

# A Critique on Youth Government Collaboration in Bandung City

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**Abstract.** This study intends to criticize the interplay of the government *vis-à-vis* youth in the context of democratization. Specifically, this study aims at explaining the government's discursive efforts in shaping and articulating the ethos of citizenship in youth. Through critical studies using critical discourse analysis with semanalysis techniques, rhetorical analysis, and critique of youth reality through observation and in-depth interviews, this study found that: (1) the government has expected the quality improvement of citizenship participation at a citizen power level through collaboration. However, in practice, the established relationship represented the panopticon dominance model with subject-object political logic; and (2) the youth's ethos of citizenship has been articulated at the level of tokenism. This was caused by the tendency of political struggle among youth to gain access to power. Budget factors still play an important role in this case. This situation demands institutional to strengthen and revitalize the political dimension in youth through optimizing youth relations with conventional political structures.

**Keywords:** Collaboration, Youth Participation, Community

## Introduction

Citizen participation is citizen power (Arnstein, 1969). Ridwan Kamil began his public involvement through civil society and political society in electoral contestation. His electability as Mayor of Bandung has strengthened the claim that civil society has significant role in democracy process. Based on that consideration, citizen power, as proposed by Arnstein (1969) as the highest level of ladder of citizen participation—has become a classic typology in the articulation of public participation (Wong, Parker, & Zimmerman, 2010), which can be realized and become ethos of citizenship that fulfilled the process of democracy in Bandung City.

This study was motivated by studies on behavior expression that is formed through interplay between government and citizen, which refer to two aspects: (1) The expression of citizen behavior to be involved in government process; and (2) The expression of government behavior in building relationship with youth. Both should express their commitment to democracy, which is

named citizenship. According to Kaid (2015), the expression of citizen of democratic country includes: (1) complying with democratic norms and values, which include political and social beliefs, political interests, civic duties, and political tolerance; (2) having attitudes and beliefs regarding political and social life; (3) understanding public issues; and (4) involving in programs (designed behavior) sought to influence change. The government should support these four factors, in meaning that not only increasing citizen participation, but also avoiding dominant behavior since the government has the ability to dominate the structure of democratic society. The citizenship in a subordinate position without *habitus* will make their own symbolic code and voluntarily accept the gaps of social differences made by the dominant group (Fashri, 2014).

Buaphuean (2017) stated that the coercion on democracy was carried out with the domination of the Thai authorities on mass media. The space for discourse was controlled to perpetuate power by leading people's understanding of politicians, good political

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system, and marginalizing democracy. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the procedural democracy still has problems. Suryadi (2017) stated that banality continues to occur in the structure of Indonesia's democratic society in a tyrannical fashion of ignorance. This takes place since the simultaneous relationship between elite's power desire and society ignorance began.

Thus, a political discourse in society becomes significant in clarifying their understanding of this issue and helps them to develop problem-solving efforts and encourages citizenship ethos to the next generation (Johnson & Johnson, 2000). At least, the developing discourse shows Three Practices of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Citizens: understanding—the application of knowledge and skills to inform and guide participation in civil life; engagement—motivation, disposition, and willingness to execute rights of citizenship and to be involved in community activities; and action—the way in which citizens can participate and make a positive contribution to society and the world, locally, nationally, internationally, and digitally (Partnership for 21st Century Skills, 2014).

At the discourse level, the government is required to optimize its ability to show ethos of citizenship, which is classified into three elements. (1) *Logos* as an argument declared 'possible' by the audience; (2) *Ethos*, which consists of the listener's understanding of the speaker's common sense, good intentions, and general character; and (3) *Phatos*, which is line of thought that 'place audiences in the right frame of mind' (Kennedy, 1991 in Kaid, 2015:171).

At *logos* level, Ridwan Kamil offered collaboration concept that is related to the concept of citizen power as ethos of youth citizenship. This conception is conveyed in the requirement-modality rhetoric preposition, meaning that the collaboration did not completely take place. There are limited and still segmented academic reviews discussing this issue. Therefore, collaboration was placed as a processed culture using Hoggart's (1973) term which was attempted at that time.

Youth is considered important in the study of citizenship. Youth has the potential growth for the ethos of citizenship, not only in terms of its biological potential, but also functions as a social identity, historical record, and their dreams; hence, youth are expected to be a solidarity group and play a role as social change agents (Saepudin, Suryadi, & Malihah,

2018). In addition, the youth population approximately reached 23%. There were 91 universities in Bandung City (Bandung City BPS, 2018) and 834 communities have been recorded by the Department of Youth and Sports in Bandung City in 2016. Besides that, as a youth community organization, Karang Taruna (Youth Organization) was given a role in the Bandung Juara program. Therefore, it is believed that youth has that potential to strive the citizen power. However, this large number cannot be said to be encouraging. Efforts to build a citizenship ethos face the millennials challenges. Millennials have the potential to form citizen power and vice versa. Gilman and Stokes (2014: 58) state that millennials do not avoid politics even though they do not view politics as the right choice for fulfilling their interests. This means that this generation pays attention to public issues, however, their participation in traditional political affairs such as voting, joining organizations and unions, contacting public officials, attending public meetings and mutual cooperation, are considered low (National Conference on Citizenship Research Center, 2011).

This millennials generation prefers to choose online involvement. A survey conducted by Bernoff & Li (2010) showed that online participation was dominated by a group of spectators with a low percentage of content creators. Millennials who used social media to like or promote political material, 42% of them posted thoughts about issues, and 36% encouraged others to act (Rainie et al., 2012). It can be inferred that the Three Principles of 21st Century Citizenship cannot be instilled in millennials generations since their ethos would possibly be in the form of non-participation, due to their preference in online participation, or better than that is tokenism where the relationship between government and civil society is directed and not simultaneous. (Haliim, 2016). Seen from the context of the city administration, Mueller, Lu, Chirkin, Klein, and Schmitt (2018) challenge academics to explain age-related sociological issues in the participation process, specifically on the idea of the combination of online and conventional participation if the population of young people dominates. This shows that this study has found its urgency. The youth and democracy issues described in this study can be a foundation for academics, practitioners, and the government in strategizing citizen participation, especially youth, in Bandung City. This study seeks to

enrich the study of citizenship, especially on of youth-government collaboration in Bandung, which was initiated in the period of Ridwan Kamil's reign. Therefore, by investigating the parallel relationship between government discourse and youth reality, this study aims at explaining the political logic built by the government as their discursive efforts, youth's understanding of collaborative discourse, youth relations with the government, and forms of youth participation in Bandung City. Thus, this study is considered novel to provide articulation on the reality of youth and become a material for further discussion on democracy and youth in Bandung City.

### Research Methodology

This study employs 'theory with practical' paradigm as a characteristic of critical theory (Habermas, 1963; McCarthy, 2011). In this study, the parallelism of the relationship between discourse and reality was developed based on qualitative procedure proposed by Creswell (2012), which are done using observation, literature studies, and interview. First, the observation was done by participating in any youth-related activities in Bandung City. Second, the literature studies were done by analyzing the government political discourse and youth discourse. These instruments were analyzed using van Dijk's (2008) Critical Discourse Analysis, using Kristeva's (1986) Semanalysis, and also Wodak et al. (1999) and Ricento (2003)'s Rhetoric Analysis. Third, face-to-face interview was done to young people who were able to describe the membership of youth society organization and youth community.

Based on the aforementioned discussion, the locus of this study is Bandung City. To obtain precise perspective on citizenship ethos of youth in Bandung, the data were collected from government and youth as the interplaying parties. The perspective of citizenship ethos was obtained from government's discourse taken from Ridwan Kamil's campaign props (animated video, recordings, speech, and government policies). Furthermore, the data on youth facts were obtained from six youth activists in Bandung, namely the leaders of DPD (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah/Regional Representative Council*) KNPI (*Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia/ Indonesian Youth National Committee*) of Bandung City, leaders of students' organization, activists of Bandung Youth Forum (BYF), and activists of youth community.

## Results And Discussion

### Understanding Youth Government Relation in Bandung City

According to De Becker & Jeans (2002), the dimension of citizenship participation practices consists of three aspects: (1) Challenge, in which its occurrence can be internally and externally motivated, where the youth can be challenged by the government's political discourse; (2) Capacity, in which it is not only about the quantity of youth population, but also the skills possessed by the participating youth; and (3) Connection, which is related to the connectedness of youth and government. Therefore, citizen power can be understood by investigating the spaces of youth-government relation and also the civil society developed by youth in Bandung.

Studies on connection aspect are important considering that it is highly related with the formation of social acts (Bourdieu & Waququant, 1992; Fashri, 2014). This connection aspect is not merely seen as government openness, but also as a capital distribution in order to form meaningful youth participation.

According to Gaffar (2006), connection in government context *vis á vis* youth is seen from four dimensions that determine the pattern of political relationship them, namely dimension of issue, financial, organizational, and policy (Gaffar, 2006). In the dimension of political space related to issue, the government has prepared spaces named Ngabandungan program and direct interaction using cyberspace —a relation built through Twitter (Iqbal, 2016). In the dimension of financial, the government has launched Kartu Juara program, the development of Bandung Creative Hub (BCH), assistance in developing Youth Community Organization (OKP, *Organisasi Kemasyarakatan Pemuda*), and Rp 100 million budget for each district a year through Regional Development and Empowerment Innovation Program (PIPPK, *Program Inovasi Pembangunan dan Pemberdayaan Kewilayahan*). In the dimension of organization, the government has established the Agency of National Unity and Community Empowerment (BKBP, *Badan Kesatuan Bangsa dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*). In the dimension of policy, the youth has been given spaces to be involved in Forum of Youth Development Plan (*Musrenbang Kepemudaan, Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan Kepemudaan*) and meetings initiated by youth. In other

words, the expected relationship is possibly developed when the role of government and youth society models is balanced.

Civil society has four characteristics namely (1) relatively independent; (2) capable enough to maintain and promote verbal deliberative goals or actions; (3) not showing efforts to replace state agents or private producers or accept the responsibility of the country as a whole; and (4) upholding mutual respect (Schmitter, 2001). Table 1 presents that the local semantic of youth in Bandung City is quite distinctive; they differentiate community and OKP.

Similar to other regions in Indonesia, various OKPs were incorporated in the DPD KNPI of Bandung City. Based on the results of the Congress of DPD KNPI XIII of Bandung City on December 6, 2014, there were 92 organizations in the administrative area of Bandung City, and 30 administrators of PK KNPI. Their achievements were quite impressive; the DPD KNPI of Bandung City successfully managed to reactivate all PK KNPI in 2015 and changed the management in only 7 months. OKP is a legacy of previous political dynamics, which has been existed with their own ideologies and kept defending their ideology through socialization. Unlike organization, community tends to not have a long history because their presence is often spontaneous and non-binding. Based on data from the Department of Youth and Sports in Bandung, there were at least 170 youth communities. With its sporadic nature, it is possible that community will be more numerous than those recorded. Table 2 presents the tendency of the people of Bandung City in forming a community

The author views the variety of communities developing in Bandung City as a feature of solidarity and high social interaction of the youth. If this phenomenon is maintained, it will result in positive trend for the culture of Bandung's youth participation. This difference has implications in the differences established in the government-youth relationship, and vice versa. The government-youth relationship follows the Riker's (1995; 1998) concept, namely autonomous relations, facilitation/promotion, parallel cooperation (adopted from Fisher (1998)), co-optation, and dissolution. Meanwhile, the youth-government relationship follows Eldridge's (1995) concept which was built according to the orientation of civil society with three relationship models namely: (1) High Level of

Partnership Model; Grassroots Development, (2) High Level Politics Models; Grassroots Mobilization, and (3) Model Empowerment at the Grassroots. Promotional relationship is represented by Karang Taruna, with the indicator of its role as a village government working partner in the development of the youth generation according to the Regional Regulation of Bandung City No. 02 of 2013 concerning District Community Institutions (LKK, Lembaga Kemasyarakatan Kelurahan). Its close relationship has placed Karang Taruna in the High Level Partnership Model with the orientation of Grassroots Development. The orientation of this institution is based on Government Regulation No. 02 of 2013 concerning LKK includes: (1) overcoming various social welfare problems, especially those faced by the youth, both preventive and rehabilitative, and the development of the potential of the youth in their environment; and (2) jointly organizing a youth coaching to conduct social welfare with the Lurah and other communities. High Level Partnership between Karang Taruna and the City Government seems to be a contrast in the context of Bandung Juara. This institution is legally formal as a subordinate of Regional Development and Empowerment Innovation Program (PIP PK, Program Inovasi Pembangunan dan Pemberdayaan Kewilayahan). The co-optation relationship is represented by the government's relationship with DPD KNPI of Bandung City. The indicator is government supervision through the National Unity and Community Empowerment Agency (BKBPM, Badan Kesatuan Bangsa dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat) according to Bandung Mayor Regulation No. 295 of 2013 concerning the main tasks, functions, job descriptions, and work procedures of the BKBPN. The functions related to the main tasks are guidance, monitoring, evaluation, and activity reports. The relation built by youth with this type of civil society is high level politics based on several factors: certain political motives that appeared by the candidates for the chairman of the Bandung City Regional Representative Council of the DPD KNPI, which were several times filled by public officials; the KNPI relation with the Political Society that was presented in the determination of the management structure and efforts to regenerate the OKP, which was not a wing of the political party or has a certain relationship with political parties; and the direction of participation that was oriented towards strategic issues in the government environment, for example, the DPD KNPI's response to the PIPPK program



**Table 1**  
**The Differences of Community and OKP**

Aspects	Community	Organization
Orientation	To express hobby, interest, and goals	Regeneration based on the organization's vision and mission formed according to the history of its development.
Characteristic	Open and without boundary	Systematic and bound by rules
System	Result-oriented	Process-oriented
Legality	No law legality	Notary deed, domicile letter, registered with the relevant office
Membership	Voluntary	Bound organizational rules regarding member status and membership loss procedures.
Budget/ Funding	Optimizing member potentials or collective funding	Government endowment

Source: Processed by author in 2018

**Table 2**  
**Youth Community in Bandung City based on Category**

Category	Quantity	Activities
Entrepreneurship	2	Entrepreneurship and social service
IT Skills	2	Forum and training
Culture	1	Preservation and socialization
Environment	5	Cultivation, dialogue, and socialization
Literacy	7	Development, training, historical exploration, and literature
Sport	3	Forum, recreation, and sport exercise
Education	12	Talent development, discussion forums, cultural education, study groups, community development, and volunteerism
Performing Arts	14	Training and performance
Fine Arts	2	Development and production
Automotive	63	Hobby, trips, and social service
Social	20	Social service, assistance, socialization, community development, and ethnic solidarity
Photography	5	Hobby development and photo exhibition
Fashion	6	Hobby and fashion exhibition
Hobby	3	Hobby and experience sharing
Cycling	3	Solidarity of cyclists, trips, and parades
Cinematography	10	Development, training, and production
Media	3	Broadcasting and media development
Games	3	Hobby and solidarity
Supporter	1	Solidarity
Culinary	2	Exhibition and gastronomy exploration
Tourism	3	Exhibition and tourism exploration

Source: Report on Organizational Data in Bandung City, Department of Youth and Sport of Bandung City, processed in 2016

and its participation to determine decent city of youth. In the broader context, KNPI did not seem popular. The most complaint was on

the difficulty to access the structure and the assumption that the presence of the KNPI was only to show the policy of new chairman. This

is an indicator of the grassroots mobilization orientation. Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) represents a model of parallel cooperation relations. The indication is the high level partnership between BCCF and the government in an effort to encourage Bandung City to become a member of the UNESCO Creative City Network (UCCN) with design city predicate. In the context of youth, this community is grassroots development oriented. Although BCCF is a cross-community forum, the vision and mission of building creative conformity are carried out through various routine activities in the form of discussions and training in innovation and creativity. In their Wednesday activities, there was efforts identified aiming at coaching young constituents. Hence, the relationship model shifted from high level partnership to high level politics during the 2013-2018 government periods. This was marked by the succession of Fiki Satari as the Head of the Karang Taruna Kota Bandung. The autonomous relationship is represented by the form of the youth community. The indicator is the absence of institutional relations between the government and the community, which was done to the OKP through BKBPN. This is an implication of the intermittent nature of the community; the motive for its formation which tends to be the expression of altruism of youth and not considered dangerous; and most of the community is formed based on common interests and hobbies.

The lack of community connection with the government shows that communities tend to be oriented at the grassroots empowerment, for example, Forum Rock n 'Roll Bandung aims at strengthening networks of fellow musicians; Berbagi Nasi community aims at raising awareness about the existence of poverty in Bandung City; Kita Indonesia community aims at building community service in education, environment and culture. The above mentioned elaboration shows that the potential for the formation of citizen power in Bandung City is massive. In addition to the goodwill of the government to open a space of connection with youth, the development of civil society with a set of participatory values seems to be increasing. Besides its potentials, the differences that developed among the youth of Bandung City were also a challenge for democratization, considering that citizenship participation is not merely about participation in the social dimension, but also its connection to public dimension and its capabilities to influence political decisions.

This means that the political dimension of youth must be developed as a power dedicated to the democratization of youth or full involvement of youth in the political process in Bandung City.

### **Critique on Collaboration Discourse**

Collaboration represents the consensus involvement of government, businessmen, intellectuals, and the general public elements to realize the culture of civil society in the development of Bandung City (Kamil, 2013). At the proposition level, collaboration is done with constructive strategies. Construction efforts are carried out smoothly using euphemistic styles and litotes to avoid the impression of superior power or political impression. The identification is found in justification strategies related to the culture, mental experience, and emotional constituents that did not necessarily agree with the ideas presented, such as justification on the quantity of youth, the culture of youth in who are happy to be in groups, and Bandung City as a gathering place for educated youth. This particular truth shows how Bandung Juara discourse works to gradually change the perceptions of constituents towards the goal of discourse. Instead of developing political discourse as an apparatus that promotes democratization, collaboration looks more like a membrane of hegemony that is built in an organized manner with the following considerations: *first*, the political logic of subject-objects is built in discourse. The idea of collaboration places the youth in power subordination. They are positioned as the government's social capital. Referring to the idea of the International Association for Public Participation (2007) on Spectrum of Public Participation, participation presented with the concept of collaboration is still in the Involve Phase, meaning that direct work with the community is needed to get direct feedback from the community. The particular facts are derived from the ambiguity in the propositions regarding the Kartu Juara program.

The idea of Kartu Juara is aimed at donors (investor) and the general public. There is a proposition that the donors have access to meet mayors in certain meetings to discuss city programs and have the opportunity to choose citizen initiative programs that they will fund. In contrary, the other people of the city can only access services and submit 'citizen initiative programs'. This ambiguity shows that there was inequality in treating

the citizen. Based on this logic, the program that was not desired or liked by donors would likely to have a very little realization. Kartu Juara might be an indication of a new form of open collusion aiming at to be liked by the community. Other communities that are not categorized as donors are positioned in the subordination of collaboration between businessmen and the government. Second, collaboration demonstrates efforts to maintain parallel relations between the government and BCCF. This is based on the following particular facts: first, the discourse entitled "1000 Words for Bandung Volunteers" was used as media campaigns during Pilwalkot (mayor election) 2013, and propositions about cohesive collaboration with propositions about BCCF. The connection can be interpreted that BCCF is the referential meaning of the concept of collaboration. Second, the opinion article written by Fiki Satari on January 17, 2017 on the *Pikiran Rakyat* Daily Newspaper entitled 'Komunitas Kreatif Muda di Dasar Piramida' (Community of Young Creative in the Base of Pyramid) showed a coherent concept with collaboration.

The interdisciplinary of these two propositions show similar rationale. Collaboration was built according to the helix idea, which was developed in management studies and adopted in the management of sustainable development. The concept is considered too instrumental to fill democratic discourse. The implication is to strengthen the subject-object's political logic. Third, the parallel relationship is indirectly determined through the Regional Regulation of Bandung City No. 02 of 2013 concerning LKK. This regulation states that Karang Taruna is a working partner of the district government as a forum for the development of the youth, where Fiki Satari was the chairman of the Karang Taruna and chairman of the BCCF as well. The hegemony organization becomes clearer with the formation of high-level political relations between the BCCF and the Bandung City government. This relationship shows that domination efforts are carried out by mastering all types of capital, for example, the capital exchange scheme described by Stokke (in Fashri, 2014). It revealed that the dominance in Bandung City was conducted using policy switch, where the economic capital of a Rp 100 million budget was annually distributed to the grassroots level, which is further elaborated in PIPPK of Regional Regulation of Bandung City No. 03 of 2014 concerning the Bandung City

Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD, *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah*) in 2013 - 2018; Fiki Satari is an agent exchanging social capital through the Karang Taruna he led; this organization was covered by a membrane in the form of political discourse that contained the idea of mechanizing the life of youth democracy. At that time, Bandung Juara transformed into panopticon—borrowing Foucault's (1995) term—in the realization of Bandung's youth citizenship participation.

### **Tokenism: The Reality of Bandung City Youth Citizenship Participation**

Tokenism is a bridge that can explain the understanding of the public about the significant differences between the rites of participation in order to celebrate democracy that really works. A mayor with community background was recognized successful in lifting the moral of community activists in Bandung City. However, the declaration of the Bandung Youth Forum (BYF) in 2015 was contradictory at the symbolic level, since its presence is more apparent as the antithesis of the BCCF and even the KNPI. The declaration managed by DISPORA of Bandung City showed a political struggle in the youth field with the motive of seizing access. Moreover, there was an absence of community compromise to OKP—both in the form of invitations and involvement in activities. In meaning that among the proliferation of participation activities, there was treatment inequality. It reveals that the competitive ethos was built more than the collaborative ones.

After that declaration, the meaning of civil society was still dichotomized into community and OKP; and there was no government policy that shows the efforts to dilute the relationship between the youth community and the OKP in the context of coaching. Hence, the concept of tokenism is the articulated reality of the citizenship participation of Bandung City youth . A reality of civic participation can be inferred as tokenism when: (1) The government information and citizen interaction with government is open, such as Ngabandungan program and Twitter interaction; (2) The opportunity for citizens to determine policy directions such as youth involvement in the Musrenbang of Youth in Bandung; (3) The opportunity for youth to provide input or even urgently directly through hearings to the mayor. Based on these three things, the reality

of tokenism is at its highest level, placation. Citizens began to show their influence but the holders of power still retained their authority to decide. Collaboration materialized by the government's recognition of the community movement did not always go well. There are still things that need attention, especially on the procedure. Communities that are not accustomed to cooperation with government institutions usually do not really understand, especially on the facilitation and budgeting procedures. This was experienced by Kita Indonesia community, where their idea of collaboration was very good but it did not involve the whole society. The respondent acknowledged that his effort did not get appreciation, instead was claimed by certain parties. Certain parties also acknowledged their potential without endorsing Kita Indonesia community. In the end, it was considered hurting the spirit of altruism and volunteerism as the main values of the community movement. A different thing was experienced by the community of Rock n 'Roll Bandung.

They felt to be more embraced by the creative spirit carried by Bandung Juara. Moreover, they became aware that building a city cannot be done alone. In terms of their operations, they were permitted to have more open musical activities. In addition, there was also new program facilitated by the government to support the youth activities in Bandung City. They were impressed with Ridwan Kamil's leadership style that is embracing young spirit. It is seen that the established initiation was carried out by the government and several elements of the youth community in Bandung City. The difference was on the access built by the government to the youth community, where in Bandung Juara program, the autonomous relationship between the government and youth began to shift. Even though not all activity has been accommodated, this study seeks to provide a political perspective on that reality. Since BCCF is a cross-community forum that is almost similar to BYF, hence, it seems to be a hegemonic level where the community is a subordinate to the political interests. Thus, it appears at the level of a cross-community forum as the effort of grassroots mobilization. Seen from the context of democratic development, this reality shows that the interplay between government and youth in Bandung City does not occur in an egalitarian manner. The issue is not only on government domination, but

also the incapability of youth to manage power due to (1) inability to articulate interests; and (2) the lack of organized efforts. These two things are the surface problems. Figure 1 depicts that issue in an interpretive scheme.



Figure 1: Scheme of Tokenism Reality

Placation Syndrome is a character of power that is unconsciously duplicated by young people within their groups. This issue hampers collaboration between civic participation sites. It is a disease that burdens youth groups to be side-by-side with different understanding and class due to the tendency of high symbolic ego. This syndrome results in being reluctant to start collaborative initiatives because they feel they are not in a reconciliation condition. This was shown during BYF declaration, where the Bandung Regional DPD KNPI seemed negligent towards the reality of the proliferation of new forms of youth community group. Actually, if there is an initiation for cooperation, it is likely that this two-sided of development, regeneration and more massive and popular social initiatives will occur. Symptoms of this syndrome include difficulty to signal peace even though in the discourse implicitly comparing one site and another, while confirming the owned site is more superior, arguing that it does not get attention or is not embraced either by the government or other sites, and the worst one is considering the other site as inferior.

The next problem is political atrophy that occurs in youth. Atrophy referred to the shrinking nature of politics in youth, where politics is increasingly interpreted narrowly, both in terms of practice and value. Atrophy of youth politics is assumed to occur as a risk from the development of information technology in the life of democracy (Tsaliki, 2010). Tsaliki states that political involvement is atrophied because of the widespread alienation of constituents with their political



representation; developing youth cynicism towards political parties and institutions; and decreased participation with public features (Putnam, 2000), which includes youth dissatisfaction with the political process characterized by a reluctance to join political parties (Coleman, 2007). Although Sloam (2007) shows that it is not only disappointment, young people also consider political participation as a difficult job and the reason they are not involved with politics. The youth with a background of strong and well-known politicians chose to spend their time in politics. Likewise in Bandung City, classes and groups are still significant in shaping youth political motivation.

The dominance of the government also plays a significant role in youth political atrophy. The case of Thailand presented by Ghoshal (2015) shows that the dominance of the monarchy had an impact on political atrophy. The fear of the military and the control of the civil apparatus were declared to be a factor in the growth of democracy in Thailand. Unlike Bandung City, the dominance of the government is at the level of hegemony. The challenge that needs to be answered to build citizen power in Bandung City is raising political motives in youth. Political awareness and critical thinking need to be cultivated by seeking youth connectedness with traditional political structures.

The Messianic Syndrome, taken from the Hebrew "mashiah" is often interpreted as a savior. The author takes the main idea in the development of the meaning of the Messiah, a figure that is expected to bring people safety and glory. This condition is considered a disease of participation because all the problems and the fate of the community—whether on a country, nation, domestic or provisional scale, city, and district—are determined by one leader, whether the president, governor, regent, and mayor. This syndrome is demonstrated through particular facts on government discourse, namely the discourse of direct interaction between the community and the government through the too broad channels of aspiration, such as Twitter of every service, application of citizen reports, interpersonal interactions with mayors on social media, all that technically considered constrained and controversial. The particular truth is not about the government's efforts to build an image as a savior, but rather how people put very high hopes on the executor of the policy to solve community problems, which their

intentions are not necessarily accommodated in policy. The excess of this syndrome infects the government who tend to take populist policies. This syndrome also sharpens the gap between constituents and legislators. It is true that the attitude of the government is trying to become an admired figure. Nor is it wrong for the public to be amazed at the leader.

The contact makes it possible for three conflicts to occur under social reality. First, horizontal conflicts quietly occurred among the youth. This is due to the group of young people who are persistent (placation syndrome) in dealing with symptoms of culturing figures (messianic syndrome). Such reality is now enlivening the Indonesian political repertoire. Second, the intersection between messianic syndrome and youth political atrophy is political mobilization. This is possible with the weak political dimension of youth degrading the critical power of youth towards figures. Third, the political crisis that occurred because of the weak political dimensions of youth intersects with the absence of trust and the nature of compromise. This results in a decline in the meaning of the word politics leading to the worst meaning. This has a bad effect because it relates to the regeneration of leadership and statesmanship.

It needs to be realized that the millennial as the most potential political constituent turns out to be in a vulnerable status. This definitely happens following the character of political constituents who are mostly millennials who do not care about the brand. As explained by Diggles (2014) that this generation is pragmatic, so that it does not care about the solutions they expect to be made by or through any party in the context of the United States politics namely Democrats and Republicans. It is not surprising that messianic syndrome is so strong in the present. If this condition is maintained and is considered a relatively ideal participatory condition, it will be rather difficult to reach the level of delegated power participation, even though in terms of quantity and participation, they are considered to have the potential to establish citizen control. If the mentality of the youth is not prepared to take public responsibility and hold certain public positions, especially the involvement in struggling for the parliamentary seat, political effectiveness as the ultimate goal of citizenship participation will only be trapped in certain hegemonic conditions, which in fact only carry out politics based on a perspective economics and marketing.

Things are different when political awareness and a sense of responsibility to be involved in political dynamism are built. Youth who begin to come into contact with political dynamism and prepare themselves to represent the voice of the community is expected to understand the conditions of abuse of power that occur. As Roosevelt said, "In politics, nothing happens by accident. If it happens, you can bet it was planned that way."

## Conclusion

The relationship between the government vis-à-vis youth in Bandung in the 2013-2018 periods has not shown a change towards collaborative society. Considering that the power struggle is under the social reality in the youth context which is also triggered by the hegemonic tendencies of the Bandung City government has implications for the difficulty of absorbing the ethos of collaboration by youth. The ethos of Bandung's youth citizenship was stopped at the level of placation as the highest form of the reality of tokenism. Thus, efforts are needed to strengthen youth institutions through the development of economic independence of the community/youth organizations and to increase political understanding and revitalize the political dimensions of the youth of Bandung City to alleviate three diseases of participation: placation syndrome, messianic syndrome, and political atrophy.

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