

Kampung Youth and Governmentality in Ternate Town, North Maluku

ABSTRACT

This article shows that youths engage in the cultural dynamic of governmentality in Indonesia, particularly through their involvement in youth organization. Practically, the state power at local level is channeled through youth organizations, and not through direct power relation. Through a case of kampung youth in Ternate, this article shows how the agency of youth is manifested through constant negotiation, which resulting in a sort of discourse struggle and territorial interest.

Keywords: Pemuda, Kampung, KNPI, organization, Governmentality, Ternate

ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini menunjukkan bahwa kaum muda terlibat dalam budaya pengaturan yang sangat dinamis di Indonesia, yang berlangsung terutama melalui organisasi kepemudaan. Dalam praktiknya, kekuasaan negara di tingkat lokal disalurkan melalui organisasi pemuda dan tidak melalui suatu relasi kuasa yang bercorak langsung. Kasus pemuda kampung di Ternate merupakan sebuah contoh bagaimana agensi kaum muda diwujudkan melalui negosiasi terus-menerus, yang hasilnya lebih banyak berupa perebutan wacana dan kepentingan teritori.

Kata-kata Kunci: Pemuda, Kampung, KNPI, organisasi, Pemerintahan, Ternate

Introduction

This paper intends to contribute to an understanding of organizational dimension of young people's life and the ways of the youths connecting themselves to the local state. I argue that by using organizations, young people in urban Ternate have an adequate power to interact and negotiate with the larger society, including the state's agencies, elite groups and other organizations at the local level that have particular interests in 'capturing' youth, both for the purposes of control and mobilization.

I argue that the more organized a youth group is, the easier it becomes for the state to govern them. This is attributable to a consideration that young people achieve or develop

self-regulation which is mostly articulated through an organization. In other words, young people are governing themselves through their associations together with any kind of group knowledge and routines. The kind of *organizational attitude* of youth is interesting to investigate because that factor will provide a dynamic ground upon which youths experience strategic relationships with the state on the one hand, and the ability of the state to approach youths' governed (group) attitude on the other. This is critical in order to recognize the Indonesian state's discourse toward youth groups; the state has a strong self-claim as an agent that determines the standard, rational efforts and even ideal values of the well-being of its citizens.

The state often acts as a dominant force that gives one-sided definitions of social values suitable for its citizens which includes youths. As part of its many roles, the state has been producing a number of “visible technics” in governing young people. One of them is by legitimizing a particular youth organization that is virtually subsidized by the state, called the KNPI. Applying Foucault’s perspective, it can be said that KNPI has a double-edge governing device: technical organization and knowledge of operations (Inda, 2005).

In Ternate, as elsewhere in Indonesian towns, there is a common perception that youth is an agent of political and cultural change. This may be true to a certain extent but not as simple as it seems. Youth studies have indicated the role of the state in mediating youth participation in public affairs and in civic engagements (Hodkinson & Deicke, 2007; Vinken 2005; Brown, 2002; Wyn and White, 1997). In addition, existing literature places emphasis on youth culture and transition from school to work (Ansell, 2005), but attention on the organizational dimension of youth life has been a neglected phenomenon. Therefore, there is a need to investigate how young people at the local level form their collective interests and come up with strategies to negotiate with or refuse state hegemony by using youth organizations.

Kampung youth in Ternate town, known as the *Pemuda Kampung* (hereafter the *PK*), present themselves as a powerful group in negotiating or rejecting local state penetrations. In recent years, the *PK* had demonstrated the power to reject any penetration from the local state agencies. This kind of power is partly derived from the ability of kampung youth organizations in claiming their authority within kampung activities as well as their right as free citizens to get services from the state. And more importantly, the *PK* is the only youth organization that has a very strong claim on territory, which is the kampung itself. This claim is commonly acknowledged by the community. The *PK* also has a broader

position in terms of its political power in Ternate. The local state elites and political groups also tried to engage with kampung youth organizations as a practical way to gain support and to control voters and thus bolster their popularity and political interests, for example in local or national elections.

Governmentality is relevant to be re-examined in the matter of youth lives since the practice of power through particular discourses, resources, relations and rational efforts (development), forms of social control (territories, organization and policy) and new knowledge (civic participations, habits of group) are influencing young people’s life (Inda, 2005; Huxley, 2007; Bröckling, et.al, 2011). In fact this is an emerging context in contemporary Indonesia that was partly triggered by the realisation of the ‘decentralization’ policy where a sphere of state-society relations is more open and well-articulated, generally performed through social organizations (Nordholt & Klinken, 2007).

For the youth, organizations not only represent particular ideas or interests, but also relate to a contextual need to find a new source of legitimacy such as spatial identity or traditional legacy. The phenomenon of social and spatial claims as organized by the kampung youth in Ternate town can be a good illustration to explain the layers of mechanism and context that made governmentality practices become culturally and politically ‘actual’ things. However, this has a limitation depending on particular contexts, which is, in the context of this study, the production of organization.

Kampung: A Socio-Historical Overview

Urban kampung in Indonesia is a dynamic node for aspiration and practices for young people. It has a place where modernity and global cultures are actively translated on a daily basis (Nas, 2008; Guinness, 2009: 117).

And related to this condition, civic space can be established based on a collective attitude and intension of occupying place-making processes and arenas of civic participation in developing cities (Daniere & Douglass, 2009). This kind of space is strongly demanded by young people in a small provincial town like Ternate.

The characteristic of Ternate town lies on its status as coastal town surrounded by abundant historical sites such as fortress and old house quarters (for Chinese, Arabs, etc.) with long beach and mosques as town landmark. However, public sphere which is used as a main quarter for youths, specifically, and locals' activities in general has shifted seriously. Along 3 KM from coastal line now have been occupied by huge buildings which will be shifted to shopping centres, hotel Boulevard, and big mosque of Ternatan (*Al-Munawwarah*).

The recognition of youth at kampung level is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia. During the New Order regime, every kampung already had a youth section, called *Karang Taruna* that was established by the government in order to assist young people in their routine and occasional gatherings (Guinness, 2009: 121-122). The government also established a number of state-youth organizations. In fact, in the 1990s, youth activities in Ternate were without a political significance; they had leadership but without membership (Kiem, 1993: 175-198).

In this paper, kampung refers to the location of residential in Ternate and Ternatans have a specific name and meaning for it. In another context, kampung also refers to an identity which is an effect when social tension or competition arises among kampung residents for example during soccer matches. As a symbol of territorial identity, kampung relates to a unifying symbol among residents during conflicts, since inter-kampung youth fights have occurred many times before. In the eyes of government officers, kampung is

an official administrative unit, under the sub-district authority, called *kelurahan*.

However, an understanding about kampung among youth groups is more than just an administrative category. It has a special meaning because it is a marker of certain (collective) identity. There is a strong need by the youth groups to be associated with them based on their kampung origin, since Ternatan youth is commonly to labeling their fellow youth by asking their kampung origin (*ngana tinggal di mana*). By mentioning a kampung, then a sense of identity or solidarity which is based on the territory of kampung is represented with all the social memories stick in it.

Kampung is also an area with physical boundaries within which hundreds or thousands of households function as a social arena where people construct their everyday interactions. In Ternate, almost everyone acknowledges that they live in a kampung. They are easy to say we live in the Kampung Pisang or in Kampung Makassar, for example. In fact, these kampung are very close to downtown Gamalama, the location where all the symbols of the city are scattered –i.e. malls, shopping centers, restaurants–. Thus the sense of kampung is a very relative image in Ternate. It was not something that should be identical to images of poverty, lower class community or slum community. Kampung is more than just a social site that has been embedded socially in the lives of Ternatans. However, kampung is not a definite category where lower middle-class groups are settled in.

It is difficult to say in a strict way that the kampung is identical with the compound of the lower class, because almost in every kampung there are people who have a high employment status with a particular social prestige, such as bureaucrats, parliamentarians, businessmen or civil servants. But, in the same location of kampung there are also those who work as *ojeg* drivers, informal traders and shopping workers. Of course they are differ in terms of properties such as the size

and style of their homes. But, in everyday interactions, there is almost no rigid friction between social classes in Ternate. I witnessed that the identity of the kampung itself became a strong bond between community groups in many kampung. The feeling of man of kampung (*orang kampung sini*) is profoundly mentioned in many occasions.

Ternatan Kampung Youth: Between The North and The South

Generally speaking, Ternate has a typical urban structure which is the kampong solidity and people pride on their kampong identity; and in a more open context, the town has a spatial division, i.e. “north” and “south”. This socio-spatial division has started since the colonial era and is remained now rooted into collective memory of the Ternatan people. Communal conflict in 1999, local election contestation (*Pilkada*) and daily lives characteristics of Ternatan confirm this spatial and socio-cultural division between “north” and “south” (see: Claire, 2009; Bubandt, 2004).

Ternate town has 17 kampung and home for kampung youth organizations. Every kampong has its local youth organizations which have various names. The *Pemuda Kampung* (PK) is a semi-formal organization which eventually became the medium for government intervention or the implementation of state-sponsored programs, for instance activities carried by the neighborhood or the municipal government. Institutionally, “Pemuda kampong” organizations were mainly important in the context of keeping the pace of kampong and local stability.¹ Therefore, they were

always invited to every meeting at the neighborhood hall and they also had special authority in conveying their ideas and even to deny the meeting’s decisions.

In many of the interviews I conducted in kampongs in northern Ternate (Dufa-Dufa, Kampung Makassar), the middle part (Santiong and Kampung Pisang) as well as the southern part of Ternate (Toboko and Bastiong) the term “*pemuda kampung*” often emerges. And yet the term seems to refer to two understandings: on the one hand it refers to a general identity of kampong youth—the local youth mostly name themselves as “*anak kampong/the kampung boy*” and the word “*pemuda*” is not commonly used in their daily language. For instance, when I was with Rudi (23) and his friends in Kampung Toboko, a young man passed by in front of Rudi’s house then I suddenly asked “who is he?,” Rudi replied “he’s a kampung boy around” (*Dia anak kampong sini*). The same pattern appears during a soccer play, most of them called the game as “locally managed by the local boys in the kampong” (*Itu anak kampong yang bikin*).

highlighted by *Malut Post* quite often. The conflict usually started out by some young men went out to the fiestas, sometimes known as “youth party” (*pesta muda-mudi*), during the party people might have fierce debate caused by unclear reason, or some bad comments on one’s clothes, or about one’s girlfriend, etc. In February 2008, there was a big fight in kampong Maliaro (southern Ternate). It was a Saturday’s night party where most of the people were drunk. The fight was quite serious because five people had hospitalized. In this context, the leader of kampung youth organization and the head of kampong authority (*lurah*) are always playing important role as a problem-solver. Recently, fight between the kampungs youth re-ferment in Ternate in 9 July, 2011. For almost two weeks a local media, *Malut Posts*, reported how a chaotic atmosphere occurred in Ternate, although local governments and police has been trying to reduce the anger between kampong Mangga Dua and Ubo-Ubo in southern Ternate. It has been recorded one death and several injuries in this kampong youth conflict. As expressed by local police and several witnesses, the conflict between two kampungs was triggered by the youth groups who are drunk at the weekend (*Malut Post*, 11-14 July 2011).

1 Unfortunately, I often heard about fighting happened between kampong in 2008. In the evening, usually there were some young men gathering and having beer (*minuman keras/miras*) together. As far as I know beers, called *cap tikus* in Ternate mostly came from Manado (North Sulawesi) and entered Ternate by ship. This issue had been

On the other hand the slippage from ‘anak kampung’ to ‘pemuda kampung’ seems to occur. ‘Pemuda kampung’ often refers more to the organization of kampung youth. Therefore one can easily hear of *pemuda Makassar*, *pemuda Bastiong*, etc. In general, some of the youth I interviewed state that the term *pemuda kampung* has been used for sometime and it was not created by the KNPI. However in the process, the KNPI seems to have popularized the usage within its own activities targeted towards the kampung youth.

Socially, kampung youth have been actively involved in the informal economy and leisure gatherings. In general, their jobs are quite gendered because there is an explicit division that young men are dominantly working in the *ojeg* industry, printing shops, arts groups, handicraftsman, repair stations, furniture groceries and some in fishing companies and other services. As for young women, they are mostly working in a family business such as food sellers or as a waiter in restaurants, cell-phone sellers, or as sales girls in some companies in Ternate malls.

North–South Division

Based on my observations in 2008 and 2010, kampung youth in southern Ternate are very familiar with informal business life, for example selling cell-phone vouchers, working as waiters, or cashiers in shopping centers, and for young men in particular, working as *ojeg* drivers and automotive repairs are very popular. Another feature of southern youth was their familiarity about leisure gatherings such as hanging out in boulevards, drinking in cafés, internet chatting, going to music shops, and other shops for youth accessories. This kind of place is mainly located in the central and southern parts of Ternate which provide a space of experiencing a youthful life that is still problematic among Ternatan youth who live in the north. Their social and economic backgrounds have been affecting their responses to this new social landscape

of Ternate. In contrast, youth who live in the south area of the town have the necessary social infrastructure to be involved in the new global-culture where life style in terms of fashion, eating, entertainment, drinking, sport and even language are accessible and suitable to them.

Spatially, the central and southern part of Ternate is a place for business and inter-island transportation. The population is quite crowded especially along seaside areas, and inhabitants are more heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity and religion. For migrants, living in downtown or in the south is more profitable because they can find opportunities to sell goods or offer services. On the cultural level, there is a regular inter-ethnic interaction and encounters being experienced and negotiated in the southern part of the town rather than in the north. That’s why this area has been called by people in the north as an area of migrants (*pendatang*) and they are not ‘pure’ Ternatan, partly because the practice of Ternate-Malay language was largely used in this area.

Cultural claim is also a crucial factor for youth in the north. There is a very strong respect for local rituals – which is a significant symbol of Ternatan identity. Many local mysticisms and customary rituals are sustained discussed, including sacred places in surrounding Ternate Island (Kiem, 1993). Respect for the Sultan for instance, is a definite attitude for people in the north. Sometimes this becomes very emotional and can have serious social and political effects, for example in political arenas. When the Sultan’s candidate was defeated after the 2005 mayor’s election, young people in the north did not welcome and the new elected mayor of Ternate, including his supporters like KNPI since it was perceived as part of the mayor circles (Claire, 2009). So their criticism is not without reason. It was a reflection of their traditional loyalty to the Sultan.²

² Generally, youths in the northern Ternate have a homogeneous political orientation. This has a cultural root in terms of respect for authority and adherence

In the next section I would like to focus on interactions and tensions between the PK and KNPI. I will combine a discussion between personal points of view of kampung youth by choosing some quotations which I think represent the notion of tensions that are based on a micro level of interests. It is not a fair approach to only collect information at the organizational level of PK because it is over represented by its leader rather than its members. It is the same case with KNPI. Its chairman is a dominant person who is in charge of constructing KNPI's narrative and its intentions in Ternate.

KNPI: Its Organizational Claim and Class Culture

KNPI was established based on a national *Youth Declaration* on July 23, 1973. In the KNPI's constitution, it was described that the status of this organization is an assembly place for all Indonesian youth organizations. In carrying out its activities, KNPI is functioned as an open and independent organization. Having read the constitution of KNPI, it is very clear that the KNPI is strongly reinforcing the narratives of Indonesian nationalism, the unity of the nation-state ideology as well as Indonesia's development agendas. In this regards, KNPI is claiming itself as a national youth assembly. Up to now KNPI has been organized over 75 youth organizations at national level, including 9 youth organizations of political parties and have a network across the province and regency /city, down to district level.³

to political directions from Sultan of Ternate, which is usually noticeable during political rallies and the local legislative or mayoral elections. In my view, this traditional observance will have a change in the long run because a new generation of northern Ternatan's youth has emerged as symbolized by their participation in student organizations and other kinds of hobby-based associations.

3 http://knpi.net/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=79&Itemid=1 (retrieved on July 10, 2011)

It is important to emphasize that the basis of youth governing is also related to social class production that is perceived and projected by kampung youths and the KNPI. Although the territory of kampung functions as the boulder of Ternatan youth, it is impossible to deny that KNPI activists have achieved a higher social class than kampung youth groups. Since 2009 Ternate has developed new spaces for social gatherings (shopping centers and entertainment areas) which were to serve the emerging middle class in Ternate town and the surrounding islands.

As a result of adjusting to a new urban habit of social gathering, there are life style and consumption challenges for the local youth. It is not easy to be able to involve in this new space of life where money, style of clothing and even language are practically required. This may explain why markets in a small place like Ternate produce strong social and cultural struggles of local society, mainly brought on by the youth.

KNPI board members have different habits with kampung youth groups. In terms of place, KNPI activists are familiar with a place where style and self-image is important. Café and malls are their favorite place to meet and chat. They can make an appointment with their friends or usually politicians, businessmen and senior bureaucrats in cafés or hotels.⁴

Place in urban context is also a marker of groups and social class where membership and styles are crucial points both for lower-class and middle-class youth (Brake, 1985; Jeffrey, 2010). Places of gatherings or hang-outs

4 There no surprising because Ternate has a collection of new modest hotel and cafes since 2005 and just recently (2010) this town has a new shopping center at seaside area of downtown Gamalama. These places are triggering on how local people realize their mobility and options of gatherings for such pleasure. In contrast, 'pure' kampung youth are likely to stay within their kampung. While other youth groups have been recognized places like downtown Gamalama, or *sweering* shore as a particular place of social life in Ternate.

become a node of aspirations and practices for young people, either kampong youth or middle-class youth who have symbolic and financial resources to buy certain style and taste. Ternatan youth are not an exception in this venture but they have a different notion of cultural adjustment and imaginaries in which tensions are negotiated and navigated.

Since place is related to certain constructed and imagined identity, it is also important to note what kind of place practices KNPI activists utilize and experience. I have attended KNPI gatherings many times, and almost all venues that they use are cafés, hotels and government aula, and very rarely utilize campus auditorium or kampong fields except for kampong gatherings. The KNPI's routine meetings are also held in their rented secretariat office. For personal options, especially the chairman of KNPI and his fellows, he is very familiar with mall cafes, so I had a number of meetings with him in cafes, in a traditional restaurant and in *Kie Raha* soccer stadium of Ternate.

In this context, middle class culture among Ternatan youth is created mostly by the youth activists who are involved in KNPI and some student organizations. Class becomes a real practice among Ternatan youth, consciously or unconsciously, because it constitutes a certain function to their life. Supported by facilities and funds by the local government, KNPI is forming itself as middle class youth organization that has been tried to hegemonize the other youth organization. This phenomenon is relevant to the understanding that class is never an easy entity. It was experienced by the people who share the same interests and social experience, tradition, and value-system. Class exists in a relationship and social role (Thomson, 1995: 130-133). However, in a society where class distinction is quite distorted, self orientation and role is the real sign of class although without a strong class consciousness.

Ridwan (30), a member of KNPI board, insists:

“Ternate is a small town, quite hot and noisy. So if we have to find fresh ideas in a nice atmosphere, we can go to mall cafés or in hotel lounges. I like there just because of its environment and services. And I fell it is not so expensive too, so for five people we just spent perhaps 100 or 200 thousand rupiah. And for food, I'm basically like to eat traditional foods and very easy to find them at Gamalama market. It is very cheap but healthy, and at the same time we support our informal economy...”

This phenomenon is not so specific. This is a common feature of Indonesian youth organizations, especially for a state-subsidized organization like KNPI. There is no doubt that they represent elite group that have connections to the capital and state facilities. KNPI is an elite youth organization that represents young people with college education. Generally, they are between 22 and 40 years of age. Most of KNPI board members in Ternate are former student activists, dominated by the HMI, although some of them are recruited from political party's youth organization and other came from business groups.

The activists of kampong youth organizations are not likely to be on the KNPI's board, partly because the PK organization is institutionally not part of the KNPI's member. From KNPI's point of view, kampong youth is the KNPI's partner in some of its programs. This is a very vague claim among KNPI's board about kampong youth. In fact, both bodies have their power and characteristics and their relationship has seen ups and down, depending on what kind of interests that are projected, agreed and shared.

For KNPI activists, organizational experience is important because in order to support elite interest one must be familiar with how to organize people, to create public issues and to attract public events, to persuade mass media

and to mobilize popular voters to some extent. KNPI had this ability but has a significant limitation, spatially and politically. This key argument will be discussed in the following pages.

KNPI: Its Images and Narrative

KNPI in Ternate is a youth organization which was relatively active in promoting the role of kampung youth. When I was in the field (2008 and 2010), the chairman of KNPI Ternate was Asgar Shaleh. He was a former radio journalist who graduated from Pattimura University, Ambon (Central Maluku). He also was known as one of those in the “inner circle” of the mayor of Ternate, Syamsir Andili (2005-2010).

Asgar Saleh’s claims about organization and its management were noticeably progressive. His concern among others was about the importance of the local youth in public affairs. He was also a strong-minded person and had a stance when dealing with local businessmen who were ignorant to their social responsibilities for the local community, particularly in providing job opportunities for the jobless youth in Ternate.

Asgar Saleh might be known as the leading promoter for the youth in town as he was often involved in many activities organized by KNPI. Most of the activities are financially supported by the municipal government through its “Division of Youth and Sports Affairs” (*Dinas Pemuda dan Olahraga*). This is a common issue because KNPI is a semi-state youth organization so it has a portion of the region’s budget allocation.

Formally, KNPI has become the symbol of an ‘assembly place’ (*wadah berhimpun*) for all youth organizations in Indonesia. This practice has been sustained since the New Order where at that time the government possessed a strong influence to control and provide facility to these organizations as members of KNPI. Indeed, for Ternate, KNPI

was an effectual tool in bridging the interest of local government and the youth organizations.

Asgar Saleh has repeatedly said that:

“Ternate is a town for every one. The youth should understand this thoroughly if they would like to participate in the town development...”

In fact, KNPI can not control all the youth organizations in Ternate, because the local organizations, specifically kampung youth organization, have a close social bond with the kampung and embedded in the idea of such *territorial belonging*. This emotional sentiment, however, seems to have existed long before the KNPI’s efforts to engage them in activities jointly created by KNPI and the local government. Furthermore, there are some characteristics which make KNPI quite different from the local organizations in the nature of their membership: KNPI members are educated people and have a strong network with the state. It makes KNPI rather similar to the youth organizations that are affiliated to political parties, religion, or student organizations.

KNPI was relatively active in organizing discussions on local politics with topics about youth leadership and youth participation in Ternate town development. For example, KNPI organized a committee for the dissemination of information about the Town Bill on “trash management” (*Perda Pengelolaan sampah*) in 2008. The KNPI organized hundreds of kampung youth and students to be involved in a campaign to clean the city. They were asked to disseminate flyers in the bus and transport terminals and main streets. The flyers were about how to increase people’s awareness of cleanliness and litter control in the streets, rivers, beaches, and settlement compounds. Although this idea was creative, the activity was not included as the city’s regular event and even looked like lip service being paid by the city authorities. On the other hand, this allowed KNPI to strengthen its reputation and supremacy as an influential organization.

Above all, an element of ‘power game’ in youth life has a strong relation to such organizational position where KNPI is a problematic example of it. Such unremitting efforts are needed by its chairman and board members in order to maintain their legitimacy in a timid space because there is a tendency of refusing KNPI’s influences by kampung youth organizations and to some extent by student organizations.

It is quite clear the chairman of KNPI is exploiting the narrative of ‘kampung ties’ in order to maintain his image and legitimacy. In occasions, he is always trying to reinforce and to personalize rhetorically the issue of kampung youth.

The chairman of KNPI Ternate in 2008 said:

“I am not so different with others. I know this position, as KNPI leader, is not a permanent one and I had a very strong sense with my kampung. No doubt about it... I live in kampung. Every night I sleep in kampung. I had good occasions with my ojeg friends, and I like to sit with them in kampung. But I (am) aware that I do not play soccer with them every day because I have other activities and also if I play there every day then it means that I sabotage their opportunity to play the game, because there are so many boys who need to play. I prefer to ask former players of Persiter (a regional soccer club of Ternate) to play a friendly match in Kier Raha Stadium. Some times we play with journalist teams or police teams and with government officers’ teams. But I did this kind of new friendship without consent of elitism...”

Getting a leadership position in a youth organization has both images and impetus. What has been happened to the chairman of KNPI Ternate, as he expressed above, illustrated a kind of behavior of producing “tricks” by empathizing the kampung life and personalizing his emotional ties to it in order to respond the new pragmatic demands and class

perceptions by youth groups that surround his position and roles. One of his priorities is to build an image of his attachments to his kampung and his fellow kampung youths. The chairman of KNPI always tries to be as close as he can to the kampung in order to attract attention and maintain legitimacy.

The chairman of KNPI continues his personal rhetoric:

“I’m aware, of course, that as a chairman of KNPI there is a kind of perception that I have amount of money, so usually kampung boys (anak-anak kampung) asking me for money if they have a gathering in kampung, or even student organizations, for example music band competitions, soccer cup, etc. I had a lot challenge in this regards because I had also a big family who need my financial support and care. This time is very dilemmatic for me because I’m a parliament member, so people feel that I have a lot of money and facilities, particularly because people know that I have to go to Jakarta many times. It was very problematic. People should know that I do not have luxury facilities, including car and house. I’m still collecting money for it. I had a business but it is not so big. I spent a years of my time as radio journalist, and because I think I have a chance to lead KNPI so then I run for this organization. And no secret that I’m a politician, but I never use KNPI to serve my political interest. I had a lot of friend who happily helped my position... But, you know, it is difficult to make happy for everyone...so I think I will take easy my job... Ternate is a very small city, everybody knows each other...”

Transcending a social position of youth in urban Ternate requires a critical examination. For young people, social position is not a vacuum space that they can be easily produced and maintained. It has been actively situated by the kind of youth aspirations and interest that formed throughout their jobs, everyday leisure activities, group affiliations or organizations and even rebellious attitudes.

Above all, I argue that *PK's* power both in negotiating and refusing local state penetrations was shaped by the *PK's* characteristic as *place-based organization* as well as their ability to obtain their own resources, legitimacy and leadership to perform their interests. But certainly this process is not something static because the condition inside the kampong itself is increasingly heterogeneous in recent years. And clearly the kampong youth is a key actor in neighborhood politics that shaped urban kampong life and also reinforced its interest when it interacts with the local state or other interest groups.

Routine practices of youths at practical levels (kampong encounters) and the discursive domain (to be part of the town development) have been situated particularly by the state and local patrons, including youth organizations. Therefore collective interests among kampong youth can be formed successfully through organizational relationships where a need for such routine life productions within the kampong and inter-kampong must be maintained. This supports the idea that "routinization of encounters" is the basis of binding process of strengthening the "fixity" of an institution (Giddens, 1984: 72).

Conclusion

This paper has shown that for young people in Ternate, and perhaps elsewhere in Indonesian towns, organization is important. It is not only as a collective vehicle to participate in public affair but also an active arena in making new experiences and life experimentations on power relations. And more importantly, in my view, this was also related to the real textures of agency, where types of negotiation configure the true story of youth agency as a social shifter in the process of social change (Durham, 2004).

It seems that to be young in Ternate means to be a potentially rebellious group to the state. However, this trajectory of youth-

fulness has been facing struggles, and therefore requires certain strategies. Youth studies literature has mentioned that the state plays an important role in providing a space and institutional support for youth participation, but this idealistic task is never fully realized. The state recognizes youth mainly in terms of 'policy object' or as consumer of social services (Wyn & White, 1999: 47-49).

The state's role is partial because the issue of youth should be addressed in the context of citizenship and not just as passive receiver of state services as exemplified by KNPI. The KNPI is an 'instrument' of the state that uses youth power and youth individuals. These individuals are agents of the state since they "work" for the state and as a result are rewarded by the state apparatus or bureaucrats and local politicians. It is clear that there are differences in terms of group interests and priorities between the *PK* and KNPI. But this is not to ignore the fact that there are areas of common or shared interests between both groups from time to time.

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