YOUTH POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT AND NEW MEDIA IN POST REFORM ERA:
A CASE IN PURWOKERTO, CENTRAL JAVA, INDONESIA

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This paper analyzes a preliminary study of youth political engagement in post-reform era especially the case of the youth activities in Purwokerto, Central Java Indonesia. Using qualitative research method, this research examines how the youth engage with political matters and which channels they preferred in their activities. The results shows that the youth political engagement in post reform period have more space in practicing their activities. They have their freedom in expressing their thought and engaging through various student organization activities. Beside intra and extra campus student organizations, in post reform period, we found that there is a third type of student organization, which is an independent organization that fluid and flexible in nature. This organization utilize information and communication technologies (ICTs) in expanding their reach toward the other interested parties to join and engage together regardless their background like, political parties *underbouw*, ideological, religion based or even ethnicities based organization. At this point, the youth managed to establishing their own social networks through social media and website that their created by themselves. This relatively new media create more political engagement among the youth in tackling local, national and even international issues. Unfortunately, they don't utilize effectively their social media and website in supporting their activities in gaining supports from other students relating to social and political issues. This situation is related to the characteristic of the Indonesian youth as internet user that utilize the internet for entertainment. In short, the youth political engagement managed to gain more space but at the same time, they lack of productivity in their activities.

Keywords: Space, activities, youth political engagement, higher education institution

INTRODUCTION

15 years after the 1998 reform period, students in Indonesia are facing new challenges. They are entering a transition era signed by

euphoria of freedom. This euphoria brings consequences like an opened Pandora box. According to Cornelis Lay (2006), the opened reform Pandora box by students were raising a lot of New Order regime decay for more than 32 years especially for more popular label of Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism. The rising of student movements as one of the youth political engagement in 1998 was only a part of Indonesian youth movements' long journey even before Indonesia was proclaimed in 1945. The Indonesian youth movements started through what is called *Sumpah Pemuda*, or The Youth Oath in 1928. This Oath even became pioneer of Indonesian Nation awakening by the youth that unite more people despite various backgrounds like ethnicity, region, to religion into one state, one language, and one nation that is Indonesia.

This long historical journey of the youth political engagement has shown us the development of the youth in Indonesia especially in the way that the youth gained support from Indonesian people to be the agent of change. The youth gained more momentum in changing the political landscape in Indonesia especially after the proclamation in 1945. It was signed by the 1966 youth movement; the students' movements manage to make Soekarno fall down by preventing him of being the first lifetime president. Furthermore, in 1970 and the last but not least the 1998 students' movements, which is also gained its momentum in making Soeharto step down. These situations have made student engage more on politics by entering parliament.

In post-reform period, students seem confuse by the euphoria of freedom. More spaces they gained as a Pandora box opened. At this point, in post reform era, students create a more fluid and flexible organizations that passing through and beyond the issue of religions, ethnicities, and intergroup relations. At his point, through what and which channels youth engage more on political and civic in an independent organization? This is a very important matter because it seems that no clear study on how the youth are learning and engage to civic and politics. This study argues that in post reform period, the youth are taking a different route than in previous periods by expanding their movement's magnitude through their independent organization by the assistance of new media.

Literature review

The study of youth and higher education is how higher education institution able to provide more positive result to the students' political engagement. Even though previous research shows various result with different perspectives are related to the political involvement. Altbach and Cohen (1990) shows in their research that there are limited research

about students' activism that is closely related with social and political activism. Furthermore, Chambers and Phelps (1993) argue that activism is a form of engagement that gives positive contributions to the development of students because activism is a form of political participation.

At this point more research shows that student in higher education reveal a moderate result in the perspective of humanitarianism, political orientation and social activities consciousness, and moral (Pascarella, 1997). In short, the development of student in higher education is crucial to be analyzed further.

Youth Political and Civic Engagement

Sidney Verba et. all. (1995) argue that the factors of political involvement are all that is related to political engagement. Getting interested with politics believes that an individual can gives impact to a certain political process, understanding political processes and identifying political parties are the factors of political engagement. These factors are the difference in which an individual would chose to spent their leisure time and money for political activities.

One of the keys, based on researches, as a closely related factor to an engagement of politics is the influence from family. A parent is an important key factor that influences some political engagement factors. This parent factor a various impact toward civic behaviors including in political participation. A research from Hashway (1996) reveals that from 800 students of 18-25 years old as its sample found that the strongest indicator of civic behaviors is the achievement of their parents. Jarvis, Montoya and Mulvoy (2005) also found that political participation of the youth in their surrounding communities and through various political discussing in their own home.

The political engagement conception, which include civic engagement according Ehrlich (2000) are as follow:

"Working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes" (p. vi).

We can separate two important elements from this definition, which these two elements could make individual involve more to civic engagement. The first element is individual behavior that is engage to civic matter. In this element, is a situation when an individual "work for something different in our own civic community life ... [by] promoting quality of life... used political methods and non-political" (p.vi). This first element often defined as a general definition of civic engagement which

can be observed from behaviors and its activities, for example, by becoming a member of local school board. However, the behaviors that can be observed cannot be observed continuously without knowledge system, values, and skills that is supported certain behaviors.

This supportive system is the second crucial and more substantive element of the definition of civic engagement from Ehrlich (2000). This individual improvement need to be developed in supporting civic engagement. Those dimensions are, "knowledge, skills, values and motivation" (p.vi). In other words, behaviors, specifically complex repeated behaviors; often as a result from the combination development of these dimensions because at that point we can see the capacity of civic engagement is built. Saltmarsh (2005) used the term of "civic learning" especially in the context of student as part of education because knowledge, skills, and values needed in becoming a democratic citizenship. Civic engagement will only come gathered with the development of capacity to engage. This development is what is called, 'civic learning' (p.50).

Saltmarsh (2005) also argue that studying knowledge, skills and values could be gained from campus and community in form of experiences through various activities like learning voluntary in society. In line with Satmarsh, Nishishiba, Nelson and Shinn (2005) identify behaviors that is include as civic engagement, which are: advocacy, taking direct actions, actively participate in an organization or association, volunteers, and vote in election.

In this context, there is an evident that voluntarism improve uniquely engaging politically (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995; Putnam 2000). Working voluntary in an organization can be a channel for political engagement for an organization or a member in certain social network built through voluntary work in an organization that he or she followed (Colby, Beaumant, Ehrlich, & Corngold, 2007). Being engage civically is having potential in increasing political knowledge and connection to various political issues (Verba, Schlozman, & Brody, 1995). Someone can imagine a situation where a student give a tutorial to a certain groups of poor children and special need can increase this student of a person's deprivation that the he or she was experienced. His or her knowledge and personal relationship to individuals in this kind of situation can create a volunteer involve politically to increase local government attention or even central government and to other related issues. Eventually, being engage civically, volunteerism can get civic skills that provide more capacity to be engaging politically (Battistoni, 1997).

Political and civic engagements today in the 21 century have been expand through new media, specifically through the channel of social media. This social media help the activists in spreading their activities that is related to political engagement among students. As Merlyna Lim argue that the reform era, specifically by the student was assisted by the existence of new media. Through *warnet* (internet shop) student interact each other and expand their magnitude to create a massive movement in protesting the Soeharto regime to step down immediately (Lim, 2003). At this point, this initial research is relating the youth political engagement and new media in post reform era as their channel for creating more political engagement.

Methods

This research used qualitative method in explaining the youth and or student engagement in Purwokerto, Central Java. This study utilizes a case-study approach (Yin: 1997; Moleong: 2006; and Sugiyono: 2010) in analyzing youth engagement in post-reform era and new media as their channels in expressing and expanding the magnitude of their movement throughout the country. Purwokerto is chosen as the research sites because Purwokerto as a developing urban area and also more students from various regional backgrounds and more students is get use to new media gadgets especially the existence of smart phone in their daily life.

Results and discussion

A brief history of student political engagement in Indonesia

The 1945 youth political engagements urgently Ir. Soekarno to act quickly to proclaimed the Republic of Indonesia. These 1945 youth movements succeed in delivering Indonesia as an independent nation-state. Furthermore, the youth, included students, political engagements in 1966 also contribute a major role in the downfall of Old Order through the movement of three people demand (*Tiga Tuntutan Rakyat, Trikora*). These historical momentum for youth and student political engagement, from 1928 to 1998, shows that the youth and student have a crucial roles in the development of a nation-state and even Soekarno stated that the existence of a youth more valuable than a thousand seniors in developing this country.

Student movements in Indonesia often labeled as the governments undermine and thus the government in New Order era in 1970s issued policies to curb progressive student movement through Campus Life Normalization and Student's Coordination Board Policy (*Kebijakan Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus/Badan Koordinasi Kemahasiswaan*, known as *NKK/BKK* policy). This NKK/BKK policy implemented based

on a Ministry Decree No. 0156/U/1978. This New Order government policy aimed to create an atmosphere that the student should focus their activities to an academic area and avoid various activities that closely related to any kind of political activities because it would endangering the government. The NKK policy was implemented in 1978 by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Daoed Joesoef, and BKK was established in every higher education campus in 1979. The NKK policy was implemented right after Daoed Joesoef became the ministry (Denny J. A. 1990: 44-45).

At this point, Adeline Tumenggung (in Beate Martin, ed., 2005:44) argue that there were some important content and issues in the banning of student based on the NKK/BKK policy No 0156/U/1978, which are:

a. The policy had ban student's activities to engage with politics and prefer to shift the student activities merely in campus and only an "academic" political discussion allowed.

b. The proliferation of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the policy of Higher Education Directorate General (known as *DIKTI*) No. 002/DK/Inst/1978, had put a student's activities under the supervision and controlled by Vice Rector of Student Affairs, known as the Vice Rector III, and it was assisted by the Vice Dean III of Student Affairs in every faculty in any higher education institutions. This policy provide stronger authority for vice rector and rector in putting and replacing any leader of student organizations as their wish insight their own campus.

c. Moreover, another NKK/BKK policy proliferation, Ministry of Education and Culture Instruction No. 037/U/1979 had ban Student Board and limit all their activities merely to the activities that concern to the student's welfare, recreational and academic.

By these policies, practically, all students were guided to always concern with all intra-campus student activities with all limitation that is interpreted by rector with their staffs and authoritative actors. The intra-campus activities were considered easier to be controlled by the rulers so that the rulers freely in mobilizing their political machines and maintain or even protect their power without any disturbance from any students activists. In response to this policy, the students create more study groups that was unreachable by government through the policy of NKK/BKK.

Furthermore, student shifted their activities channels by looking for new form of organization and movement groups that signed by a non-intra-campus student organization units. A concrete form of this shifting is those students were entering various Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Civil Societies Organization (CSOs). These organizations

concern to more specific issues as their goals, for example, the issue of Kedung Ombo case and the Gambling, in Indonesia known as *Porkas* and *SDSB* in New Order era.

Beside studies groups, NGOs and CSOs, Anders Uhlin (1998: 109) argue that student also enter various extra-campus students' organizations, such as Islamic Student Association (HMI), Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII), Catholic Student Republic of Indonesia Organization (PMKRI), Indonesian Christian Student Movement (GMKI). In line with Uhlin, Tumenggung in Beate Martin (2005: 38) stated that these student movements are closely related to social and political groups and certain political parties, what so called *underbouw*. This *underbouw* shows that these kinds of student movements are the organization that is managed by certain political parties based on their ideology. He mentions that some of them are HMI, GMNI, and KNPI provide new human resources for political parties like GOLKAR, PDI and some Islamic political parties.

The consequences, these full political nuance student movements viewed as partisan movements, in this case to certain political parties. In its development, these extra-campus student movements members also joining the intra-campus student organizations, which is forbidden for New Order Government because the intra-campus student organization should be cleared from any political ideological nuance.

Entering the beginning 1990s, the Ministry of Education Fuad Hasan retrieved the policy of NKK/BKK and revised with the General Guidance of Student Organization (PUOK) (Arbi Sanit, 1999: 179-180). In this PUOK policy, the government emphasizes that the only admitted intra-campus student organization was the Higher Education Student Executive (SMPT), which consist of Faculty Student Executive (SMF) and Student Activity Unit (UKM). This PUOK policy was merely considered as the continuation of the NKK/BKK policy that only limiting student activities to academic and recreational activities without any political nuance behind it especially concerning the people with public issues (Suharsih dan Ign. Mahendra, 2007). At this point, under the NKK/BKK and POUK policy, the youth political engagement for student in Indonesia seems faded and higher education institution seems create distance with the people suffered surround them.

This PUOK policy really influence the student movements to keep moving and looking for more spaces of freedom especially the freedom of speech and express or even democracy as a way out from the pressure of the repressive New Order Government regime toward the students through CSOs and extra-campus student movements. Here, this is the challenge for the students' movements from the New Order regime

and the peak of the challenge was in 1997 to 1998. In 1997/1998, the student movements, intra and extra campus, gathered with the people protests in a massive scale and managed to made the New Order regime step down immediately. Soon this reform ended, the post-reform era, the students were back to campus with their daily activities and waiting for political changes, especially to the new political elite right after the reform period. However, after the reform period for more than 15 years, Indonesia seems experiencing a political stagnant that create an apolitical of the youth, including the students to active to contribute in giving the idea and actions for various public issues. Students' movement seems that trapped into partisan of certain groups or political parties. This partisan student movement more concern on their own interests and it struggle of power rather than focusing on the interests of people. It seems that the students' movements have lost their guidance in post-reform era. Here they are polarizing under the banner of certain groups. At this point, students' movements are facing their challenges in post-reform period because of their partisanship toward certain political group and furthermore, they become apathy toward the public issues, and there are gap between students' activities and the people. In other words, there are some crucial problems about students as youth political engagement in post-reform period.

Student Political and Civic Engagement in Post-Reform era

It seems that for more than 15 years after the reform period the students' activities afterward scattered. This scattered situation, we can recall the situation in New Order era with NKK/BKK policy in the end 1970s where students were absent from any discourses and activities that closely related to the matter of nation and state challenges. Before NKK/BKK policy, students activist were often create discourses about nation on how to create a better Indonesia as a nation-state in future. However, after the NKK/BKK policy implemented, students obviously had no spheres for being critical toward the New Order government. Here, students tended to concern for their own problems without voicing the people unheard voices for having a more freedom and more democratic nation as written in constitution of Indonesian. More specifically, students more fragmented on their activities and even more they busier on their academic matter in their campuses and at the same time they far less concern about their nation even more their future of the nation.

Having this fragmented situation along New Order period, the student manage to create a common concern about the New Order regime, the student started to move on a unity actions to fight an

authoritarian regime. Eventually, students succeed in coping their movements to made Soeharto regime step down.

In the beginning of the post reform period, students' activities seem to be stuck on their freedom euphoria. This situation have made student confuse in determining their path of their movements, not only confused, but also worse, silent. More ex-students activists were becoming politicians in parliaments from local to national level and even gathered to political parties or groups on the other side of students' ideology. For example, in post reform Golkar party is still fueled by the ex-students activists from HMI even though it is no longer exclusively for Golkar.

However, student's organization found its way and manages their own creative path and shifts their form of organization in post reform period. Beside intra and extra campus that already exist since the very beginning, in post reform era, there is another form of student engagement through Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). The CSOs are creative way from student in engaging with the issues of public. Through CSOs, student as the youth is changing their type of organization. The intra and extra campus organization transform into a more fluid and inclusive organization as their characteristic. Within this nature, they are easier in expanding their reach to any viewers, include on the issues that they up hold with its values inside of it. These CSOs also filled with the youth especially students. The youth in nature also contribute to the identity of the CSOs. At this point, the youth as an identity is easily to create a collective identity regardless their background like, religions, ethnicities, and even socio-political ideologies. Within these nature CSOs that filled with the youth are more potential in creating new form of independent and voluntary organizations that concern toward certain public issues. These youth organizations are consistently sending the massages to public in creating public awareness. For example, they focus on the issue of education, the youth itself, human rights and humanity, or even public spaces.

At this point, the youth organization, include students, have wider and diverse issues that available in public on local, national and even international level as their focus. The youth is directing themselves by their own interests in responding certain issues that they think it is important to tackle down. It implies that the youth organization contains a group of young individual in a more complex situation that is a transition and democratization era.

This situation is very distinct with the New Order period treatment to youth political engagement in which youth organization had limited space in developing discourses on certain public issues especially

the issue of social and politics. In this situation, most youth organizations were opposing the government and thus the issue was focus on the relationship between government and society. Most of youth activists and its organizations were affiliated to certain political parties and political patron in order to influence the formulation of certain public policy.

For youth organization in post reform era, they have more space in creating new discourses as they like specifically on certain public issues more over on the issue of social and politics, which is forbidden in the New Order era. At this point, youth organization in term of political engagement, they really don't have to opposing the government. They can engage with government when government has the same ideas and program with youth organization. They can work together in order to act on certain public issues such as providing more access of education for poor people in grassroots level. Beside youth organization have more open up opportunity on wider issues, they also have more option in influencing the government and political elites with or without affiliated to certain political parties, political elites or even government. Here, youth organization as the CSO is embracing their freedom by creating more public issues and more chances in influencing decision makers on certain public issues through public policy.

This relatively independent youth organization in post reform era is utilizing the fastest growth of technology especially the information and communications technology (ICTs) through internet. Specifically, the internet today provides more option for youth organization in developing the reach and magnitude of their campaign for certain public issues throughout the world. The messages are out there on the internet scattered. However, it doesn't mean that they left completely offline media like booklet, pamphlet, bulletin, newspaper or magazine. In short, in post reform era, youth engage politically not only through offline media but also online media.

Open up Spaces, New Channels, and New Media

Right after 1998 reformation in Indonesia, situation was filled by expression of freedom. People start to think freedom as the sign of the 1998 reformation. Here, Indonesian people have an open up spaces. This open space have already started since the beginning of reformation where students activists and its organizations engage through internet by using *warnet* (a kind of internet cafe) as the place for student accessing the internet and its content (Lim: 2003a and 2003b). Specifically, Merlyna Lim argues, "... the Internet can facilitate a space for those with limited power to create and pursue their own agenda and cultivate their own identity, community and even culture" (Lim in 2003b: 275). Here, student organization as relatively limited power organization gain more

spaces through internet that can facilitate their activities in creating their own agenda and express their identity and its culture as a community.

Internet is a relatively new channel for Indonesian, especially for youth community from the year of 1998 to 2015. The internet users in 1998 were only for about less than 1 percent and it was considered as the elite's Indonesian group (Lim in 2003b: 275). As in the year of 2000, the internet users reach almost 1 percent (1,933,861 users) and as in 2015, the internet users in Indonesia are more than 42 million people (16.72%). Even more, internet users in Indonesia globally is in the 12 rank with more than 3 million people in 2014 are new users as we can see in table 1. bellow:

Table 1. Internet Users Statistics in Indonesia 2000-2014

Year (July 1)	Internet Users**	User Growth	New Users	Country Population	Penetration (% of Pop. with Internet)	Global Rank
2014*	42,258,824	9%	3,468,057	252,812,245	16.72	12
2013*	38,790,767	2%	872,427	249,865,631	15.52	12
2012	37,918,340	27%	7,979,498	246,864,191	15.36	12
2011	29,938,841	14%	3,656,969	243,801,639	12.28	17
2010	26,281,872	60%	9,847,779	240,676,485	10.92	17
2009	16,434,093	-11%	-2,112,087	237,486,894	6.92	19
2008	18,546,180	39%	5,181,459	234,243,489	7.92	18
2007	13,364,721	23%	2,514,774	230,972,808	5.79	17
2006	10,849,947	34%	2,764,090	227,709,821	4.76	17
2005	8,085,858	41%	2,331,586	224,480,901	3.60	18
2004	5,754,271	11%	547,092	221,293,797	2.60	18
2003	5,207,179	13%	617,970	218,145,617	2.39	16
2002	4,589,209	7%	310,346	215,038,285	2.13	16
2001	4,278,863	121%	2,345,002	211,970,371	2.02	14
2000	1,933,861	111%	1,018,601	208,938,698	0.93	16

* estimate
** Internet User = individual who can access the Internet at home, via any device type and connection.
Source: *Internet Live Stats* (www.InternetLiveStats.com)

Elaboration of data by *International Telecommunication Union (ITU), World Bank, and United Nations Population Division.*

Furthermore, from this data, internet users are the youth aged between 13 and 24 that dominate for about 77 percent of all internet users in Indonesia. They are really keen in connecting themselves to internet

when and wherever they can. Here, Statista.com mentions that Indonesian youth internet users for about 69 percent in their survey give a statement that "... they would feel lost if they couldn't connect to social media" (www.statista.com). Specifically, internet users in Indonesia spend an average of more than five hours per day online and almost 50 percent of this time is used on social media especially Facebook with 48 million registered users in Indonesia (www.statista.com). It is also confirmed by the Communication Ministry in Indonesia stated that "... based on TNS research, Indonesia is the world's second largest number of Facebook users and the third-largest number of Twitter users (www.mediaindonesia.com). In short, youth is the largest internet users in Indonesia and thus it is a major target of market in Indonesia, including for the flood of information would go to these youth people.

At this point, internet users in Indonesia are really keen to use social media. It is confirmed by the data from eMarketer.com in 2015 which shows that more than 8 internet users utilize social networks from 10 internet users, so it means that more than 80 percent internet users in Indonesia are familiar to social networks. This percentage of using social media is bigger than internet users for accessing news of information by only more than 60 percent. In detail we can see internet activities of Indonesian people in 2015 based on a survey as shown in table 2. bellow:

Table 2. Internet Activities conducted by Internet Users in Indonesia, February 2015

No.	Internet Activities	Percentage of Respondents
1	Use social network	87.4
2	Look for info/search/browse	68.7
3	Instant messaging	59.9
4	Latest news	59.7
5	Video streaming download/upload video	27.3
6	Email	25.4
7	Buy and sell online	11.0
8	Online game/video call	10.1
9	Online forum/online communications	4.3
10	Bank transactions	4.2
11	VoIP	3.5
12	Personal blog	3.2
13	File sharing	1.9
14	Personal website	0.8
15	Distance learning	0.8

Note: n =2,000 ages 18-65; includes mobile devices
Source: *Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia* (APJII), Indonesia

Internet Profile and Usage 2014 in collaboration with University of Indonesia Communication Studies Center (PUSKAKOM), May 15, 2015, www.eMarketer.com

Beside connecting with social media and look for information or searching and browsing, internet users in Indonesia are likely to utilize instant messaging and need to get the latest news each for almost 60 percent. However, Indonesian internet users are rarely to download or upload video in internet by only 27 percent. It seems the reason behind they rarely download or upload video is because the connection speed is considered relatively slow, so that it takes time in downloading or uploading video. Because of a slow and consume time, it cost more internet data quota and money for downloading or and uploading video. Moreover, Merlyna Lim also analyzed that most of internet users in Indonesia in post reform period are using *warnet*, a popular internet cafe' model in Indonesia with more than 5,000 *warnets*, which gives a more affordable cost in utilizing internet ranging from US$ 0.1 to US$2 per hour (Lim, 2011: 5). Therefore, it is no surprise that more than 70 percent internet users in Indonesia are reluctant in downloading or uploading video because not only internet speed is relatively slow, but also consuming more money because of internet users in Indonesia are likely accessing internet through *warnets*.

Within these more spaces and `channels through internet, student organization found its ways in post reform period, through internet, as cyberspaces for the them in expanding their activities magnitude so that the effects of it would acknowledge them and provide opportunities for activists in promoting their campaign for influencing policy makers in certain issues so that the policy makers in local, national and even globally would aware on certain situation and certain issues that need to be solved by the policy makers at all level. One of the student organizations that utilized cyberspace, the internet, is a student organization called Bhinneka Ceria that was established in 2010 in Purwokerto, Central Java.

Bhinneka Ceria is a youth organization with various backgrounds of their member and even more their organizers. Most of them are university students and some of them are teachers in elementary and junior high schools in Purwokerto. This organization is deploying a voluntary system by recruiting more members through youth interests like travelling in a group that makes them interact more intensive. These university students acted as organizers came from various but limited background that is social and politics. For example, the chief of Bhinneka Ceria is a student of Political Science at the same time active as an activist of Islamic Student Association (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*, HMI). Another organizer came from a National Student Front (*Front Mahasiswa Nasional*, FMN) activist and also as a student of Sociology,

Akbar Restu Fauzi. These two activists are the window of Bhinneka Ceria organization that is fluid and diverse in nature.

Through their website and their social media like Facebook, they are aimed at empowering society especially in grassroots level. In empowering society, they create three main areas, which are:

1. Create an improvement on volunteers' capacity of Bhinneka Ceria.
2. Build more library and information facilities in village level.
3. Create alternative education for those children communities.
4. Assist village development and its potential management.
5. Create a civic and political engagement for youth in village and as citizen youth in village could create their own organization in sub-village level (www.bhinnekaceria.com).

These purposes are closely related with their missions where they want to uphold some values as their priority, which generally related to human rights and roles of youth, in detail the values, are:

1. Promote *Pancasila*, as Indonesian fundamental values, in cooperation spirit.
2. Promote education for all people.
3. Promote villagers rights
4. Promote the role of youth in community development; and
5. Promote the struggle in order to create a welfare and just society (www.bhinnekaceria.com).

As we can study from their missions, they are focusing on human right issue for villagers, which is the current public attention because of the implementation of Village policy No. 6/2014.

Taking into account, Bhinneka Ceria organization's characteristic of fluid and diverse that differentiated student organizations today were formed in organizational practices. Seeing from their organizational structure, activities and their engagement with other organizations in their social media and website, Bhinneka Ceria is having a very slim organizational structure by only 6 students' organizers. It is different with the intra or even extra-campus organizations that are far larger in organizational structure. Furthermore, Bhinneka Ceria youth organization also has no official membership and being more open to new community member everywhere they are. The Bhinneka Ceria organization stated in their website and social media that anyone can join the organization even in other region can create exactly the same organization without making the Bhinneka Ceria in Purwokerto as the center of the new movement in other regions (www.bhinnekaceria.com) as we can see in figure 1. bellow:

**Figure 1.** An F.A.Q. of Bhinneka Ceria that is fluid, open and no rigid structure
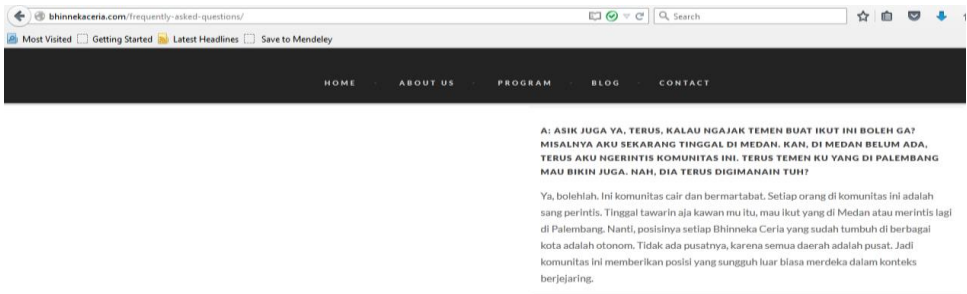
It is a glaring different between Bhinneka Ceria organization with intra or extra-campus youth organizations in term of member recruitment where the intra and extra campus student organization would select tightly for member candidates. These member candidates would go through a selective recruitment processes and new member would also get an official membership.

More importantly, Bhinneka Ceria is having value added in their networking. They can engage with other organizations, communities or individuals through their new media as their place and free spaces in collaborating in joining Bhinneka Ceria programs. At this point, it is the role of new media that is crucial in the development of Bhinneka Ceria organization network. Since Bhinneka Cerita established in 2010, they are utilizing new media as their main media for socializing their program and embracing their political and civic engagement. As one of organizers stated in an interview that the new media is the first media they use and they are taking benefits for these new media in attracting other parties, including potential volunteers and partners in joining Bhinneka Ceria. It shows that youth organization in post reform era as a civil society organization create networking between organizations and individuals in society and contribute in voicing the voices in grassroots level and moreover their existence could encourage more socio-political changes in grassroots level.

At this point, the recognition from the government remain low toward the existence such organization. However, seeing from Bninneka Ceria website, at least the Minitry of Social Affairs and previously as the Ministry of Women's Empowerment gave her testimonial, which stated that, "Bhinneka Ceria should not be die, this school should grow bigger and should exist everywhere, the youth who would like to change this country should work together!" (www.bhinnekaceria.com: homepage) as we can see in figure 2.

Figure 2. A Testimonial from the Ministry of Social Affairs for Bhinneka Ceria
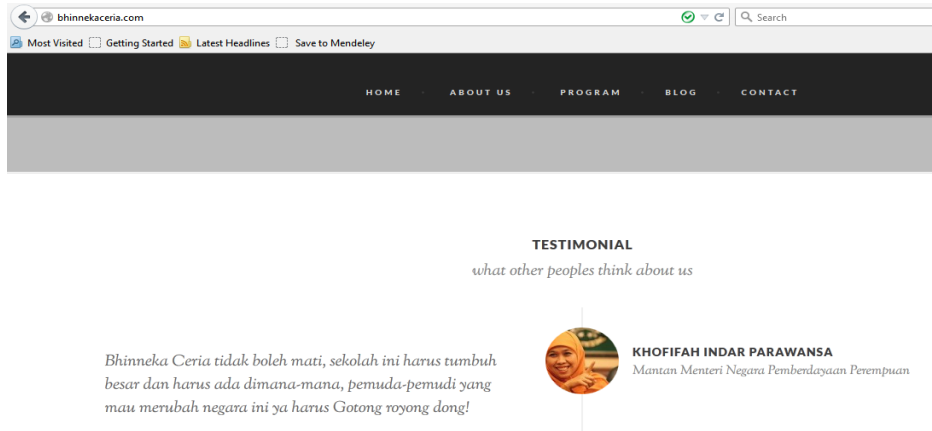
CONCLUSIONS

The existence of youth organizations in post reform period is flourishing and a new type of youth organization, other than intra and extra-campuses student and or youth organizations, is relieving because now youth and students have more option and new place in filling the open spaces after the reform era. The existence of Bhinneka Ceria as a post reform period youth organization is becoming a place for various youth with various background and attribute in collaborating in a community in upholding human right through empowerment in grassroots level. Their campaign through social media is a perfect place to start their networking because they could expand their movements to everywhere and to anyone they like to engage. At this point, youth who involve in this fluid and inclusive organization experienced civic and political engagement and thus, it can create more active citizens in Indonesia and even more democratization.

However, it doesn't mean that they are not facing challenges. Some challenges arise such as capacity of members and organizers, organization sustainability, and new media management are some crucial issues for themselves to be solved and it is an idea for further research from this preliminary research.

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