policies.

The interesting aspect of the existing policies on youth was how all of them viewed youth differently. There were policies that viewed youth in their initial phase as "children", as "adolescents" (usually in the context of health or psychology), as students or learners, or as "Pemuda" (usually in relation to development, leadership, empowerment, and nationalism). Various instruments also treated youth differently. In policies related to children and health issues, the focus of the regulations were access to education, information, healthcare, and protection against violence, conflict, or war. The policies concerned the basic rights of the younger group and youth were treated as subjects in need of protection and social security, whereas policies related to youth and scout focused on youth leadership, independence, nationalism, entrepreneurship, youth organizations, as well as special funding allocation for the group. Here youth was seen as a group that needed to be shaped both in ideology, personality, and behavior. Youth were also seen as partners in national development.

Even though the National Youth Law and Minister's Regulation on Child Participation discussed the mechanism of involving of youth under 18 years old, the path for youth to participate in a concrete manner in government programs had not been realized. Participation also became an important keyword in National Youth Law and was attached to the role of youth. However, the idea of participation tended to be ambiguous because representation of the participants and the participants themselves were not clearly defined. Issues related to participation would be covered in the next part, but the lack of youth participation from various circles reflected the lack of socialization of the National Youth Law, both during formulation and post-enactment. The participation aspect could also answer the questions of how today's youth-related policies met the needs and the concrete problems of society's youth groups.

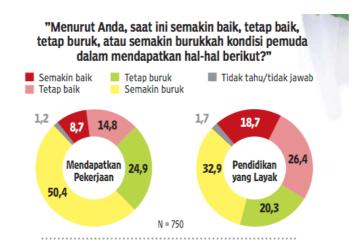


Fig 1.A.1

Kompas Polling Results on The Condition of Youth in Indonesia

Youth felt that the existence of the mentioned policies had not affected their lives significantly. As illustrated by Kompas in their 2010 Polling, society thought that youth's condition/chances on obtaining employment or decent education was declining. According to one of the youth informants for this study, one of the reasons for the ineffectiveness of the policy was because the formulation was not based on the data on issues among youth. On top of participation and failure of using the current research data in its formulation, the existing youth policy also did not explain the mechanism of monitoring and evaluation to measure its effectiveness. No wonder many youth did not feel the effect of youth policy; some even were not aware of its existence.

From Youth of Development to Youth of Globalization

The existence of youth policy in Indonesia could not be separate from the international context, when the United Nations released a mandate on youth policies since 1969. This mandate was followed by various meetings, such as UN General Assembly that produced recommendations to involve youth in national development. This UN Mandate was then followed up with proclaiming

⁹ Kompas Polling: *Pemuda di Latar Ikatan yang Melemah*. Kompas edisi Senin, 20 Oktober 2010.

¹⁰ Angel, William D. Comparative Analysis of National Youth Policy. (Eschborn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, 2005) hal. 14

1985 as the first International Youth Year, with the theme "Participation, Development, Peace." Indonesia who, during this period, was active in the advisory committee of the UN also recommended on holding a conference on youth. Afterwards, one of the UN Agencies who formed youth division, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), held "Regional Youth Forum" several times. The forum discussed youth issues and afterwards, during the Regional Youth Forum in Kathmandu Nepal, in 1978, mandated that all UN members to own a national policy on youth. Based on the mandate from UNESCO, the government of Indonesia in the New Order era was motivated to formulate a national policy on youth.

If we flashed back to the previous years, we could see that government's attention on young people had emerged since the Declaration of Independence in the Old Order era. This was shown by the appointment of Wikana as State Minister of Youth Affairs, who served in the Sjahrir II dan III cabinets in 1946-1947 until Sjarifudin I and II cabinets in 1947-1948. Wikana was replaced by Supeno during the Hatta I cabinet in 1948-1949. Still, Indonesia's situation was that of a newly-independent nation and still in the struggle to maintain independence, so it was difficult for them to do much in managing young people. After Wikana and Supeno, the position of minister for youth affairs were eliminated until the end of Old Order regime. Even though the position Ministry of Sports Affairs emerged in Dwikora I dan II Cabinets in 1964-1966, government in the Old Order era had not formulated any national policy related to youth.

From independence era up to the Old Order regime, youth were associated as revolutionary power in the midst of the then-occurring revolution and was given

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¹¹ Kansil C.S.T. *Aku Pemuda Indonesia: Pendidikan Politik Generasi Muda (Inpres Presiden No. 12 tahun 1982).* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1986) page 56

¹² Kansil C.S.T., Ibid.

¹³ Wikana was a fighter and a young activist in the independence era of Indonesia who was famous for the Rengasdengklok event. He had a key role in instigating the Declaration of Independence and the struggle against anti-colonialism. Previously, he was a part of Indonesian Communist Party, Indonesian party, and was a leader of Barisan Pemuda Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia. (*Mencari Wikana: Sepak terjang Pemuda dari Sumedang.* http://historia.co.id/?d=840) ¹⁴ Supeno fought in the struggle for indepence and was known to be close to Amir Syarifuddin in his political carier. He was appointed as Minister of Youth Development in Hatta I Cabinet. He passed away still in office after being shot by a dutch soldier during Dutch Military Aggression II. (http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supeno)

terms such as fighters, pioneers, or Republicans. The terms for youth during this era were attached to ideas that are political and revolutionary in nature. Youth policy during this era was not a priority even though the youth themselves were politically aware. Until the establishment of the New Order, young people still played a role in the political history of Indonesia. After the shift of power to Soeharto-led government, the effort to distance society from revolutionary political ideas began to limit the political movement of youth. For the time being the Minister of Youth Affairs position were deactivated until in 1978, this position was reactivated with the title Deputy Minister of Youth Affairs, occupied by dr. Abdul Gafur. What was the reason for government to reactivate the position in the 70s?

The situation during the start of the New Order era was quite complex, creating dualism in youth discourse during the 70s. As illustrated comprehensively by Aria Wiratma Yudhistira in his book "Dilarang Gondrong! Praktik Kekuasaan Orde Baru terhadap Anak Muda Awal 1970-an" ("No Shaggy Hair!" The Practice of New Order Power Against Youth in the 70s"), initially youth was identical to the struggle for independence and the anti-colonialism spirit. After the establishment of the New Order, the jargon [National] "Development" replaced the spirit of struggle. The struggle for independence was expected to be continued by youth by participating in national development. Youth was then given the task as the generation to succeed national development and increase its accomplishments. This concern on the lifestyle of youth whose behavior and personality were perceived as pampered and influenced by the western culture. This concern even drove the government to conduct a national seminar in 1972 to identify the problems of the young people. 18

Brawling among students, disobedience to parents, drug use, and a personality that deviated from eastern values dominated the image of youth. The government and the older generation worried about the degradation of youth

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¹⁵ Ongkokham. Angkatan Muda dalam Sejarah dan Politik. Prisma No.12, 1977. Page 21

¹⁶ Yudhistira, Aria Wiratma. *Dilarang Gondrong! Praktik Kekuasaan Orde Baru terhadap Anak Muda Awal 1970-an.* (Jakarta: Marjin Kiri, 2010)

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Kansil, C.S.T, *Ibid*.

character, morals, religious values, and even spirit of nationalism and patriotism. In reality, the influence of the western culture could not be separated from the enactment of the Foreign Investment Policy No. 1 of 1967. The policy that affected the economic situation of Indonesia then increased the consumption of imported products, including its pop culture such as music and film. Youth in that era followed the trend of *hippies* lifestyle surging through the western world. This was coupled with the issues that hampered development such as the number of youth out of school and unemployment. This condition drove the government to start setting direction for young people in the forms of national policy so they could be shaped into a generation whose personality, spirit, and behavior suited the values of Pancasila and National Development.

The New Order government then issued a policy on youth through State Guidelines (GBHN) in 1978 which was enacted in Provision of People's Consultative Assembly (Tap MPR) No. IV/MPR/78. Under the mandate, President Soeharto through Presidential Decree No. 13 of 1978 appointed dr. Abdul Gafur as Deputy Minister of Youth Affairs. The effort to shape youth of "development" was not done only by the Deputy Minister of Youth Affairs, but also Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs which provisioned The Archetype of Guidance and Development of Young People. This provision would later be reworked in Ministerial Decree of State Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs No.0023/Menpora/85. The archetype covered problems, potentials, principles and objectives, orientation, program policies, program implementation, and youth guidance channels. Following the State Guidelines, government realized that the affairs of guiding youth are a cross-sectoral work that required interdepartmental coordination. The president finally established Coordinating Board of Implementing Guidance and Development of Youth through Presidential Decree No. 23 of 1979. This coordinating board was chaired by Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs, and vice-chaired by Minister of Home Affairs with Minister of Youth Affairs as Executive Chairman and other ministers as members.

Cores of Guidance of State Guidelines of 1978 on youth program:

- 1. Increasing devotion to God
- 2. Growing national and state awareness.
- 3. Strengthening idealism, patriotism, and self-esteem.
- 4. Strengthening personality and discipline as well as noble character.
- 5. Fostering physical and spiritual fitness.
- 6. Development of leadership, knowledge, skills, and initiative.
- 7. Motivating and developing youth participation in national and state life in implementation of national development.
- 8. Development of vessels of youth guidance.
- 9. Creating and maintaining a healthy atmosphere in order to develop youth creativity and responsibility.
- 10. Upgrading facilities and guidance tools of youth.

Not to stop in its development at coordination board, the President felt a policy that was more technical and aimed for the ideological transformation of young people was required. He then issued Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 12 of 1982 on Political Education for Young People. The political education meant in this Inpres was not similar to the political spirit of the Old Order era when youth was associated with political movements according to their own differing ideologies. This political education was based on one ideology, namely Pancasila, and political participation here did not mean youth involvement in fighting for their right, but participation in youth organizations that were permitted by the government, such as the Student Union, or Indonesian Youth National Committee (KNPI). Through its historical propaganda and development jargons, the New Order government desired for obedient youth that would continue (economic) development. Even though democratic principles existed, in the end the pseudodemocracy practiced by the New Order did not have an impact on youth apathy.

Even though youth was seen as undisciplined and uncaring of their nation by the New Order government, in reality there was still a few college students who criticized the regime. The power structure of the New Order that encouraged

corruption, prioritized *Party of the Functional Groups* (Golkar) in the election, and increased fuel prices disappointed young people. Student groups began to voice their aspirations through writings, protests, and abstentions. From around 1970 to 1978, college students launched protests such as in the Malari event in 15 January 1974, to movements developing in campuses after the 1977 election announced Soeharto as the winner for the third time. These instances drove the authoritarian New Order government to "manage" the protests through terror and baseless arrests.

In the end, the government issued the Campus Normalization Policy/Student Coordinating Board (NKK/BKK) through Decree No. 0156/U/1978 to limit the activities of students to merely academic. The government through BKK based on the Decree of Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs No. 037/U/1979 froze the Student Council and turned it into Student Coordinating Board. The effect of this policy was the organizational paralysis of student organizations' role in political activities. The student movement that helped the New Order toppled the Old Order in the end had to submit to the powers of government. The participation of youth during this era was practically reduced to a mere display during the celebration of Youth Pledge day or other ceremonial activities.

The New Order Government's authoritarian perspective on youth finally ended in 1998, during the upheavals of Indonesia's economic and political situation. Students again took part in toppling the powers of the New Order. As Intan Paramaditha opined: "We saw elements surfacing, and then were interchanged: a shaky core, the toppled power of The Father (Soeharto), and youth taking the streets". 19 The fall of the New Order government took Indonesia to the next period, known as the Reformation era. There was a void in this era on positioning youth discourses which used to be identical to student movement. Youth in the 2000s was again positioned as adolescents who were apathetic to politics and low on nationalism. 20 By calling them adolescents, youth then became a strategic target market and their image was attached to

¹⁹ Paramaditha, *Intan. Praktik Kultural Anak Muda:Narasi 1998 dan Eksperimen*. Prisma Vol. 30, 2011

²⁰ Lihat : Nugroho Yanuar & Tumenggung, Adeline M. *Marooned in The Junction: Indonesian Youth Participation in Politics.* Part of Go! Young Progressives in Southeast Asia. Friedrich Ebert Stifftung.

consumptionism. The assumption of the apathy of youth to national issues was strengthened by the Kompas polling results. In the poll, 57.4% respondents aged 17-30 years old admitted that their concern to various national issues was weak, and their attitude orientation was 63.8% dominated by oneself.²¹ In reality, the apolitical attitude of youth was a result from the government's condition that did not improve after the New Order era.

The worries of Reformation era government were not limited to youth apathy and nationalism, but also youth leadership. The lack of interest from youth to become leaders, even though they believed they could be, was not separated from the remnants of the New Order. The condition created by the regime did not provide any space for youth to actualize their leadership potentials. ²² Coupled with rampant corruptions and inter-party conflicts that give the political elites a bad image, youth became reluctant of creating change from within the system. The hampered circulation of young leaders in Indonesia became one of the driving factors to the formulation of National Youth Law. As expressed by Adhyaksa Dault, State Minister of Youth and Sports Affairs period of 2004-2009: "The existence of the bill (RUU) on youth was expected to be able to hasten the leadership circulation, both in the still-stagnant local and national level."

Aside from the aforementioned issue, youth in 2000s era was confronted by the reality of globalization and development of information technology. The challenge for youth became heavier because they would have to compete in the free market framework. This was also a concern for post-New Order government, if Indonesian youth could excel in globalized competition. The expectation to become the successor generation of national development was added to a generation that could compete in globalization era. Anticipating this situation was part of the Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs (Kemenpora)'s Long Term Plan since 1997. In the summary of the plan titled "Indonesian Youth Vision 2020", Kemenpora had created a priority plan to develop youth and prepare them to confront 2020 era. The priority in the state's scenario was to

²¹ Kompas Polling. *Dirindukan, Dicemaskan*. Kompas 28 October 2011

²² Tak Ada Peluang bagi Pemuda untuk Jadi Presiden. Kompas 11 October 2003

prepare youth to face 2020 era. The criterion included: love of one's homeland to maintain the unity and integrity of Indonesia and economic growth supported quality human resource as well as increase of productivity and efficiency.²³

Looking at the vision in the draft, we began to understand the intent and direction of youth policies in the 2000s. If we observed the National Youth Law that had been brewed since 2005, the focus of the issues accommodated by the policy was leadership, initiative, entrepreneurship, and youth organization. The special attention to youth entrepreneurship in this law was to respond to the high rate of unemployment amount youth in Indonesia. According to Central Bureau of Statistics, in average out of 100 youth workforce, 19 of them did not have or were looking for employment. Because more than 60% of the youth workforce worked as employees and only 14% of them were entrepreneurs, boosting the number of young entrepreneurs became one of the main priorities in this policy. If in the Old Order era youth who were political and nationalist became the hope of the nation and in New Order Era those who had morals and participated in national development were ideal youth, in Reformation era the desired youth were those independent and innovative. Even though youth who were faithful and devoted were still a basic objective, independence through initiative and entrepreneurship was needed so youth could create employment without having to be unemployed because they were not absorbed by the existing job market.

In line with other ministries' programs, issues on youth entrepreneurship became popular in society. The view on youth which made them to be apathetic and consumptive began to shift into more potent with the involvement of youth group's initiative in the nation's creative industry.

Youth had started to invent and create a more creative world which was beneficial to everyone.²⁴ Aside from their capacity in the economy sector, youth's skill in diplomacy and pioneering also could not be undermined. The involvement of Indonesian youth delegation in various conferences, art exhibitions, and international-scale events started to enhance the positive image

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²³ Visi 2020 Pemuda Indonesia. Jakarta: Office of The Minister of Youth and Sports Affairs, 1997.

²⁴ Melawan Pengangguran. Kompas 3 July 2009

of youth for the government and society. The emergence of organizations and communities departing from the initiative of youth to respond to wide variety of issues also proved that today's youth were aware of their youth and responsibility in engineering social change. Unfortunately, even though an explanation on youth organizations was contained in the National Youth Law, the description could not meet the needs of contemporary youth organizations, as expressed by one of our informants. The question was, even though government today prioritized independence, leadership, and active participation of youth in various sectors, have the government bureaucracy and personnel completely understood that aspect?

The Journey of National Youth Law

The formulation the Youth bill started in 2005, when the Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs (Kemenpora) aided by academics from various universities started working on an academic document. President Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono then signed the Presidential Letter No. R-23/Pres/04/2009, which was aimed to the leader of the House of Representatives, so that the Youth Bill could immediately be discussed by Kemenpora and Commission X of the House. During that time the academic document continued being perfected. The Youth Bill had been a part of the government action plan since 2006 – 2007. In order to perfect the substance of the Youth Bill, Kemenpora conducted public consult in collaboration with several universities in Indonesia, local implementing institutions such as district offices handling youth division, Indonesian Youth National Committee, students, and legal and non-legal experts.

There were several important topics highlighted in the formulation of the manuscript. The first issue and the one questioned by many parties was the **age limitation** of youth defined in the bill. During the discussion with the House of Representative, the document of the Youth Bill established the youth category as

²⁵ Batasan Umur Pemuda Indonesia 18-25 tahun. Suara Karya Online, 20 May 2009, accessed at http://www.suarakarya-online.com/news.html?id=227307 pada

those aged 18-35 years old. The government suggested another range, which was 18-30 years old, whereas civil society organizations suggested 18-40 years old. The government in its academic document already considered and compared age limitations from various countries around the world and looked at international framework. The suggestions on age range were quite broad because many youth organization leaders were older than 30 years old. According to the then-Minister of Youth and Sports Affairs, Adhyaksa Dault, the recommended age limitation would no doubt invited many protests, but this was required because it would be shameful for the government if they sent a youth delegation to international events whose age was much older than other delegations.²⁶ According to Adhyaksa, this policy had to be able to hasten the leadership circulation, so the age limitation had to be regulated in the policy. Ultimately, when the National Youth Law was enacted, the age limitation was set to 16-30 years old. This decision was a middle ground between suggestions from various parties and comparison to other countries.²⁷ The establishment of the age limitation was judged to be quite influential to youth who were active in youth organizations and advocacy programs for youth rights. Even though more parties referred to the UN Age Limitation of 15-24 years old, the clarity of the definition of youth helped them to formulate targets, manage organization membership, and fight for the rights for that age group.

"If it were the established age limitation, then we absolutely expected those in the age group to be actively involved in youth organizations, and not those out of it. Thus youth empowerment could truly exist."

Anak Agung Ayu Ratna Wulandari, PKBI Bali

The second issue was the topic on **Youth Organizations** which provisions were regulated in this policy. The existence of this part in the policy that regulated the

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²⁶ Suara Karya Online, Ibid.

²⁷ RUU Kepemudaan Selesai September. Kompas 1 July 2009

definition and criterion of youth organization was actually a response to a previous policy regarding the management of organization founded by youth. After the NKK/BKK era, General Guidelines of Student Organizations and Law No. 8 of 1985 on The Existence of Civil Society Organizations and Youth Organizations were deemed irrelevant to the times. Keeping in mind that the power structure had also changed post-New Order, from centralized to decentralized, a new policy was required. Process-wise, the Youth Bill still regulated that all youth organizations should be assembled under a national committee. Indonesian Youth National Committee (KNPI) protested that part because, according to them, KNPI was adequate as a representative of youth from all regions.²⁸ Thus the section was eliminated when the National Youth Law was enacted. Now Article 40 Chapter XI in Law No. 40 of 2009 explained criterion of youth organization, including membership provisions, principles, and functions.

For several youth organization leaders that we interviewed, the Youth Organization part became one of the most influential parts for youth rights to assemble and unite, similar to the expectation of State Minister of Youth and Sports Affairs of 2010-2013, Andi Malarangeng, that National Youth Law could be the umbrella law for the existing Youth Organizations. ²⁹ Unfortunately, several of our youth informants thought that the regulation on Youth Organization in this policy could not yet respond to the initiative of contemporary youth who was not embraced in the criterion. According to them, the government still used organizations with outdated system such as KNPI as their reference, while the initiative of today's emerging youth had a more innovative, less bureaucratic model that the old one.

Thirdly, the final, basic point that invited harsh criticisms from youth activists was **participation** or youth involvement in the making and enactment of this policy. Indeed, Kemenpora had conducted several public consult, but the content of National Youth Law was still seen as unrepresentative to the needs of youth,

²⁸ RUU Kepemudaan Dinilai Banyak Kelemahan. Tempo 15 October 2008 edition accessed at http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2008/10/15/058140398/RUU-Kepemudaan-Dinilai-Banyak-Kelemahan on 11 February 2013

²⁹ *Mennegpora: Optimisme Pemuda Modal Penting.* Kompas 29 October 2009 edition

from on the scope of the definition of youth to the focus of the topics raised in the policy. Post-New Order Indonesia *did* promise democracy and transparency, but a concrete participation from youth in determining the direction of the policy was still an illusion. Even though we found a section on youth's role to participate in the policy making and society development, in practice the commitment only existed on paper. Even though the government had given many training sessions on participation and political education for youth, the government's initiative in encouraging youth's participation was still severely lacking.³⁰

One of the mandates in the law was to direct youth service to involve them in public policymaking, but Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs (Kemenpora) themselves almost never conducted training on policy advocacy or such, while Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs only focused on scout training and OSIS (Student Union). The lack of participation was also related to the lack of socialization by the government to inform the existence of the Youth Bill until it had been enacted for more than 3 years. This was reflected in the strategic program of Kemenpora in 2013, which was still focused on the socialization of the National Youth Law, not its implementation. ³¹

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³⁰ Nugorho, Yanuar & Tumenggung Adeline, M. Ibid

 $^{^{31}}$ Hasil observasi langsung dalam Rapat Pertanggungjawaban Kemenpora pada Komisi X DPR. 13 Februari 2013

Indonesian Youth: Participation During Transition Phase

Youth, The Ones Groomed, The Ones Ignored

To be young was a phase in an individual's life stages. Youth was a transition phase after one became too old to be a child and too young to be an adult. Youth experienced an important transition in their life, from being dependent to being independent. They went through their own struggle in personal, social, and economic aspects, to then become someone who was responsible on their own life and committed to their social surroundings. This was why youth became the target group to be shaped and groomed both through education and training.

Globally, the condition of youth around the world was confronted by disparity in economy, technology, and diverse social and culture according to their state and region. According to the UN, 43% of the world's population was inhabited by youth under 25 years old, and 60% of the amount came from developing countries.³² The unstable socio-economic situation and policy structures in developing countries resulted in a future that was difficult to predict for youth. Youth was the group that felt the effect of the economic and cultural globalization process the most. The youth global rate of unemployment, which had always been more than other age groups, experienced the highest climb in history in 2009, on its peak, meaning 75.8 million youth were unemployed.³³ In a situation such as economic crises, this group frequently became the last to employ, and the first to be terminated. The competition to find a job and a decent wage made the life of youth unstable economically. Economic issues notwithstanding, injustice to youth could also be clearly felt in access to quality, affordable education and healthcare. The pressure of neo-liberal economy and environmental degradation continued to make youth a vulnerable group. Thus,

³² United Nations Population Division, World Population Prospects, 2010.

³³ Fact Sheet of *United Nation World Youth Report*, 2012.

once deemed an asset, youth now became a burden for countries who could not manage them well.

"In unpredictable economic and political situation, youth often became tools and victims. For example, as cheap labor."

Rachel Arinii - Asian-Pacific Resource & Research Center for Women

In Indonesia, the youth population kept climbing since 1971, and now there were around 33 million youth living in urban areas, out of the 62 million of youth in Indonesia. The living condition of youth was not directly proportional to the economic development in Indonesia. The basic needs of youth as citizens in Indonesia were not yet met, and were increasingly difficult to meet. The inequality of access to education resulted in 1.2 million youth who never went to school, most of them in the villages. The increasing costs of education also limited their participation in school, reflected from the low rate of school participation for the age group of 19-24 years old that only reached 15.09%.³⁴

The issues of education did not stop at the aspect of access, but also its quality. According to a youth activist, the educational curriculum in Indonesia did not encourage youth to think critically and be socially aware of their surroundings. Apart from the assumption that educational curriculum did not meet the demands of the job market, the existing education system right now also did not stimulate the creativity of its participants. The aim of education was not only to fulfill the demands of the job market, but to create individuals who were critical, independent, innovative, and responsive to the problems in their surroundings.

Another basic, urgent need for youth was **health**, both on the information aspect and a quality, affordable care. General health issues notwithstanding, puberty and fertility phase experienced by youth demanded the provision of appropriate information. Youth group was classified as vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. The highest number of AIDS cases happened in the age group 20 – 29 years old (productive

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³⁴ Youth Statistics 2010. Op. cit.

age), which meant they were infected 3-10 years prior.³⁵ This was due to their lack of understanding on HIV/AIDS; only 11.6% of this group had a comprehensive knowledge. Youth was also confronted by difficulty to access healthcare because of limited funding and youth-friendly facilities.

Aside from education, health, and employment, youth were also affected by the climate change which would eventually affect food availability. The lack of awareness from general public on mitigating and adapting to climate change would affect current and future youth. Even though environmental issues became a trend in youth sphere, there was lack of awareness on changing their lifestyle. Indonesia's vision to accomplishing food security and adapting to climate change would not happen if youth, who were perceived as the next generation, were not given a comprehensive education regarding this topic. With the rising cost of fuel and the limited food availability, youth would later have to bear the high cost even though their income was insufficient.

In the situation full of insufficiency, youth became the target of religious fundamentalist groups and were made to be cadres of their movement. Youth were apparently involved in the increase of the number of religious violence cases in Indonesia since 2004 (on average 150 cases per year).³⁶ The fundamentalist movement that made its way to middle schools to recruit their new cadres influenced the involvement of youth in violent crime. Through various media, radical groups influenced the mindset of Indonesian youth to be intolerant. The research of Ciciek Farha, Religiusitas Kaum Muda: Studi di Tujuh Kota (2008) showed that conservativeness could emerge from secular institution, namely public schools, through religious extracurricular activities.³⁷ The entrance of the wave of radicalism among youth would of course affect how they viewed their surroundings and their nation. The process to find their identity would then be experienced with a tendency to commit violence. Youth

³⁵ Lembar Fakta Orang Muda dan HIV di Indonesia. National AIDS Commission, 2012.

³⁶ Survei LSI: Jumlah Kasus Kekerasan di Era SBY Meningkat. Accessed at http://news.detik.com/read/2012/12/23/151858/2125620/10/survei-lsi-jumlah-kasus-kekerasan-di-era-sby-meningkat on 1 March 2013.

³⁷ TItik Awal Radikalisme. Kompas 3, August 2012. Accessed at http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2012/08/03/03360538/Titik.Awal.Radikalisme on 22 February 2013.

required space to express and actualize themselves based on their potentials and interests. The limitation to access and programs to accommodate this need became an opportunity for fundamentalist movements to recruit youth as their tools.

Not Uniform, But Diverse

One of the basic issues that were not realized in the formulation of youth-related policy was the diversity of youth. If they were categorized merely by demographics and politics, the government would forget about the different identities of Indonesian youth. "Diverse" was one of the most current word that could directly describe youth situation.³⁸ The diversity of identities and characteristics of Indonesian youth was not only represented by religions, ethnic affiliations, regions, or only limited to urban areas. There were street youth, disabled youth, and youth with a minority sexual orientation. Related to the aforementioned issue, the transition phase of youth both physically and psychologically often required external validation of their identity. To view the characters of youth as uniform would not simplify the troubles and needs of youth in Indonesia.

A women's health activist opined that government's policy on youth was not gender-sensitive. The government had not considered disparity of access between male and female youth. The usage of the word "Pemuda" (male youth), without the accompanying "Pemudi" (female youth) by itself was an effort to uniformize. In reality, young women were a group vulnerable to poverty, with the lower participation in school compared to boys and the difficulty for them to access healthcare.

³⁸ Nadhifah, Niesrina. *Yang Tidak Pernah Sederhana: Gender, Seksualitas, Agama, dan Keberagaman Anak Muda Indonesia*. The paper was conveyed in a discussion Salihara, February of 2012. Accessed at http://kalam.salihara.org/media/documents/2012/02/16/d/i/diskusi-yang_tidak_pernah_sederhana-nisrina.pdf on 25 February 2013.

At the same time, access to decent education and facilities were inadequate for **disabled** youth. To date, 90% out of the 1.5 million disabled children [in Indonesia] still could not obtain education.³⁹ This lowered the chance of disabled youth to acquire decent employment. Attention to the special needs of disable youth was paramount, keeping in mind the amount of discrimination they had to deal with. Participation of disabled youth in youth organizations was still low even though they had equal opportunity. There was no mandate from the government for special opportunities for disabled youth to participate in various government programs such as youth entrepreneurship or initiative.

Not all youth lived with their family. According to the current data from Ministry of Social Services, there were 230,000 **street youth** in Indonesia. ⁴⁰ The number was most probably higher if we looked at the reality on the ground. Community shelters or similar institutions could not accommodate all street youth, and neither could programs from social services. Having to finance themselves and their living condition on the street, formal education naturally became out of reach, while the existing informal education also could not encompass the entirety of this group. Street youth was also vulnerable to becoming victims of violence or sexual abuse.

The government's view on youth tended to ignore the diversity of sexual orientation. Even though Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) communities kept appearing around Indonesia, there was a lack of recognition for this group. **LGBT Youths** also faced discrimination on every level and became a common target for violence. As Indonesian citizens, they were entitled to protection, access to education, healthcare, and employment equal to other youth. One of the government agencies starting to embrace this group in their programs was National AIDS Commission. The discrimination that LGBT youths faced hampered their potentials and participation in development programs. Government needed to be more sensitive to these marginalized, vulnerable

³⁹ Center of Disability Study FISIP UI. *Analisis Situasi Penyandang Disabilitas di Indonesia: Sebuah Desk Review.* 2010.

⁴⁰ *2011, Jumlah Anak Jalanan Meningkat.* Jakarta Newspaper, 31 January 2012. Accessed at http://koran-jakarta.com/index.php/detail/view01/82342/ on 1 March 2013.

groups to guarantee equal access to resources in their programs. Youth, however you look at it, could not be generalized.

Participation Without Action

"The importance of listening to youth while developing the youth policy cannot be underestimated. A youth policy which does not reflect the views, concerns, and desires of all young people will soon fade away through lack of support. Policy and program formulation thus need to start with the comprehensive involvement and appropriate decision-taking of youth of all levels, including communities, schools, and universities at the provincial and national level."

Empowering Youth through National Youth Policies- UNESCO (2004)

Participation was the key of success for all recommendation documents produced to fix the implementation of youth programs and policies. A willingness to create a space of participation in Indonesia was realized by the government, such as discussed in the previous parts, there was a National Youth Law and even Ministerial Regulation that mandated the involvement of youth. Even though many government programs involved youth, their involvement tended to be limited as implementers or even just as ceremonial display. Ideally, youth got involved starting from the initial phase of formulation, enactment, implementation, to monitoring and evaluation of programs and policies. Involvement here did not mean simply physically, but also equal positioning with the government as well as other stakeholders. Transparency and accountability in the formulation and implementation process became essential in order for youth to see a real effort from the policy or the program. The question remained, if the government already issued a mandate for youth

participation in every policy, why was it still difficult in practice for youth to be involved in the process?

One of the basic inhibiting factors was the political culture embedded and practiced since the New Order. Indonesia was imagined as a big family by the power structure of the regime, which was the National Family. The established relationship system—both in government, schools, or military—was worded in family terms. There were "father", "mother", and "children", consequently with corresponding roles. The principle of "Indonesian Family" was derived from the principle of Javanese family. The "father" took the role of leader, the "mother" had to respect the father and took care of her children, and "children" had to respect their parents.⁴¹ This culture of respect frequently became an issue when youth chose a different path from what had been determined by their parents. This cultural hierarchy could be found in Indonesian government bureaucracy. According to one of the young activists that was once invited by one of the Ministries to consult on a program, the government only wished for us (youth) to be informed and to help with the implementing process, and not to give input or make decisions. The activist also said that the difficulty of contributing to the program formulation was due to an assumption from the government that youth were still children and had no experience. The older generation felt they were more experienced and only needed the contribution of youth for the technical parts, and not the substance.

The policy to involve youth would only exist on paper if the government bureaucracy still insisted on preserving the outdated culture. This explained why there was an absence of concrete mechanism and system for equal participation. Even though it would not be easy to change this political culture, if there was a real commitment from the coordinator or leader as "father" to be more egalitarian or inclusive, youth participation could become real.

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⁴¹ Shiraishi, Saya Sasaki. Pahlawan-Pahlawan Belia, Keluarga Indonesia dalam Politik, (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2001).

Looking to The Future, Waiting for Answers

"With the current policies and implementation, youth situation for the next 5-10 years will not improve; it might even turn worse. The government will have to deal with the impact of their lack of seriousness in managing youth. Issues like population jump, unemployment rate, and poverty will hinder development in the long run."

Nanda Dwinta - Yayasan Kesehatan Perempuan

When asked about the fate of youth in the future, all our informants expressed their concerns. If youth condition was left as it was right now, this nation would experience a big loss. Indonesia's development would be hampered by health and economic issues of its citizens. The climate change would also impact the availability of resources to support the society in various ways. The disparity between the cities and villages would widen, access to healthcare and education more difficult to obtain, and unequal access to technology would also affect the capacity of youth in remote areas. To commit to targeted policies and programs for youth was a long-term investment for every country in the world.⁴²

On one hand, the government needed to realize the potential of Indonesian youth, to then be embraced and developed through a proper action plan. The burgeoning youth creativity and initiative had to be supported by government's resources. All this time, many potential youth groups used their own initiative and resources and were still able to run their programs well. Support from the government would magnify the impact of such initiative, because they had structure and influence. With regional autonomy, each region would be able to develop the local potential of its youth to collaborate in designing an effective program. The growth of youth political awareness should not be seen as a threat, but a potential to improve the leadership circulation and youth initiative. The government should first analyze their assumption of youth as a group threatened by moral and nationalism degradation, before formulating policies. A constructive way of viewing youth would have in impact in government's vision

⁴² Angel, William D. Op.Cit.

in developing the future of young people. Youth was not only the successor generation, but also a current generation who had the consciousness to determine their own fate in the future if only the government would listen and answer to their needs.

Effective PoliciesTime for Youth to
Move

Policy Implementation

National priority related to youth and sports affairs was described in RPJMN (National Mid-Term Development Plan) of 2010- 2014, especially in Chapter 2: Socio-Cultural and Religious Life. The development of youth was prioritized in increasing youth participation, culture, and sporting achievements. The government had issued a written priority to develop youth; the National Youth Law had been translated to Presidential Decree on Youth Leadership, Youth Entrepreneurship and Youth Initiative.

The National Policy should have a new vision to improve youth situation in this country and had an action plan to implement those visions that could be done in collaboration between the government and youth organizations. Youth national policy also should not be separated from government's other priority issue, such as poverty alleviation, democracy transformation, expanding employment, reformation of education system, an inclusive access to healthcare, handling climate change, and other issues. If the policies and program action plan for youth were separated from those priority issues, the policy implementation would not be effective. These concrete issues needed to be handled with the participation of youth, along with the effort from government and society.

Priorities of policy direction and strategy of Ministry of Youth and Sporst Affairs in accordance to RPJMN of 2010-2014:

- (1) Youth Awareness
- (2) Youth Empowerment
- (3) Development of Youth Leadership
- (4) Development of Youth Entrepreneurship
- (5) Development of Youth Initiatives, namely:
- (6) Development of Youth Awareness and Volunteerism
- (7) Increase of Youth Synchronization and Partnership
- (8) Upgrade of Youth Facilities and Infrastructure
- (9) Empowerment of Youth Organizations
- (10) Increase of Society Participation
- (11) Development of Youth Awards

Source: Strategic Plan of Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs, 2010.

Based on our identification in this study, the following contained the problems in the existing youth policy:

- ❖ Lack of political commitment and policy direction that was visionary and concrete both from the leaders and the lawmakers in handling youth issues and potentials. Managing youth programs demanded cross-sectoral linkage in youth policy and mainstreaming of program in national and regional development plan.
- The limitation of conceptual framework and follow-up plan in designing, implementing, and evaluating relevant and integrated national policy both in national level and regional level inter-ministerial programs.

- ❖ Improper allocation of existing funds so absorption of funds that was budgeted was ineffective. As an overview, the total of Kemenpora in 2012 was 1.5 billion IDR⁴³ but in the accountability reports to Commission X of The House of Representative, fund absorption did not reach 50% in semester I, and 0% in Semester II.⁴⁴ For 2013, the total budget proposed by Kemenpora reached 1.9 billion IDR. Even if the funding allocation for all youth-related programs from various ministries were combined, there was still a potential to implement many programmatic actions.
- ❖ Inter-ministerial and the national and regional bureaucracy coordination in implementing youth policies and programs. Every agency seemed to run their own program separately from each other. Even though mandate to synchronize youth programs existed, in practice this had not been successfully implemented.
- ❖ Lack of socialization, transparency, and accountability of youth programs implemented by the government, both on national and regional level.
- Lack of participation from stakeholders, especially youth and youth organizations, both in formulation of program and policies, vision and strategies, implementation, to the evaluation stage.
- ❖ Limited measurable data and research result as a reference to analyzing the problems and needs of youth, coupled with the absence of studies on cross-sectoral collaboration for youth programs. This resulted in the government and lawmakers acting based on assumptions and their own narrow perspective.
- ❖ Lack of training opportunities for related ministry personnel and other government agencies to draft, implement, and evaluate youth policies as well as how to respond to youth aspirations and invite youth involvement.
- Problems in defining youth and the categories in it including understanding the different needs and aspirations between children and youth. Keeping in mind that the policies intersected in defining age and needs of younger groups.

⁴³ Raker bersama Komisi X DPR. The article was acessed at http://kemenpora.go.id/index/preview/berita/5897/2012-06 on 2 March 2013

 $^{^{\}rm 44}$ Based on the direct observation of Accountability Meeting of Kemenpora to Commission X of the House of Representative, 13 February 2013

- ❖ The priority on youth problems were still included in the Cultural and Religious Life section in RPJMN, and not integrated to related priorities on poverty alleviation, social integration, and developing citizenship capacity in formulation of policies and programs.
- ❖ Action plan attached to a certain time frame and accompanied with achievement indicators that were qualitatively and quantitatively measurable were not maximal.
- ❖ Policy formulation process did not integrate the mandate and recommendation from international agreements such as World World Programme of Action for Youth, while this framework could help the government in proposing policy drafts.
- ❖ The reference of youth organizations in Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs' list was not up to date or adjusted to the current context. This resulted in many potential youth organizations that could not access funding and resources from such ministry. To date, Kemenpora's list of reference of youth organizations only contained KNPI and organizations based on religion, region, and party affiliation.⁴⁵

Recommendations

- ➤ The government to manifest its political commitment to youth by creating a unified National Action Plan for Youth and integrating it with priority national issues in government program plan. In this case, the government could use the recommendations from World Programme of Action for Youth as a reference. This plan also needed to be complemented with a time frame a clear, measureable set of achievement indicators.
- ➤ The National Action Plan to become the responsibility of all Ministries involved in it with a clear cross-sectoral coordination management. In addition to coordination management of internal parties (Ministries and

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⁴⁵ The Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs' List of Youth Organizations could be downloaded at http://kemenpora.go.id/index/preview/statistik/7105/2013-02

- local government), it also needed to contain management of external parties (NGOs and youth organizations).
- ➤ Change the perception of government personal on the involvement of youth in every level of program and policies, and then realizing an inclusive, effective youth and youth organization participation through an accommodative mechanism and system for youth groups. The government of Indonesia could actually learn this mechanism from neighboring countries' practices, such as *National Youth Council* in the Philippines, Malaysia, and Singapore.
- ➤ Government to create an uncomplicated bureaucracy system to motivate youth participation, in order to implement effective, targeted programs and policies. The government could follow the example of youth participation mechanism in other experienced agencies such as Regional and National AIDS Commission who had frequently partnered with youth organizations.
- Conduct a national-level research to obtain data and proof on the concerns and needs of Indonesian youth. The results of this research could then be used as a reference basis in formulating the National Youth Action Plan.
- ➤ Hold consulting sessions with youth the national and regional level in collaboration with youth organizations and district youth offices in every region. These consulting sessions aimed to uncover the aspirations of youth to identify their needs, issues, and relevant input from them. These consulting sessions naturally had to invite various youth groups and be balanced compositionally.
- ➤ Increase funding and fix funding management aimed for youth programs: clear allocations to targeted programs, periodical audit, and evaluation of funding absorption.
- Evaluate programs and policies implemented by several Ministries on the national and regional level.
- Conduct trainings and capacity building sessions for related agency personnel on the management of programs and partnership with youth.

- This could be done in collaboration with NGOs and donor agencies relevant to the program.
- ➤ Fix communication strategy of youth programs and policies; create a communication medium attractive to youth so youth became well-informed of all policies and programs. In addition, an effective communication strategy also motivated youth participation in related programs.
- ➤ Government to implement principles of transparency and accountability in formulating youth policies and managing youth programs. The low rate of government accountability and high rate of Corruption Perception Index affected public and youth trust on the government. In order to motivate leadership circulation and youth initiative, the government needed to make an effort to be more transparent and accountable.⁴⁶
- Fix management of youth organizations by holding public consulting with representatives from various organizations on the national and regional level. If face-to-face consults were costly, the government could utilize online forum or any kind of consult that could be accessed from all around Indonesia. The government to keep the list of youth organizations up to date by openly inviting them to register their organizations or communities.

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⁴⁶ Young People's Civic Engagement in East Asia and the Pacific. (Bangkok: UNICEF EAPRO, 2008)