

Enhancing the Role of Religious Education in Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia – **CONVEY Indonesia**

Policy Brief Series

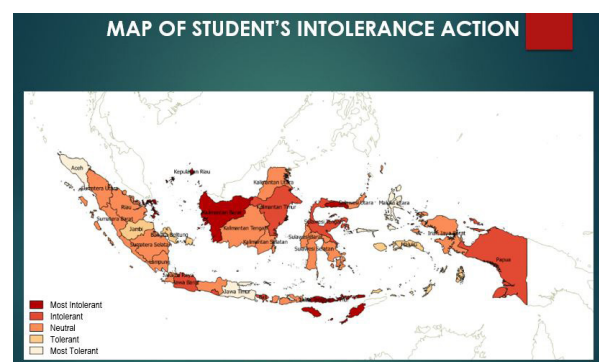
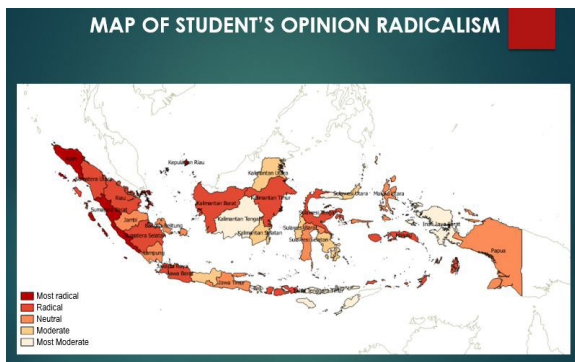
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CONVEY Indonesia aims to build peace in Indonesia and prevent violent and radical extremism through a series of research-survey, policy advocacy, and public interaction based on the potential of religious education. The CONVEY Indonesia project touches on the issues of tolerance, diversity, and non-violence among youth.

Revitalizing Youth and Scouts Organizations for Violence Extremism Prevention: Pramuka and Karang Taruna

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Background

As two important organizations engaged in youth activities, Scouts and Karang Taruna have undergone with such long history. Both organizations are responsible of vital contributions in disseminating the spirit of nationalism as well as environmental and adventurous activities (Scouts) as well as the spirit of creativity and productivity (Karang Taruna).

However, since the reformation era, Scouts and Karang Taruna are deliberately depreciate. Scoutshas no longer an interest of students at schools. This drift has been captured by a survey conducted by Setara Institute about religious tolerance among high school students in Jakarta and Bandung (Jakarta: Setara Institute, 2015).

Such trend is similar with Karang Taruna, the village-based ones used to be progressive yet currently they are becoming less active even some are completely dormant. An assessment research conducted by PIEC (2017) reveals that there are two primary factors that cause the phenomenon. The first factor is that the post-reformation political liberation has raised numerous political parties along with increasing political activities in central and local areas. This flow attracts a large amount of youth into the political world, in which material benefits increasingly become dominant in political activity.

Second is that the proliferation of non-government organizations (NGOs) either in international, national, regional, and local levels. By operating many issues, NGOs increasingly

cause Karang Taruna to become gradually marginalized.

The dwindle of youth organizations has been accompanied by the spread of ideas and movements of intolerance, as well as radicalism among the youth. This occurs because adolescents (teens) are situated in a transitional period between childhood and adulthood. They are in the process of seeking their personal identity, appreciate challenges and exploration, not under significant responsibilities, and delight themselves in using the internet. This causes them to be in a vulnerable condition to infiltration by ideas and networks that can lead them to violence extremism.

Significance of the Study

The mandate and role of Scouts and Karang Taruna organizations is distinctly illustrated in laws and regulations on youth organizations.

- Law No. 12 of 2010 on Scouting Activities. This bill regulates the existence of Scouts on the aspects of its principle, function, goals, and the scouting education. Although the institutional matters, duty, and authority of Scouts are part of government's responsibility, yet its rights and liabilities possess strong autonomy to perform leadership education for young generation, whether within or outside of school.
- Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 63 of 2014 on Scouting Activities explicitly adopts Scouting education as a mandatory extracurricular activity.

Meanwhile, the legal foundation on the role of Karang Taruna can be found in the following legislations:

- Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages. Article 13 states that Karang Taruna is part of the governmental structure of the village under Social Agencies.
- Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 5 of 2007 Article 1, governing the general standards of regulation for social agencies including Karang Taruna.
- Ministry of Social Affairs Regulation No. 77 of 2010 on Karang Taruna Standards, which regulates: (a) general conditions; (b) principles and goals; (c) position, primary duty, and function; (d) matters of institution, membership, and management; (e) working mechanism; (f) supervisors of Karang Taruna; (g) working programmes, (h) responsibility and authority; (i) inauguration; (j) finance; (k) identity and emblem; and (l) conclusion.
- Ministry of Social Affairs Regulation No. 23 of 2013 on Empowerment of Karang Taruna, which regulates: (a) general conditions, (b) institutional matters, (c) empowerment of Karang Taruna, (d) management of resources, (e) authority, (f) coordination, (g) funding, (h) monitoring and evaluation, (i) reporting, (j) supervision, and (k) conclusion conditions.

According to the above mandates, the expected role of Scout dan Karang Taruna organizations as social institutions is to become the center of youth activities, whether within or outside of school. Meanwhile the scouting movement has existed before Indonesia's independence in 1945. Since its inception, the Scouts were designated to be the active agents in disseminating the spirit of nationalism to their members. So does Karang Taruna likewise since established on September 26th, 1960; the inception of the village-based Karang Taruna was aimed to provide a training medium for young children of various religions, ethnics, and cultures to improve welfare and to maintain national unity.

The weakening youth appeal and the roles of these two organizations has thrusts PIEC Paramadina University, in collaboration with PPIM UIN Jakarta, to assess on efforts to revitalize the Scouts and Karang Taruna could be done.

Methodology

The research adopts qualitative method through several steps such as:

1 Assessment on the obstacles and opportunities of Scout & Karang Taruna development, conducted through in-depth interview. For Scouts, we interviewed over 100 member students and mentors at high schools in four locations: Bogor, Sukabumi, Serang, and Pandeglang. While for Karang Taruna, 50 people consist of members and mentors have been interviewed in the same areas.

2 Survey on the resistance of Scouts & Karang Taruna to violence extremism. For Scouts, the survey was conducted on 150 students pwho participated in camping program in Bogor and Pandeglang. While for Karang Taruna, 70 participants of training program in Sukabumi and Serang are interviewed.

3 Focus Group Discussions (FGD) on policies related to Scouts & Karang Taruna; the FGD for Scouts was attended by 15 representatives from Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs, *Kwartir Nasional* (unit in charge of Indonesia's National Scout Organization), schools' representatives, Scouts club, young public figures and others. While FGD for Karang Taruna was attended by 15 representatives from Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Rural Development, District/City Karang Taruna Forums, members and mentors of Karang Taruna, sociologists and others.

4 FGD to develop Module on the Revitalization of Scouts and Karang Taruna which intended as the guidelines on countering radicalism and extremism.

5 Module experimentation through camping program for Scouts and training program for Karang Tarunawith the themes of nationalism, creativity, and tolerance. The camping program for Scouts was held in Bogor and Pandeglang and attended by 150 Scouts; while the training for Karang Taruna was held in Serang and Sukabumi and attended by 70 members of Karang Taruna.

6 FGD to develop policy brief with 15 representatives of ministries related to Scouts and Karang Taruna regulations, such as Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs, National Counter-Terrorism Agency, Ministry of Rural Development, , Ministry of Social Affairs and others.

Research Findings

Scouts

Obstacles:

Several factors have hampered the development of Scout activities. These obstacles derived from schools policies, students interests, and macro-level regulations (government regulations). Most schools principals are not adopting Scout as a prior extracurricular activity, instead focusing their students on the academic aspect. As a result, the Scouts are not showing significant development. Implementation of the 2013 Curriculum has compel many schools to become study-oriented due to the excessive and complex subjects, especially the standards of competence.

The other obstacles come from the students themselves; the emergence of new technology-based youth activities has give off impression that Scouting activities are old-fashion and unattractive. Almost 71% respondents stated that learning semaphores, codes, and other Scouting activities are unattractive. On the other hand, the internet, social media, and computer games have become common activities for youth outside of school hours. Scouting is seen as less attractive as its impression among students is akin to semi-military program: strict discipline, violence such as verbal bullying, being shouted at, and so on.

Another obstacle stem from the lack of Scout mentors in some schools, especially those who already graduated from the Basic Proficiency Course (*Kursus Mahir Dasar*) and the Advanced Proficiency Course (*Kursus Mahir Lanjutan*). It is ideal for one mentor to bolster around 150 to 200 members. However, some schools with more than 1000 students only provide one or two mentors who graduated from the proficiency courses (KMD and KPL). As a result, the Scout tutoring activities

is not implemented properly. Poor coordination among related ministries (Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Religious Affairs, and Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs) also challenged Scouts to improve. It is reflected in the plenty of overlapping policies regulations and its implementations. For example, Scouts members particularly the *siaga* and *penggalang* levels are mostly aged 7-15 years old. However, the Scouting activities are not under the jurisdiction of Ministry of Education and Culture instead the Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs which responsible for youth and sports activities, and that "youth" is defined as those who aged above 17.

Opportunities:

Scouts are up to this point still considered as the most effective medium to disseminate nationalism among students. While students are having a downturn in their nationalism spirit, Scouting activities are expected to undertake this problem through appreciation and application of the Three Oaths (*Tri Satya*) and Ten Postures (*Dasa Dharma*) as its foundations. Besides, Scouts also possess tradition and such long history, deemed as an organization with great amount of members spread across Indonesia; from Sabang to Merauke, from big cities to rural villages and hinterlands. Data reveals that Scout members are more than 20 million, accumulated from primary, junior high, and senior high school; even more so since 2014, when Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation declared that Scouting is a compulsory extracurricular activity which turned every schools to conduct Scouting education.

It is in this context that the research finds strength in Scout organizations to play a strategic role in disseminating values of anti-violence and anti-extremism among the youth, especially those of school age.

RESISTANCE OF SCOUTS

Religious Tolerance

- Faith (VP 0%, P 5%, G 65%, VG 30%)
- Religious Knowledge (VP 5%, P 55%, G 30%, VG 10%)
- Religious Rituals (VP 5%, P 5%, G 40%, VG 50%)
- Religious Experience (VP 10%, P 20%, G 40%, VG 30%)
- Social Consequences (VP 10%, P 60%, G 25%, VG 5%)

Nationalism

- Pride (VP 0%, P 0%, G 30%, VG 70%)
- Obedience (VP 5%, P 50%, G 35%, VG 10%)
- Unity (VP 0%, P 20%, G 65%, VG 15%)
- Contribution (VP 5%, P 55%, G 25%, VG 15%)
- Willingness to Sacrifice (VP 5%, P 15%, G 40%, VG 40%)

VP: very poor; P: poor; G: good; VG: very good.

Indicators written in red are considered in the early warning category.

Based on the table above, there are several potentials for Scouts in countering violence extremism. The resistancy of Scouts towards radicalism and extremism propaganda is generally favorable, with average of 67% answering G/Good and VG/Very Good, and only 33% answering P/Poor and VP/Very Poor.

In the context of religious tolerance which includes faith, ritual, and religious experience is also quite excellent (average of 85% answered Good and Very Good). The students believe they possess strong faith towards the religion they adhere to; they also practice worship (ibadat) habitually, especially the five-time prayer, pay zakat, fasting, and other religious practices like charity (sadaqah). They also believe that their religious experiences have positive effect to their emotional stability, behavior assessment, and guilt of wrongdoing. Only religious knowledge (due to the respondents covered around public high schools, vocational high schools, and Islamic high schools, so only those from Islamic high schools who claimed have good knowledge) and social consequence that still need improvement (respondents were unsure of the limits of tolerance). The average for both aspects only 35% students answered for both Good and Very Good. Students of Islamic high schools (MA/Madrasah Aliyah) are being taught religious subject for almost every day, 5-6 days in a week, from *fiqh* (Islamic law), *tarikh-tasyri* (history of Islamic law), *Qur'an-hadith*, and so forth. While, students of public high schools and vocational high schools are only taught general subjects in religious study for only 2 hours in a week.

Meanwhile, the nationalism within Scouts is overall quite robust, most notably their pride, unity, and willingness to sacrifice (average of 87% respondents answered Good and Very Good). Most members claimed they feel proud to be an Indonesian, a citizen of such great nation with large population, many races, cultures, ethnics, and religions, and is becoming more economically advanced. The Scout member students also feel that unity is paramount regardless of differences in ethnicity, language and religion. They are also willing to sacrifice for their country, yet because it is not in the era of war, so they shift the idea

of sacrifice by study hard. The obedience facet (it is in fact a common issue of all Indonesian people) and contribution (due to young age) are still not satisfying. Only 42% in average for those who answered Good and Very Good for the two indicators. The students believe that there is a dilemma whenever they are in public space: On one hand they are taught discipline and obedience in the Scouts, yet in the society they found so many people are violating the rules and behaving badly undisciplined. They occasionally advise them but were often ignored—they also even confessed of occasionally disobeying the rules and being obstinate.

Karang Taruna

Obstacles:

The circumstances of Karang Taruna organization is not far different with Scouts. Numerous factors have thrust the proficiency of Karang Taruna down. The internal factor is that many of its members, usually more than 60% of all members are unemployed and graduated from primary educations (such as high school graduates, some even only passed junior high and elementary school). The low educational levels of its members induce the low creativity and productivity levels of Karang Taruna. This has been proven either in the city-level (Bogor and Serang) and village-level (Sukabumi dan Pandeglang), where the percentages of the unemployed and less educated remain high of more than 60%.

While the external factor is that, the emergence of many NGOs, civil organizations, and political parties has attract more interest of youths to enroll, more particularly its financial aspect. It is then continuously pushing Karang Taruna into the margins. It confirms the narrative behind the profile of a young JW Marriot bomber. Dani Dwi Permana (17 years old) was a former member of Karang Taruna around his neighborhood in Bogor. However, as he was from a poor family and had difficulties to pay his high school tuition, Dani chose to be a *marbot* (mosque caretaker) in his village, and that is where he received aid for his tuition and some small amount of spare money. Not long after, Dani resigned from all activities in Karang Taruna. This case shows that although

Karang Taruna is a governmental organization that does not undermine its members' could become lack of nationalism. Other aspects like poverty, religious extremism and such can whittle down those values as in the case of Dani.

Another problematic factor in the development of Karang Taruna is the inadequate support from village government. Most well-developed Karang Taruna is supported by a strong leadership factor from their village head. There are several cases of well-off Karang Taruna yet with a less-supportive village head; then in the next election period, the chairman of Karang Taruna was elected as the village head. It demonstrates that Karang Taruna actually possess a strategic position in the village, just not apparent yet to many. Another problem is that government policies which meant to support them to become more creative and productive is still spread unevenly and not prioritize sustainability. The Karang Taruna, especially those in remote areas, believe they do not receive a fair care from the Ministry of Social Affairs. While other Karang Taruna organizations who have received enough care from the ministry, claimed that the support programs still do not provide sustainability.

Opportunities and Advantages:

Opportunities and advantages of Karang Taruna is evident in the spirit of mutual help (*gotong royong*) between its members in various activities. Karang Taruna also remains a medium for youth activities to reduce crime rates within the village and sub-district society. It is reflected in the usual coordination of Karang Taruna with the police, so that village supervision related to security and safety is going well well.

This position foster the potential of Karang Taruna as a youth organization that can deters violent extremism and radicalism among the youth. According to the research assessment conducted by PIEC, Karang Taruna possess resistency towards extremism perspectives and movements.

RESISTANCY OF KARANG TARUNA

Religious Tolerance

- Faith (VP 5%, P 20%, G 60%, VG 15%)
- Religious Knowledge (VP 10%, P 50%, G 25%, VG 15%)
- Religious Rituals (VP 0%, P 20%, G 45%, VG 35%)
- Religious Experience (VP 0%, P 15%, G 70%, VG 15%)
- Social Consequences (VP 5%, P 55%, G 15%, VG 25%)

Nationalism

- Pride (VP 10%, P 45%, G 35%, VG 20%)
- Obedience (VP 5%, P 50%, G 45%, VG 5%)
- Unity (VP 5%, P 25%, G 35%, VG 35%)
- Contribution (VP 0%, P 10%, G 55%, VG 35%)
- Willingness to Sacrifice (VP 5%, P 15%, G 40%, VG 40%)

VP: very poor; P: poor; G: good; VG: very good.

Indicators written in red are considered in the early warning category.

Based on the table above, the resistency of Karang Taruna against extremism propagandas is generally satisfactory, with an average of 65% answering G/Good and VG/Very Good, and only 35% answering P/Poor and VP/Very Poor.

In the context of religious tolerance, the aspects of faith, rituals, and religious experience are generally favorable. With 80% in average the respondents answered Good and Very Good. The members of Karang Taruna believe they have strong faith to the religion they adhere to; they also regularly practice worship (*ib dat*), especially the five-time prayer, zak t, fasting, as well as other acts like charity (*sadaqah*). They also believe that their religious experiences give positive effect on their emotional stability, behavior assessment, and guilt of wrongdoing.

Religious knowledge and social consequences still need improvement (similar to the Scouts, respondents were uncertain on the limit practice of tolerance). The average for these two indicators is only 40% of those who claimed Good and Very Good. Many members of Karang Taruna have low religious knowledge. Only few of them who graduated from Islamic high schools, Islamic boarding schools, and State Islamic Institutes (*Institut Agama Islam Nasional*, abbrev. IAIN) with the percentage less than 30%. Some members are graduated from senior high, vocational, junior high and elementary school. While most of them or more than 50% are senior high and vocational school graduates.

Regarding nationalism, Karang Taruna shows satisfactory result in general—particularly in the aspects of unity, contribution, and willingness to sacrifice. An average of 80% of members

answered Good and Very Good. The members of Karang Taruna believe that unity is paramount regardless of differences in ethnicity, language, and religion. They are willing to sacrifice for the nation, including going to war against other nations or participate in national defense training program such as conscription and such. While the aspects of pride and obedience still need improvement. The average for these two aspects is only 47% of those who claimed Good and Very Good.

Most members of Karang Taruna stated that they are proud to be Indonesian, to be part of a great nation with abundant natural resources and cultures. However, they also dissatisfied with such poor utilization of natural resources and poor culture. They also disappointed with such high graft level in Indonesia, especially among government officials and elites who they seen as already affluent. The members of Karang Taruna believe that there is a dilemma when being in public space: On one hand they are aware that being undisciplined and violating the law will disrupt social order, but on the other hand, they see many people are commonly doing that. They occasionally advise them but were often ignored, yet they also admitted to occasionally participating in the misconduct and disobeying the laws.

Recommendations

Scouts

1 For school principals, as Scouting Board of Advisors: have to provide full support towards Scouting extracurricular activities.

The support can take form of advising, monitoring, material and immaterial support to develop Scouts to be more active and favorable for the students. This is especially vital as according to the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation, Scouts are a mandatory extracurricular activity. School principals must also involve parents and other participating parties to further develop Scouts in their schools. It is unjustifiable to not provide a fair care to Scouts for reasons such as the study-oriented curriculum or paying more attention to other particular extracurricular activities for instances sports, Paskibra, and Rohis.

2 For the Ministry of Education and Culture: in the revision plans of the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation No. 63 of 2014 which states that Scouting as a mandatory extracurricular activity, it shall be proposed to make the Scouting Education into a medium for disseminating CVE (countering violent extremism), specifically through the block model (student orientation period), in addition to the regular and actualization models. In the block model, common knowledge on CVE (identifying the dangers of violent extremism, its ideologies and activism, etc.) shall be educated. Meanwhile, the actualization and regular models shall focus on how to prevent and counter violent extremism among students, what it campaigns and so forth. The revision plan must also explain the Management of Organization's (OTK) as the implementation of this Ministerial Regulation so that the issue of the lack of Scouting mentors can be resolved, as reported in the PIEC's assessment research (2017) and the Scouts FGD.

3 For the National Agency for Combating Terrorism & Kwarnas: the spirit of anti-violence extremism shall be adopted into one of the creeds (or a specific special skills) under the Bhayangkara unit of work. The required special skills are: knowledge on violent extremism, whether the ideologies or movements; how to identify the indication of violent extremism infiltration among students; how to counter violent extremism; how to prevent or campaign against violent extremism so that it will not spread to other schools, etc.

4 For the Ministry of Education and Culture as well as the Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs: the laws on Scouting shall be confirmed whether Scouting Activities will remain under the jurisdiction of Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs or the Ministry of Education. It has to be settled because Scouts under jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Culture, are those school-based organization with members of students whose aged 7-25 years old, while the Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs on the matters of youth define their age as 17-45 years old. Revision on the Scouting regulations in this matter of case shall be made to put Scouting

activities under the better jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Culture, not Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs.

Karang Taruna

1 For the village and sub-district heads: Allocation for youth club activities are already regulated in the local policies, yet the problem arises on the implementation. The village heads must fully support the activities of Karang Taruna in their respective areas, by utilizing one of its 7 sources budget allocation for CVE activities. The CVE activities possibly includes dissemination, simulation, prevention, etc. While for the head of sub-districts, because they don't have allocation for such issue, it is expected for them to foster Karang Taruna to utilize other government's support (from the local government for example, Multi Stakeholder Consultation Forum [*Musyawah Rencana Pembangunan*], etc.), and non-government's aid such as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs to support its activities in art, sports, national defense, creativepreneur, and social welfare fields—including the previously stated CVE programs.

2 For the National Agency for Combating Terrorism: to optimize the role of Karang Taruna in Countering Violent Extremism (CVE). The agency must develop Karang Taruna's potential as a forum to disseminate nationalism,

in its each respective cities/districts, directly engage to youths in each area

3 For the Ministry of Rural Development, Underdeveloped Regions and Transmigration: A revision shall be made upon the Ministry of Rural Development, Underdeveloped Regions and Transmigration Regulation No. 2 of 2015 on Guidelines for Multi Stakeholder Discussion and other related Ministerial Regulations so that the circumstances of Karang Taruna does not depend on the head of the village anymore. Up to this date, the progression or digression of Karang Taruna depended on the commitment of village heads which lead to the dominance of political aspect. A revision of related Ministerial Regulations aims at making a technocratic and participative approach implementable in the field.

4 For the Ministry of Social Affairs: as the party responsible for the fostering of Karang Taruna, as according to the Ministry of Social Affairs Regulation No. 77 of 2010, the ministry must ensure that the mentoring programs could reach a more widespread areas where Karang Taruna exist, more pointing at sustainability, and aimed towards the empowerment of the local potentiality, especially those in remote areas. Mentoring program for Karang Taruna must be further intensified for the revitalization of Karang Taruna to be effective.



Enhancing the Role of Religious Education in Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia

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