

INTRODUCTION

The Youth, Peace and Security agenda is the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 2250 established in 2015. This resolution emphasizes the inclusive participation of young people or youth in the establishment and sustaining peace and security for all humans. With the largest youth population in history, it is hoped that this agenda will effectively contribute to the UN peacebuilding mission (UN, 2022). Countries may harness the contributions of young people now and in the future by encouraging their positive participation in peace efforts. Involving their peers, working at the community level, maintaining discourse when others have given up, and bridging gaps in divisive environments are just a few of the ways that youth contribute particularly well to peacebuilding (Ensor, 2021).

In Indonesia, especially in the constitution that was formed before Indonesia's independence (Preamble UUD NKRI 1945), it is very clear that the state is obliged to carry out its various duties and responsibilities, including protecting the entire nation, providing lasting peace and social justice, and actively fighting for the world peace. This is the reason behind Indonesia's involvement in every global agenda, including the Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agenda.

The Indonesian government under Joko Widodo Presidency is known as a government that believes that young people can contribute more to national and world development. This argument is strengthened by the fact that youth development is one of the points discussed in the Jokowi administration's national development agenda (The conversation, 2021). For example, in this administration, digital businesses have emerged with a lot of numbers which are headed by young people and also the most visible is the appointment of 7 special presidential staff of young people at the beginning of Jokowi's second term. As the fourth most populous country in the world, Indonesia has 64.92 million youth or around 23.90% of its total population (Ministry of Finance, 2022). The government are believed that the involvement of youth in those sectors will stimulate the ability of youth to participate in various other development agendas, including peace building (UNFPA, 2018).

On the other hand, based on a report issued by the Office on the High Commissioner of Human Rights, a total of 306,887 civilians were killed between 1 March 2011 - 31 March 2021 alone in the armed conflict in Syria (OHCHR, 2022). This is of course very worrying, considering that armed conflicts also occur in various places in the world, such as Palestine, Yemen, Ukraine and several countries in the Middle East. In addition, the material losses

received are also very large. For example, in 2015, Yemen has lost 25-35 percent of its GDP due to the ongoing conflict (IMF, 2017).

This certainly provides the right reasons for all components of life in the world, including youth to contribute to resolving these conflicts. On various occasions youth are often forgotten in solving problems. Youths are often only given the opportunity to express their opinions without participating in decision-making and real peace-building actions. Youth are often “forgotten”, despite the fact that youth are the ones who will receive the baton for the ongoing world leadership (Ensor, 2021).

This urgency is inversely proportional to the reality on the ground, where Youth, as successor, has very worrying statistics. For Example, in Indonesia, from the total of 64.92 million youth population in Indonesia, there are around 32.41% who do not receive formal education and only 0.65% who are able to continue their education to the tertiary level. With the above realities, the youth will not even be able to contribute to the development of their own country (Coordinating Ministry of Human Development & Culture, 2021). The author sees the Youth, Peace & Security agenda as a clear reminder of how important the role of youth is for now and in the future, not just in the context of peacebuilding missions around the world, but also for the development of their own country in the future, including Indonesia. As stated before, because youth are one of main subjects of development that President Jokowi are focusing on, this paper will focus on analysing the role of Joko Widodo's administration in supporting the Youth, Peace and Security agenda.

The world is starting to see that the contribution and collaboration of all elements of society in creating peace, and youth is also one of the elements needed to achieve this. Through the Youth, Peace and Security agenda (United Nations Security Council 2250), the world then agreed on a commitment to change the mindset of youth, from being victims and perpetrators, to becoming agents of development and positive change (Williams, 2016). With its 5 indicator points (Participation, Protection, Prevention, Partnership and Disengagement & Reintegration), this agenda emphasizes the importance of youth empowerment in order to make them involved in every peacebuilding process around the world. Therefore, it must be understood first that the success or failure of this agenda in each country depends on how the government maximizes the involvement of youth (Oosterom, 2018). However, the author found some challenges for this agenda to be implemented. Oosterom (2018) then delivers some challenges that need to be seen as crucial in implementing the YPS agenda. First, young people often lack the self-confidence to be involved in this agenda for two reasons; The first reason, capabilities and self-quality. This reason is based on the lack of facilities provided for youth to be able to develop

and maximize their potential. The second reason, the high potential risk obtained. Second, on the basis of both legal and sociocultural considerations, they are structurally excluded from the decision-making processes. Instead of having a more powerful political voice, youth participation is sometimes reduced to being consulted as users of important services (Oosterom, 2018). In line with the second point above, Ensor (2021), states that According to recent data, youth believe that peace is completely under the power of elites or governments they don't trust. This is made worse by the fact that the only real avenue for involvement in attempts to promote peace and security is the political realm, which is closed off and distrusted by many young people who have grown up witnessing its inefficiency and corruption. Once again, these challenges make YPS hard to success (Ensor, 2021). Finally, after reading several journals, the author found various discussions regarding the YPS agenda and its implementation in several countries. However, from each of these journals, the author did not find any journals that specifically discussed the implementation of programs by the Indonesian government to support the Youth, Peace and Security agenda. With the considerations above, the authors decided to dig deeper into the study of Indonesia and its support to this agenda under the administration of Joko Widodo. With one big question, *"How the Indonesian government support the Youth, Peace and Security agenda?"*. To answer the big question above, the author will focus on analyzing the Indonesian government's programs and strategies to be able to achieve the 5 indicator points in this Youth, Peace and Security agenda (Participation, Protection, Prevention, Partnership and Disengagement & Reintegration) using qualitative research methods, based on primary data sources (data & reports by the Indonesian government related to this agenda) and secondary data sources (news, journals, articles).

In addition, the author will use the concept of Empowerment theory as a basis to analyze the study case because this concept will be very suitable on the concept of the Youth, Peace and Security agenda which focuses on developing youth in the domestic sphere in order to make them able to actively participate in peacekeeping & peacebuilding operations domestically & internationally. According to Wilkinson (1997), Empowerment is a concept that can be differ depending on whom it is applied. In its development, many scholars have emerged with their own concept of empowerment, and therefore have given rise to various alternatives which then become benchmarks, depending on the context and discussion being raised (Wilkinson, 1997). Jo Rowlands (1998), divides empowerment into 3 different dimensions; First, personal empowerment (Create personal knowledge and self-assurance to overcome oppression), second, relational empowerment (Increasing the capacity to bargain and exert influence over interpersonal decisions), and third, collective empowerment (enhancing

collective action's effectiveness in order to change oppressive social structures). Meanwhile, Rozario (1997) also divides the concept of empowerment theory into two models. The first model is about "To empower the individual, not focus on encouraging collective social action". While the second emphasizes the importance of awareness of strengthening collective action (Melkote & Stevens, 2001).

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

1. The condition of Youth in Indonesia

Regardless many definitions of it, universally the term "youth" does not have its own consensus. Because of this, the terms "youth" and "young people" are used interchangeably in studies conducted around the world. The UN Security Council interprets "Youth" as a form of identity for someone who is in a process of life transition. The transition process above is a process where a human being is experiencing growth in various aspects, especially the capacity of the mind and its position in social life with society. The direction of the transition process for each person also varies depending on the events experienced and the environment in which they live (UNSC, 2018).

From the above studies, the notion of having to facilitate these "youths" development then develops and becomes something that cannot be denied anymore, especially when talking about national development. Humans, especially youth, are one of the subjects in development programs in every country (UNSC, 2019).

In Indonesia, especially in the era of President Joko Widodo, youth are included in various development programs and strategies. The Ministry of National Development Planning / Bappenas (2019), in its report on the Youth Development Index for 2019, said that youth is both an object and a subject of development. From a legal point of view, namely based on Indonesian Law no. 40 in 2009, youth is someone who is in the age range of 18-30 years. Meanwhile, according to data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, Indonesia has around 64.92 million people in that age or around 23.90% of the total population in Indonesia (Coordinating Ministry of Human Development & Culture, 2021).

This demographic advantage should be something positive for Indonesia in its life as a country. However, in various studies conducted, there are still various problems faced by Indonesia in relation to youth. For example, in a study conducted by the Ministry of National Development Planning of the Republic of Indonesia (2019), there were around 23.08% of youth with disabilities who did not receive education. And according to data from the Ministry of Education (2021), Indonesia has approximately 22,085 high school students who drop out of school throughout 2021. Apart from that, there are also other problems such as the youth unemployment rate, both men and women with an average of 13.50% of the youth population in Indonesia. With conditions and problems like these, it is certain that youth will be increasingly excluded from every issue and international affairs, including peace building process (BPS, 2022).

In order to improve the position and quality of Indonesian youth, it is necessary to implement various strategies that will be able to stimulate those goals, such as events, programs and also systems. In this paper, the author will present data containing programs, strategies and results obtained from the implementation of programs and strategies carried out by the government based on the Empowerment concept discussed earlier.

2. Efforts of the Indonesian Government to support the agenda

Youth pledge was the beginning of Indonesian unity before independence. Youth pledge was triggered the unity of a diversity that exists in the Nusantara which originates from the idealism of youth to stop colonialism and bring peace to Indonesia. Youth pledge is a very appropriate example of how important youth is for Indonesia's journey of life as a nation. Therefore, there should be efforts made by Indonesia (government and society) to strengthen the role of youth in every sector of national and international development, including peace building processes.

The Youth, Peace and Security agenda is a form of commitment that is clearly agreed upon by everyone in this world. Through the 5 main points/pillars that are carried out, namely Participation, Protection, Prevention, Partnership and Disengagement & Reintegration, it is hoped that youth will be able to perform optimally to build peace throughout the world. In accordance with the guidelines for the Youth, Peace and Security agenda, the State, in this case the government, is the most important party that must be present in supporting the development of youth's position in peacebuilding. Therefore, this section will specifically discuss the steps, strategies and programs implemented by the Indonesian government, in particular the Joko Widodo administration in supporting the YPS agenda and will then be followed by a discussion regarding the results obtained from the steps, strategies and programs in the next section.

Within 7 years of the adoption of the Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agenda, there have been many programs and efforts carried out by the government, including ministries, ministry-level institutions, and other institutions in Indonesia.

a) Regulations and Systems

In 2017 the Indonesian government through President Joko Widodo issued Presidential Regulation no. 66 of 2017 concerning Cross-Sectoral Strategic Coordination of the Implementation of Youth Services. This regulation encourages state agencies to collaborate in finding various problems faced by youth and encourages the development and improvement of the quality of youth through various national programs, such as joint studies and events that

involve youth directly, including various discussions on peace building and fighting to all forms of violence, terrorism activity and radical ideology (Coordinating Ministry of Human Development & Culture, 2021). This regulation then becomes the written basis that supports all forms of programs organized by the Indonesian government in support of the Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agenda.

In addition, in 2021 the Indonesian government also issue regulations in the form of Presidential Regulation No. 7 of 2021 concerning the National Action Plan for the Prevention and Control of Violent-Based Extremism that Leads to Terrorism (RAN PE). Although it does not only cover youth as the main subject of implementation, RAN PE focuses on developing the capabilities of young people in two competency areas regarding Violent-based extremism and terrorism, such as socialization to increase the awareness civilian including youth about the dangers of radicalism and also socialization to increasing the knowledge about the legal basis that must be known regarding Violent-based extremism and terrorism. The author sees that RAN PE is actually a reference for state institutions and agencies to prevent the spread of radicalism and acts of terrorism. According to a report issued by the Ministry of Communication and Informatics, RAN PE specifically facilitates state institutions to carry out deradicalization of society, especially youth and children who are allegedly exposed to radical ideology (MoFA, 2022).

b) Programs and Events

In line with the national development priority program and the Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agenda, the government is committed to making youth as one of the important objects that should be given more attention to. As a result, with the two legal bases above, the Indonesian government under President Joko Widodo then issued various programs and events to achieve the above goals. According to the Directorate General of Multilateral Cooperation, the field of International Security and Disarmament of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, the Indonesian government has two focuses in supporting the YPS agenda, the first is to focus on building peace (*Bina Damai*) and the second is to focus on fighting terrorism and extremism-based crimes (MoFA, 2022).

Specifically for *Bina Damai*, Indonesia carries out a strategy of engagement with youth communities in conflict areas. Through those communities, the Indonesian government are trying to develop the quality of youths and support the programs run by those communities through morale and material supports. The Indonesian government believes that in order to

prevent young people from becoming victims and being exploited in war, the protection and empowerment of these young people is the main thing that must be fought for (MoFA, 2022).

Second, regarding the focus on countering the terrorisms and extremism-based crimes, the author found that Indonesian government has already conducted several events and programs, through its ministries and ministry-level institutions. First, the ASEAN Youth Interfaith Camp (AYIC) organized by the Ministry of Youth and Sports of the Republic of Indonesia. This activity is a special activity intended for youths from ASEAN member countries, which was initiated by the Ministry of Youth and Sports of the Republic of Indonesia since 2019. In this activity, there was a forum which was attended by youth representatives from all ASEAN member countries. According to a report issued by the Indonesian Ministry of Youth and Sports, the youth were given the opportunity to convey their views to all other participants in the forum and discussed several issues about youth and peace in that forum. It is hoped that the youth will be able to strengthen the unity that exists in the forum, regardless of all the differences that each participant has. Second, *Santri for Peace* and *Duta Damai* to prevent the spread of radical ideology through dialogue between youth, both directly and in the digital world. According to data submitted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia through the Directorate General of Multilateral Cooperation, in the field of International Security and Disarmament, in 2019 there were around 780 youths from 13 provinces who have joined this *Duta Damai* program. Meanwhile, there has been no official report regarding the exact number of youths involved in the *Santri for Peace* program (MoFA, 2022).

In addition, in 2019, when Indonesia became the Presidency of the UN Security Council, with the theme "Investing in Peace", Indonesia has also held several special programs for young people. First, media engagement in the form of media gatherings, social media campaigns, and creating web series to raise awareness about the importance of social media in the success of peace-building missions around the world and provide awareness that youth as the most users should be agents of peace through social media. After that, there is Capacity Building and Training for Trainers whose function is to convey to youth about messages on preventing violent extremism that leads to terrorist activities (MoFA, 2022).

In addition, the government, through the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture, continues to strive to strengthen the position of youth so that they are able to participate in various agendas at every level of life, including becoming agents of peace at the domestic and international levels. Therefore, the government has succeeded in identifying several strategic issues that will be stimulated by various policies to address various problems

faced by youth, namely; strengthening youth capacity in institutional affairs, increasing youth active participation in the social and political fields and preventing all risky behaviour that can be carried out by youth (Coordinating Ministry of Human Development & Culture, 2021). Furthermore, the government continues to carry out various policies to solve various youth problems, starting from increasing education, increasing the number of jobs, improving the quality of health facilities and preventing all forms of violence based on race, class, religion and ethnicity. Once again, although they are not directly related to the issue of youth and peace, these policies are carried out to stimulate various potentials within the youth, including awareness of the importance of peace (Ministry of National Development Planning, 2019).

Apart from the above programs, there have been many other programs held but not recorded in the data that the authors obtained. And because of that, there is no exact figure that can be described about the number of programs that have been held.

3. Results of the Research

In line with one of the points in the National Priority Agenda every year, namely improving the quality of human resources, President Jokowi's administration has made youth as the main subject for the implementation of this priority program. After 2015, the Indonesian government under the administration of Joko Widodo has made many innovations and implemented various programs to achieve its objective.

From those programs, the government, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimated that Indonesian have already obtained many results. For example, after the success of the implementation of Peace Ambassadors which were initially carried out at the national level, the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) then carried out a Regional Workshop which directly discussed the *“Establishing Youth Ambassadors for Peace against Extremism”* which was held in April 2019 and invited 50 youth representatives from ASEAN member countries who are expected to be able to bring messages of peace from the program to their respective countries (MoFA, 2022).

Apart from the government, there are actually various communities and organizations that also support the achievement of the goals of this Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agenda. This can be seen from the birth of various programs from non-governmental organizations and communities based in Indonesia, such as AMAN (Asian Muslim Action Network) Indonesia which organizes Youth4Peace and Dompot Duafa which organizes Youth for Peace camps.

However, despite the reality, that there are many programs have been implemented by the government to make the Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agenda successful, there are no

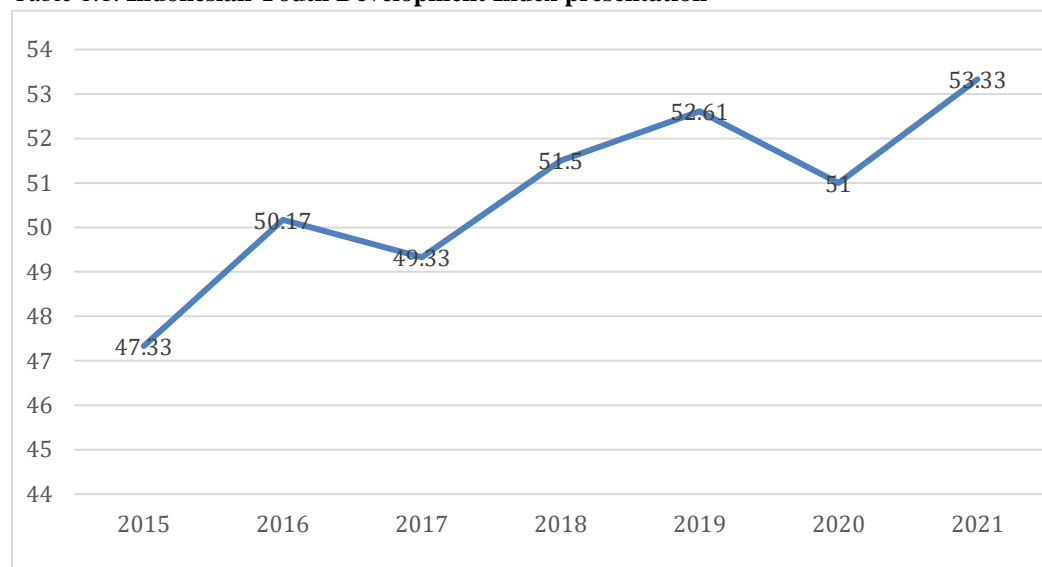
reports and definite numbers on the progress of youth involvement in peace-building missions or in the Movement against terrorism and radicalism since the YPS has been legalized. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, this is because youth participation in peace building processes is usually informal and ad hoc, making it difficult to be recorded. So, until now there is no website or database that records the exact number of youths involved in peace building processes around the world, including in Indonesia (MoFA, 2022).

However, to measure the government's level of success in building youth quality in order to make them able to contribute to the peace building processes, the authors obtained data containing the Indonesian Youth Development Index (YDI) organized by the Ministry of Youth and Sports collaborated with the Ministry of National Development Planning / Bappenas and supported by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). The Youth Development Index is used by the Indonesian government to measure the level of success of the government in its mission to improve the quality of youth throughout Indonesia. Although it does not specifically prove the level of success of the government in strengthening and equipping youth to be involved in peace-building missions, the authors believe that YDI will be able to describe how ready Indonesian youth are to be involved in this process. According to the Ministry of National Development Planning (2019), to develop youth, the government cannot only focus on individual development but must also focus on developing the environment of youths which is a source of life for them. Therefore, youth development must be carried out using various methods and through cross-sectoral aspects, such as Education, Health, Welfare, Employment, Participation, Politics and Gender Equality. So, to improve the quality of youth and get them involved in the peace-building process, the government needs to make development efforts in other sectors to stimulate those goals (MoND, 2019).

The Youth Development Index also used as a basis for the government to determine policy directions and formulate youth development strategies. Various policy makers at the national to the province levels have the responsibility to increase this development index because it has been specifically mandated by Presidential Regulation no. 66 of 2017 concerning Cross-Sectoral Strategic Coordination of Youth Services. YDI is structured based on 5 forming domains, namely the Education domain, the Health and Welfare domain, the Field and Job Opportunity domain, the Participation and Leadership domain, and the Gender and Discrimination domain. The national achievement numbers for the 5 domains above are taken from the domestic achievement numbers for the same 5 domains from each province (Coordinating Ministry of Human Development and Culture, 2021).

In 2016, YDI experienced a significant increase, namely the previous year was in the range of 47.33 to 50.17 points. Then it fell the following year to 49.33 points. In the following two years YDI experienced a very significant increase, where in 2018 it reached 51.5 and in 2019 it reached 52.61 points. Unfortunately, in 2020 YDI dropped to 51 points due to the COVID-19 pandemic which had affected every development sector in almost all countries in the world. YDI then rose significantly again and reached its highest point in 2021 with 53.33 points. The presentation above are indirectly gives great hope about the quality of youth in the future (Ministry of Education, 20216).

Table 1.1. Indonesian Youth Development Index presentation



Source: Ministry of Youth and Sports of the Republic of Indonesia

Although it does not provide a direct description of the results obtained by the Indonesian government after implementing the various programs above, the author strongly believes that this Youth Development Index can be used as a sufficient basis for an argument to say that the quality development of youth by the government is on the right track.

However, to strengthen this paper, the author then adds some evidence in the form of secondary data taken from several news sources about peace in Indonesia, starting from the level of peace in Indonesia, the number of cases of brawls, and the level of tolerance that Indonesian people have. First, according to CNBC, Indonesia is the 4th country with the highest level of peace in Southeast Asia, and is the country with the 42nd highest level of peace in the world. According to this survey, Indonesia is classified as a country that is not peaceful enough due to various mass demonstrations, acts of terrorism and political instability (CNBC, 2022). In addition, according to the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), throughout 2021,

there has been approximately 188 villages where fights occur between students in high school and university students for various reasons, such as family conditions that are not harmonious, emotions that are not yet stable and economic, socio-cultural and poor school environment problems (databoks, 2022). After that, according to Kompas Research and Development, tolerance in Indonesia is still maintained. This was conveyed by 62.2% of the 72.6% of respondents who were questioned (data Indonesia, 2022). This study provides several recommendations to all countries, especially member countries of the security council, as well as related international organizations, non-governmental organizations and all parties who have committed to make UNSCR 2250 successful. First, invest in the capacity and leadership of youth through funding assistance, network building and capacity building program and recognizing the diversity that exists among youth. Second, presenting an inclusive system, which will be able to break the barriers that hold back the increased participation of young people in peace and security missions. Third, implementing collaborative programs and actions where youth are placed as important partners to promote peace (UNSC, 2018).

The author believes that readers will be able to assess the level of achievement of these recommendations from the programs and regulations implemented by Indonesia in the past 6 years. In addition, the achievement of these recommendations can also be seen from the level of achievement of the 5 domains in the Indonesian Youth Development Index (YDI) above.

CONCLUSION

Based on the Indonesian constitution, the state is obliged to participate directly and actively in protecting world peace. Therefore, Indonesia is often involved and loudly supports various international agendas that appear in various international forums, including the Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agenda.

Various policies in the form of events, programs, systems and regulation have been carried out to be able to build and improve the quality of Indonesian youth so that they will be able to participate and even compete directly at the domestic to global level, including contributing to various peace-building processes contained in the YPS agenda. To achieve the 5 YPS indicators (Participation, Protection, Prevention, Partnership and Disengagement & Reintegration), the Indonesian government, through several Ministries and Ministries-level Institution have implemented various programs, such as *Duta Damai* and *Santri for Peace* at the domestic level, as well as initiate several regional programs related to the mission of involving youth in peace-building missions, such as ASEAN Youth Interfaith Camp (AYIC). Each of these programs has been supported by two Presidential Regulations as the legal basis, namely Presidential Regulation no. 66 of 2017 and Presidential Regulation no. 7 of 2021. Furthermore, in accordance with the two Presidential Regulations above, the government also continues to conduct programs to improve the quality of youth in other sectors, such as increasing the number of jobs, try to make an inclusive political and democratic environment, and organize a lot of leadership capacity-building for youth. Steps like this are considered as a tool that will stimulate various potentials that exist within the youth, including interest and commitment to contribute to the peace-building mission.

In the end, unfortunately there has never been an exact figure on the number of Indonesian youths' involvement in peace missions. However, in this paper the author presents the Youth Development Index (YDI) to provide an overview of the improvement of the quality of youth in Indonesia. YDI then shows that the quality level of youth in Indonesia continues to experience a significant increase every year. This data indirectly provides a clear answer about the level of success achieved by the Jokowi administration in supporting the YPS agenda, Because the government really believes, to improve youth in one sector, the government also have to develop the other sector of youth life environment because it will stimulate the other sector to be improve too.