Democratic Citizenship Education in Indonesia post-Suharto: Political indoctrination or critical democratization?

A case study of civic education in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

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Democratic Citizenship Education in Indonesia post-Suharto: Political indoctrination or critical democratization?

Has civic education – the mean of political indoctrination under President Suharto`s rule – seen any substantial changes since the refomasi considering the elite consolidation of the Indonesian democracy?

Executive summary

In this paper I examine if civic education – including democratic citizenship education – has seen any substantial changes in content and practices since General Suharto was in power. During the Old and the New Order was civic education regarded as a tool to develop national cohesion and good citizens loyal to the state. The decentralization and democratization of education during the reformasi gave local governments and schools the autonomy to implement the curriculum as they see fit. I`m presenting some scholars that view civic education approaches as reflecting the interests of the political elite, and by showing that the former elites have infiltrated and hi-jacked the political system, I`m putting forth a hypothesis that states that civic education hasn`t changed since the reformasi. This thesis is tested in a case study of civic education in Yogyakarta by the use of theory on democratic citizenship education-approaches, the approaches used in this paper are the civic republican citizenship-approach, the liberal citizenship-approach, and critical citizenship-approach.

I have also included a re-research on issues framed as challenges for a qualitative education presented by former research.

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1 Introduction

Since the days of Plato and Aristotle has education been considered important for both the development of citizens and the society in which they live. The idea has been that "good citizens aren`t born, they`re made" (Galston 2001). This hasn`t changed much since those days, and in in a democratic context it`s now generally common to view education as a mean for – amongst others – the development of skills, attitudes and values which the democratic vision lays it fundament upon (ibid.). This calls for an education for democracy as a stated goal in democracies "to ensure that all future citizens are equipped with the knowledge, values, and skills of deliberative reasoning minimally necessary for their participation in the democratic life of their society" (Carr & Hartnett 1996:192, quoted in Biesta 2006:124).

The step-down of General Suharto as President in Indonesia in 1998 and the democratization and decentralization that followed his resignation came somewhat surprising on the international community, as well on scholars and locals. The formidable task of democratizing this huge and diverse country after nearly half a century of authoritarian rule was taken eagerly up upon by democrats and human rights advocates, both national and international. Since then have Indonesia become undoubtedly a (electoral) democracy, though still a lot of work and passion need to be contributed to consolidate it. Another related change in the political sphere in Indonesia is that the country have since 1999 signed and ratified important Human Rights documents like the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Stockmann 2009:61). Even though considerable democratic and human rights-freedoms have been won post-Suharto some democracy-scholars and activists argues that there`s still lot to be done about the "democratic deficit" in the processes of democratization.

One institution that is called upon to contribute to the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia is education. In the period after the step-down of Suharto, called the "reformasi", the task of decentralization and democratization of the whole education-system was undertaken. This included schools newfound authority in managing their own programs as well as it encouraged community participation in directing educational policy and strategies

(National Coordination Forum 2003). But this reformation towards democracy and decentralization also entailed reformation, at least officially, of the practices and content in education, especially when it comes to civic education. This field of education which under Suharto was used to develop a national cohesion and submissiveness in the face of the national authority is now called upon "to create the new democratic Indonesian citizen" (Levison & Sutton 2008:134f).

This brings us to the question of what kind of democratic citizenship is taught in Indonesian public schools – as public schools reflect the ideas and goals of the central government. And, what are the argued implications of this type of citizenship-education on the possibilities of consolidation of won democratic freedoms and further democratization of society through an empowered and knowledgeable citizenry? These questions also lead us to investigate potential openings and challenges for the use of public education as a mean to produce democratic knowledge, attitudes, ethics and praxis.

2 Historical and contemporary contextualization

2.1 The historical role and aim of education in Indonesia

Christopher Bjork (2005) explores in the "first ever published study of life inside Indonesian schools" the role that classroom teachers play in school reform efforts. His main concern was the LCC-policy[1] and how this newly given autonomy in education for teachers was handled and looked upon by the teachers in the education-system. The LCC-policy with its aim for decentralization and democratization of education has after the reformasi more or less been fully implemented and the question is if Bjork`s findings and arguments can contribute to enlighten the condition of civic education for democracy in contemporary Indonesia.

During the implementation of the LCC-policy – which for the first time asked teachers to perform as leaders and not followers in their school – Bjork found that most educators resisted these opportunities to increase their influence, opting instead to conform to the status quo. Bjork then connects this to deeply engrained views about the role of Indonesian teacher within the schools, the society, and the state.

Under the colonial and occupational regime, the Dutch and the Japanese, were schooling organized to support the need of the occupying powers. But upon independence Indonesia`s finally *"gained the power to form a school system that embodied their own values and aspirations"* (Bjork 2005:44). The first Indonesian president Sukarno – his father a teacher and the national leadership consisted of a large number of teachers (Vickers :131) – made a

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[1] The Local Content Curriculum (LCC) program was an educational decentralization project launched in 1994 on a national scale. The reform required all basic education-schools to "allocate twenty percent of all instructional hours to locally designed subject matter and to tailor instruction to the unique environments of their immediate communities. Education officials also pressed teachers to create orgininal lessons and to experiment with innovative pedagogy" (Bjork 2005:2).

considerable effort to eliminate the obstacles for Indonesians to enroll in schools (ibid.). In addition a single model of education - based on an adaption of Western education (ibid.:81) – was to be provided to all citizens as a way to promote national cohesion. At the same time the government also committed itself to provide support for *madrasah* and *pesantren* schools (Bjork 2005:45).

In a nation noted for its ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and economic diversity the education system was treated as a mean to *"cultivate the spirit of patriotism"* (Djojonegoro 1997:75, quoted in Bjork: 2005:47). At the same time was education used to make and mold morally upright citizens (ibid.:47). Bjork notes that *"although government officials successfully facilitated a dramatic expansion of the education system, their efforts at improving the quality of teaching and learning were less productive"* (ibid.:50).

When the "Old Order" regime represented with Sukarno was replaced with General Suharto`s "New Order" in 1966, their intent was on creating stability and uniting a fragmented population. This was to be done by a campaign to resurrect the strength of the state (ibid.:50). To secure the allegiance of the polity the government utilized the tool of legislation. This included a requirement for public employees to pledge "monoloyalty" to the state and to abstain from joining political organizations. Another example is the Anti-Subversion Law, that made it illegal to commit any acts that "distort, undermine, or deviate from" the ideals outlined in the national ideology *Pancasila*[2] (ibid.:50f). This meant framing of education *as "a means of developing a body of citizens that would support the nation"* (ibid.:52) and the continuous adoption of such policies as mentioned above succeeded, according to Bjork, in *"stifling critical voices and encouraging citizens to self-censor their behavior"* (ibid.:51).For example even the teachers union became a *"mechanism for monitoring teachers` actions rather than a forum through which they could express their opinions and concerns"* (ibid.:52).

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[2] Pancasila – meaning five principles – is the national ideology first presented by President Sukarno. The five principles are: 1) A belief in the one and only God, 2) A just and civilized humanity, 3) The unity of Indonesia, 4) Democracy lead by the wisdom arising out of deliberations among representatives, and 5) Social justice for all (Seoule 2004:4).

The education system during New Order provided an opportune setting for:

"communicating a uniform national ideology, view of history, and set of values to Indonesian citizens. Regarding schools as crucial links to national integration, the New Order administration went to great lengths to ensure that members of school communities recognized their identities as Indonesians and respected their ties to the central government" (ibid.:52)

In addition did the heavy curricular emphasis on nation-building signal:

"to teachers that their primary role was to support the goals for the country articulated by leaders in Jakarta. Educators were valued for their ability to loyally follow directives, not their capacity of independent thought" (ibid.:59).

Indonesian teachers also signed contracts with the national government, which had the most influence on their actions, and as the government intent was on preserving national cohesion, it rewarded school employees for obedience and loyalty rather than excellence in the classroom (ibid.:68)

The emphasis on national cohesion and the concentration of central power had the consequence that public employees, including teachers, *became "transmitters" of directives from their superiors rather than representatives of communities"* (Emmerson 1978, in Bjork:51). This provider-client relationship only required of teachers to act as loyal government employees (ibid.:68). Bjork remarks that *"if teachers appeared loyal to the government and did[n`t] cause any trouble, their jobs were basically secure"* (ibid.:69). This provider-client relationship became the definition of professional responsibility and *"minimized Indonesian teachers` commitment to improving their pedagogical skills"* (ibid.:69).

In summary we can state that education have had an important role in Indonesian history. As

an independent republic and through Old Order and New Order have education largely been seen as a tool for developing national cohesion and as a means for indoctrination of the regime`s values and ideas. The historically heavy centralized education system saw some big changes in 1994 with the implementation of the Local Content Curriculum program (LCC).

With the LCC:

"control over a portion of the curriculum devolved to the provinces, districts, and schools. [...] Teachers, who had previously functioned as loyal agents of policy directives, were suddenly asked to act as agents of change, constructing original curricula, shaping instruction to fit the unique needs of their students, and becoming involved in the decision making process at their schools" (ibid.:3).

It was during the implementation of LCC that Christopher Bjork conducted his study of teacher roles in Indonesian educational, social, economic and political context. He found many important factors and processes that explained or contributed to how teachers perceived their role and responsibilities as teachers in regard of the newly granted autonomy in the teaching and learning-processes. These can roughly be sorted into different sub-groups: 1) a historical top-down authority structure and focus on national integration, 2) professional attitudes, 3) economic insecurity, and 4) the role of the community in education (Bjork 2005). As he argues *"Indonesia has constructed a definition of "teacher" that fits the unique contours of the nation`s social, historical, and political landscape"* (ibid.:106).

I would now present some of the research gathered by Bjork and which highlights how these factors and processes influenced the teachers in the context of educational reform.

- Historical top-down authority structure and focus on national cohesion

Bjork argue that through the historical emphasis on national cohesion and a top-down authority structure in the education-system made local educators reject opportunities to

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augment their authority. He writes *"decades of stress on obedience and loyalty had left individuals at lower levels of the hierarchy unprepared to act as leaders in their workplaces"* (ibid.:115). Instead they showed an *"unquestioning acceptance of the status quo"* (ibid.:107) because, according to their experiences, educators have limited potential to alter the futures of the students they serve. And consequently the teachers followed *"the map handed to them by the government rather than [to] read the terrain and plotting their own course"* (ibid.:107). Another related aspect is that:

"the government`s use of policy, language, and ceremony has placed an ideological grip on educators where teachers were constantly being reminded of their ties to the state, and not to the student" (ibid.:94).

- Professional attitudes

He also argued from his observations and interviews that the historically provider-client relationship between teacher and students in Indonesia had the effect that teachers weren`t *"required to spend their non-teaching hours […] even preparing lessons"* (ibid.:68). In addition was the teachers` salary over the years a stable and regular income regardless of job performance. The consequence was that as long as they appeared loyal to the government their jobs were basically secure. This definition of professional responsibility in turn *"minimized Indonesian teachers` commitment to improving their pedagogical skills"* (ibid.:69). In addition had the governments` *"historical stress on loyalty and obedience […] precluded teachers from embracing the professional identities"* that the government officials were now advocating (ibid.:84). He also observed that this historical role of teachers had the consequence that peer groups did *"not exert pressure on members of the faculty to improve their pedagogical methods or to provide support to students"* (ibid.:89).

- Economic insecurity

He found out that the in many cases a *"teachers secondary work took priority over his responsibilities at school"* (ibid.:102). This was because of the high salaries in the private

market in contrast with the basic salary regardless of performance in the formal education system.

- The role of the community in education

Bjork argues that *"Indonesian schools have not traditionally invited or responded to the input of everyday citizens"* and he found no evidence to support to support the idea that LCC had served as a mechanism for increasing community participation in education (ibid.:123f).

He also found out in his study that teachers in general showed little sense of obligation to the local community. Instead they and their school communicated to parents that education of their children was the responsibility of instructors solely. The students` parents did not take part in school-based decision-making, and in addition they were excluded from more casual school activities. Consequently there was no parental or community pressure on teachers and schools toward more qualitative education. Families were instead treated as the recipients of donated goods rather than stakeholders in society. And without formal channels of communication established, *"teachers were essential shielded from pressure to improve the quality of services delivered to students"* (ibid.:67).

In conclusion then he argues that Indonesian teachers have been socialized to accept *"a set of values and to display behaviors that clash with the philosophical underpinnings of educational decentralization"* (ibid.:167). He continue to claim that the *"friction between the objectives of decentralization and a socio-political context that has traditionally defined teachers as dutiful civil servants have led to the maintenance of the status quo"* (ibid.:174). All the historical factors and processes presented above are now *"preventing individuals at all levels of the system from altering their behavior"* (ibid.).

What`s meant with «altering their behavior» towards «experiencing with innovative teaching methods» might be explained by two polemic teaching methods; 1) a "conventional or traditional" methodology which is narrative and abstract with emphasis on the «banking

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method» of teaching, as a contrast to what many scholars and pedagogy-expert calls, with different names, 2) a student- and context-centered education, which arguably (Freire & Macedo 1998, Bîrzea et. al. 2005, Brett et. al. 2009) leads to a better outcome – in abstract tests about democracy skills, knowledge, attitudes and willingness of participation - *as well as* a more substantial education for democracy and human rights – which I will argue later. These pedagogical methods also relate to/or reflect the emphasis on different types of civic education taught in school.

Levinson and Sutton (2008) similarly claim that one obvious "missing link" in the reform of Indonesian civic education is sustained attention to pedagogy. They claim that it is obvious to most that *"the promotion of values that have long been suppressed in Indonesia, such as universal human rights and multiculturalism, requires as much change in delivery as in content"* (ibid.:150). But they do at the same time argue that the new curricular regime of "Competency based Curriculum" has the *"virtue of promoting attention to active teaching and learning processes"* (ibid.:150). I have chosen to examine if these issues still is prominent in Indonesian public civic education to present a more comprehensive and valid analysis and conclusions by minimizing alternative explanations since these factors is relevant as to potential challenges for qualitative education in Indonesia.

2.1.1 The historical role and aim of civic education in Indonesia

Civic education as a course was prior to 1999 conveyed in two mandatory courses: 1) *Panca Sila* Moral Education – which focused on character education and education in the state ideology, and 2) the History of the National Struggle (PSPB) – which looked at 3000 years of national history as a continuous struggle of the state against enemies, externally (dutch colonizers) and internally (communists and regional separatists). The latter course was removed with the introduction of a new curriculum in early 1999 (Levinson & Sutton 2008:142), while some specific lessons was removed from the *Panca Sila* course (ibid.:149).

Levinson and Sutton argue that two important moves during this reform is that the Ministry of National Education (MONE) has:

"moved from detailed scope-and-sequence curricula, to curriculum frameworks that are meant on the one hand to provide for "outcomes based" education and, on the other, to allow for local autonomy in the development of specific curricular material" (2008:142).

These structural changes are also supposed to be accompanied with substantive ideological changes in the content and processes of civic education (ibid.).

The new civic education course introduced in 2004 was titled "Citizenship and Social Knowledge" (*Kewarganegaraan dan Pengetahuan Sosial*) at the elementary and junior secondary levels, while citizenship was, and are, provided as a stand-alone course in upper secondary (ibid.:149). This change, Levinson and Sutton (2008:149) argue, marks a significant departure in the content of civic education in new Indonesia. They do not however examine the content any more comprehensible than this. The civic education course in basic education is now called PKN (Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan).

In summary we can state that education have played an important role in Indonesian history. As an independent republic and through Old Order and New Order education have largely been seen as a tool for developing national cohesion and as a means for indoctrination of the regime`s values and ideas. In the wake of democratization of Indonesia are now civic education called upon to create a democratic citizenry with knowledge of human rights, and it then logically follows that the curriculum in civic education should display this shift. This would preferably also entail - as stated emphasis on qualitative education suggests - a shift in related pedagogy.

2.2 Post-Suharto democratization

The Indonesian Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (DEMOS 2008) has conducted an in-depth – and in-width certainly – survey of the state of democracy in Indonesia. The key conclusion was "democratic deficit". Important freedoms had been won since 1998 as freedom to express opinions, organize politically, and hold free and fair elections. Indonesia has also signed and ratified many UN human rights documents like the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Stockmann 2009:61). Still, while some freedoms have been won, there`s a few that argue that the democratization-processes have made few changes in the power structures in the country. Van Klinken found in his study that while local elites did not *"deliberately bypass the democratic machinery, […] they manipulated the rules to suit their own interests"* (2009:143). These elites exercised their influence through clientelistic practices or alternative patronage through private organizations. The survey also presented strong indications that the elite did have social and political roots, and that the clientelistic and patronage-relationships were *"well anchored in local identities"* (ibid.:144). This, in combination with a dominant role of civil servants in Indonesian society, mean that the *"social embeddedness of the provincial state is built on loose coalitions between civil servants and business"* (ibid.:147), where *"provincial officials and their business partners choose mobilization, appeasement, and patronage to protect their interests against local rivals as well as against Jakarta "imperialists""*(ibid.:147).

Patronage democracies is defined by Kanchan Chandra as those *"in which the state has a relative monopoly on jobs and services, and in which elected officials enjoy significant discretion in the implementation of laws allocating the jobs and services at the disposal of the state"* (quoted in van Klinken 2009:148). Patronage democracy in Indonesia is not an elite-pact but is well-embedded in existing social relations, and can thus be sustainable, even though it`s produces particularistic and corrupt politics and excludes those without good connections (ibid.:148). This incorporation of ordinary people from top-down is also done at the price of the client`s complete autonomy as equal citizens (ibid.:154; Törnquist et. al. 2009:213). The combination of democratic deficits such as elitism and patronage democracy

and challenges of endeavoring corruption and growing religious radicalism and intolerance (Sulaiman 2011; Herry-Priyono 2011) makes it, arguably, crucial that civic education have been qualitative and substantial reformed as to be considered a mechanism for consolidation of the democratic freedoms won, and as a mean for further democratization of Indonesia. What type of citizenship-education being taught, arguably, also have a profound effect on the potential for civic education to engage, assess and deal with democratic deficits in contemporary Indonesia.

I`ll argue that in the context of post-authoritarianism and democratization is substantial and relevant civic education crucial for changing a historical authoritarian political system into a democratic one with emphasis on human rights. The school-course alleged to contribute to this change in Indonesia is as mentioned PKN. I`ll subsequently argue that for the potential of PKN to contribute to the reformation of the political system from authoritarian towards a meaningful and substantial democracy with emphasis on human rights is very dependent on the type of democratic citizenship that is taught in school.

2.3 Latest study on civic education in Indonesia

From 2008 to 2009 was the largest international study on civic and citizenship education ever conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). This was called the International Citizenship and Civics Study (Schulz et. al. 2010). The study sought to assess junior high students` knowledge, understanding and reasoning about civics and citizenship. It also assessed different approaches to civics and citizenship, as well as a lot of other information relevant to the civics and citizenship. I will argue that the study was in general an uplifting and aspiring one for everyone concerned about the status of civic education in Indonesia. The principals and teachers acclaimed high priority to civics, as well as they reported high self-esteem in educating in different aspects of civics. At the same time did the students report to generally feel enthusiastic about both civics and learning-experiences. But even though the «input» side of civic education seemed promising and

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uplifting was Indonesia ranked third to last on the final overall score in a sample of 36 countries (Schulz et. al. 2010). And also important is that non-educational factors like socio-economics, gender (small significance), or location of school seemed to contribute little – or nothing - to a positive individual scores overall, even though the school average on basis of socio-economic background was statistically significant, but not with much. In an Indonesian context it`s important to emphasize that there were no statistically significant effects on school averages on the urban/rural school location indicator. Another important factor is that the model to explain variance in civic knowledge in Indonesia accounted for only 46% between schools, with an average of 63% (ibid.).

It must be mentioned that this result might be contributed to less resources allocation towards education than in the more developed countries which participated. The short time that has passed since the reformasi probably also has an effect on the result. But this is not essential for my research interest.

But it made me interested in what could have happened in the «black box» between input and outcome. Some educational studies claims that there`s often a big gap between declarations of principles and civic-related policies as well as between policy and practice (ibid.:23;177); that`s what`s claimed to be done, and what and how it`s really conducted in the actual school-classes. At the same time is the type of democratic citizenship that is taught considered to have implications on the effective and substantial part of democratic dispositions in students.

This citizenship study didn`t however provide independent analysis of the civic and citizenship curriculum and practices, they only interviewed principals, teachers and students about different priorities and attitudes related to civic and citizenship education. This makes it interesting to study what the curriculum – and related pedagogical practices - content and the ideas expressed in it is about.

Following the argument that civic education content and practices reflects elite political

interests and choices to suit their own interests (Abowitz & Harnish 2006:655, Steiner et. al. 2000:x, Hyslop-Margison 2009:98, Cogan et. al. 2002:1f) in a Indonesian context of post-authoritarianism elite consolidation of democracy (DEMOS 2008, van Klinken 2009, Törnquist (forthcoming), Törnquist et. al. 2009) brings me to argue that civic education curriculum and practices in Indonesia might reflects the interests of the political and economic elites in the country. If Indonesia`s democracy rests on elitist inclusion of people into politics as Törnquist (forthcoming), van Klinken (2009, in Törnquist et. al. 2009) has argued, we might suspect that the type of democratic citizenship taught in Indonesia can be considered unsatisfactory and unsubstantial as a mean to further democratize society. And this might be considered a continuation of the type of civic education practiced during both the Old Order and the New Order. This might in turn be part of the explanation for the poor overall outcome in the ICCS-study.

3   The research question

Considering the important role of education in political systems – generally and especially in Indonesia, the context of post-authoritarianism and democratization and the important differences in types of democratic citizenship taught, and, by my knowledge the absence of this kind of study in Indonesia, I want to examine what type of democratic citizenship is taught in post-Suharto civic education and its possible implications and consequences. Can it be considered to be a continuation, even if more subtle, of political indoctrination of status quo unto students or has civic education developed into a state where it can be considered a mean towards substantial democratic citizenship?

The research-question then becomes: What type of democratic citizenship is taught in post-Suharto civic education? And what are its implications and consequences of this choice for the struggle for further democratization of Indonesia?

Considering the arguments that democratic citizenship education is used by political elites to promote their interests – here probably status quo since the old elites now have "hijacked" the democratic system (DEMOS 2008) –, and the poor results in the ICCS study I want to put forth a hypothesis:

> *"Civic education in Indonesian public schools haven`t changed much post-Suharto in content and practices, and can still be considered to emphasis political cohesion over democratic empowerment"*.

To find what type of democratic citizenship is taught in Indonesia I would like to examine the public education system. The level I found most substantial to examine civics education is in junior second high. This of several reasons: 1) in junior second high civic education is a mandatory subject in Indonesia, while it`s a stand-alone subject in senior-high; 2) the fact that

mandatory basic education ends after junior-high; and 3) because of a relevant study of Indonesian education which examines junior high education.

There`s four levels important to examine to try to make sense of the research-question. It`s: 1) the national curriculum and instructions set at central government; 2) local authorities technical-methodical approaches to implementing the civics curriculum; and 3) historical and social contextual challenges for civic education.

Considering the these levels related to the decentralization and democratization of the education-system, which are mentioned above, there a need to analysis this research-question on two levels; 1) the national level where curriculum are set, and 2) on local (municipal) level where schools and teachers now have much autonomy in implementation of the curriculum.

I will later present three types of democratic citizenship discourses that all imbue their own values, ideas and practices of civic education that arguably are conservative, liberal and critical. These types of democratic citizenship education will be examined up against the civic education curriculum and practices in Indonesia. These typologies are called the "Civic Republican Citizenship", "Liberal Citizenship" and "Critical Citizenship" (Abowitz & Harnish 2006). I`ll present a more comprehensive theoretical framework in the next section. Another, but related, factor is the field of pedagogy, as a practice of democratic citizenship education. The argument is that a *«the promotion of values that have long been suppressed in Indonesia, such as universal human rights and multiculturalism, requires as much change in delivery as in content"* (Levison & Sutton 2008:150), whereas two typological methods of pedagogy - one teacher-centered, narrative and abstract, and the other student-centered, critical and contextual – stands out as important in this context. Even though this paper is aim is to contribute to the field of political science, it`s important to include the pedagogy in the paper because: a) the pedagogy practiced is loosely related (implications) to the type of citizenship-education taught, b) its inclusion in this paper makes its findings and analysis more comprehensive and valid, and c) the importance of pedagogy on student interest in and potentials for substantial civic education in schools (Keohane et.al. 1994:24).

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If they aren`t learning qualitative and substantial about democracy and human rights in school, how could you expect the students, their parents, older generations, and generations to come, to achieve democratic citizenship - on basis of equality - and effectively become empowered and knowledgeable *"democratic citizens"* (Levison & Sutton 2008:134f) in a democratic society.

4   Theory

4.1   Theory on political education

In "Teaching Democracy" by Hyslop-Margison and Thayer (2009) the authors argues that the type of citizenship education that is taught in schools are based on different concepts of democracy and citizenship. Levinson and Sutton (2008:150) argue similarly that *"substantive meanings of democracy and democratic citizenship get negotiated through the policy process to eventually find their places embedded in the curricula and teachers` guides"*.

Citizenship, democracy and education are continuously contested and debated interrelated subjects. Enslin (2000) argue in Abowitz & Harnish (2006:653) that citizenship in a democracy:

"(a) gives membership status to individuals within a political unit; (b) confers an identity on individuals; (c) constitutes a set of values, usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unit; (d) involves practicing a degree of participation in the process of political life; and (e) implies gaining and using knowledge and understanding of laws, documents, structures, and processes of governance".

So, how to differentiate between meaningful types of democratic citizenship education? Abowitz & Harnish found during their study of citizenship-discourses[3] in especially North-America three different and prominent types of citizenship-education; the Civic Republican Citizenship, the Liberal Citizenship and Critical Citizenship (2006). These types are also advocated elsewhere (Hyslop Margison & Thayer 2009:57ff). Another construct of types is used by Hyslop-Margison and Thayer (2009), where they roughly sort different democratic citizenship education types in two categories; a thin, abstract and passive, and a thick, critical

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[3] Here used as a "body of rules and practices that govern meanings in a particular area" (Abowitz & Harnish 2006:654).

and active approach.

Educators such as Westheimer and Kahne (2004:237, quoted in Hyslop-Margison & Thayer 2009:85) view "thick" and "thin" forms of democratic participation as intrinsically linked to corresponding forms of citizenship and a notion of the "good" society. Such communication, they argue, is reflected in three typified views of the good citizen that are currently dominated by a conservative conception of citizenship. These views reflect how *"current efforts at teaching for democracy reflect neither arbitrary choices nor pedagogical limitations but, rather, political choices that have political consequences"* (ibid.). This quote resembles that of Steiner et. al. (2000:x) which states that:

"Critical pedagogy leaves no possibility of a neutral educational process. Education becomes either an instrument to help learners deal critically and creatively with reality in order to transform it through participatory action or an instrument to integrate learners into the present system by means of conformity".

Hyslop-Margison and Thayer (2009:98) argues that from a critical standpoint is policy *"viewed as a highly politicized and culturally explicit text that advances the interests of the economically and politically powerful"*. Additional, in their view, they call it an *"empirical truism"* that *"the privileged classes have been protected and unacceptable levels of inequality [have been] maintained through the various mechanisms of public education"* (ibid.).

This political context of education is also considered important as "hidden curriculum" – inexplicit teaching and learning in school and society – which can be considered positive, neutral or subversive to democracy education (Galston 2001:219, Biesta 2006:125, Cogan et. al. 2000:1f).

In this paper I will use the discourses presented by Abowitz & Harnish (2006) on citizenship-education while elaborating on these discourses with other relevant literature on citizenship education.

4.2 Theory on democratic citizenship typologies

Abowitz & Harnish (2006) have argued that understanding citizenship through a discursive framework can provide educators valuable tools for critically analyzing the meanings of the varied and often competing agendas and interests that shape texts on citizenship. "Discourse", as mentioned above, is here understood as "*a body of rules and practices that govern meanings in a particular area*" (ibid.:654). Discourse is, they subsequently argue, *"the primary way that ideology is produced, reproduced, and circulated"*, while "ideologies" are *"belief systems that help people to understand and act in the world"* (ibid.:655). Their study on citizenship-discourses was intentionally on Western democracies and particularly the Unites States, but I want to argue that the most prominent discourses found are very general (see for example Hyslop-Margison & Thayer 2009:57ff) and can be used as "universal" categories because of this.

4.2.1 Civic Republican Citizenship

They found out that this discourse habitually expresses the values of love and service to one`s political community (local, state, and national) while civic republican discussions highlight the need for better civic literacy and the importance of a central body of civic knowledge for good citizenship. Civic republicans also wish to promote a civic identity among young people characterized by commitment to the political community, respect for its symbols, and active participation in its common good. Civic knowledge in civic republican discourse also includes an understanding of and loyalty to national symbols and icons. In addition this discourse draws a sharp line of inclusion and exclusion in its expressions of political membership, this idea, arguably, gives priority to political and national community over universalist or humanist ethics. These texts also stress cooperative participation in pro-government activities (voting, involvement with political parties, and civic activities) (Abowitz & Harnish 2006).

At the same time civil republican texts focus much on civil society as the "third sphere of democratic life", and consequently they focus much on improving the condition of civil society. A central value hold by this discourse is that the social capital derived from healthy communal networks and their values and norms provide a sense of cohesiveness and unity, which is considered very important in this discourse. Texts in this discourse also emphasize the importance of learning facts and information about democracy`s history and institutions while reserving a *"far smaller place for more humanistic, international, and critical content and pedagogy"* (ibid.:659).

The most important civic virtues are self-sacrifice, patriotism, loyalty, and respect, while the corresponding civic skills are those enabling citizens to engage in productive dialogue around public problems, building consensus and working cooperatively. These virtues and skills are well articulated in the focus on community service in the civic republican discourse. While several citizenship discourses use ideas of community service, the civic republican discourse specifically uses service as a way to help students form a sense of duty to other citizens and to forge a sense of commitment to community and nation. Damon (2000:127, in Abowitz & Harnish:659) stresses the significance of this kind of developed civic identity, defined as:

"an allegiance to a systematic set of moral and political beliefs, a personal ideology of sorts, to which a young person forges a commitment. The emotional and moral concomitants to the beliefs are a devotion to one`s community and a sense of responsibility to the society at large".

In civic republican discourse responsibility is often set up against rights with emphasis on the responsibilities incumbent upon democratic citizens if the political community is to reproduce itself and thrive (ibid.).

We can see that this discourse very much reflects the type of civic education that was practiced under authoritarian rule in the past. After presenting the rest of the theory will the task at hand be – remembering the hypothesis - to analyze if civic education has changed,

how, why and to what? And then to analyze the potential implications and consequences of this type of civic education taught.

4.2.2 Liberal Citizenship

Another prominent citizenship-discourse is liberalism, an ideology that "prioritizes the rights of individuals to form, revise, and pursue their own definition of the good life, within certain constraints that are imposed to promote respect for and consideration of the rights of others" (ibid.:661). From the conception of individual rights comes a focus on equality, or the ability of all people, especially those in historically marginalized and oppressed groups – to fully exercise their freedoms in society. This liberal-discourse consists of two predominant threads within liberal citizenship discourses: neoliberalism and political liberalism. Neoliberalism is only briefly introduced as *"it has not yet emerged as an explicit discourse of citizenship"* (ibid.:661), even though it has received a lot of attention, especially in the West and in relation to Critical Citizenship advocates (for example Hyslop-Margison & Thayer 2009). I will now present the dominant one of them, political liberalism-discourse on citizenship.

In this discourse national identity is constructed around "thinner" conceptions of a political community than are articulated in civic republican texts. In this discourse many texts give explicit recognition and valuation to the fact of civic pluralism. Whereas civic republican discourse values the common good of political communities, political liberalism envisions a more limited political arena, with greater focus on procedures that would ensure fair, inclusive deliberation about governance and policy (Gutmann, 2000, in Abowitz & Harnish 2006:662).

The moral person in the liberal democratic society is the citizen who is free, self-originating, and responsible in exercising rights and discharging duties (Shafir 1998:8, in ibid.). One of the most prominent and most debated values associated with political liberal discourses of

citizenship is autonomy. Liberal discourses are – in essence - concerned with the primacy of individual liberty.

Liberals want students to think critically, to be able to detect conflicts between *"our inclusive political ideals and … their particular moral and religious convictions"* (Macedo 2000:238, in ibid.). Political liberalism envisions a citizenship that takes a *"certain critical attitude toward all authority, consistent with its focus on liberty"* (Kymlicka 1999, in ibid.). In this discourse citizenship requires an identity that is neither autonomous nor necessarily separate from one`s familial or religious beliefs, but that develops on the basis of the values and skills necessary to critically consider those and other beliefs. The ability to reason, therefore, is highly valued in political liberal discourses of citizenship. The intellectual skills valued in this discourse are described as abilities to identify and describe, explain and analyze, and evaluate and take/defend a position. These skills typically are understood as reasoning abilities.

"Reasoning persons have values associated with civility – the ability and disposition to listen to views that are not one`s own, the cognitive skills to evaluate and measure the claims and truths of diverse others, and the ability to reach collective policy decisions that are acceptable to all participants" (Rawls 1993, in ibid.:663).

Freedom from the tyranny of authority is one of two primary values in this discourse. The other involves the deliberative values of discussion, disagreement, and consensus building – all viewed as essential to democratic societies. Taylor (1995, in ibid.:663) highlights the two sides of political liberal citizenship – *"citizens as entitled to rights and equal treatment, and citizens as participants in self-rule"*. Among Galston`s (1991, in ibid.:663) list of liberal civic virtues are *"independence, open-mindedness, the capacity to discern and respect the rights of others, the ability to evaluate the performance of those in office, and willingness to engage in public discourse"*.

Liberal texts also typically attempt to balance education for responsibility, obligation, and cooperation with education promoting individual and group rights. Citizenship education is often articulated in political liberal discourse as being about democratic rights and about the skills and dispositions of cooperation, deliberation, and decision making. Democratic schooling practitioners advocate a political liberal framework of rights, deliberation, and shared decision making as a school governance model. The value and practice of encouraging students` involvement and engagement in school and community governance are part of the liberal discourse but also reflect an understanding of citizenship that is shared by the critical discourses of citizenship (ibid.).

A significant focus in political liberal discourses is on learning the values and skills necessary to take part in a culturally diverse public life. Political liberal discourses of citizenship see the public school as occupying an irreplaceable role in the formation of democratic citizens (ibid.).

The idea of patriotism is more contested in political liberal discourse than in civic republican discourse, which views patriotism as a fundamental value and disposition to be nurtured in citizenship education.

4.2.3 Critical Citizenship

Critical discourses raise issues of membership, identity, and engagement in creative, productive ways. The relative silence of critical language, values, and practices in curricular and taught texts of citizenship in schools speaks volumes about the power of dominant discourses of citizenship to shape how present and future generations do, and do not, think about democratic citizenship (ibid.).

Critical discourses have in common the agenda of:

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"challenging liberal and republican notions of civic membership, civic identity, and forms of civic engagement. Attempting to broaden and deepen the liberal agendas of human freedom, these discourses focus specifically on exclusions based on gender, culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexuality, or socioeconomic class" (ibid.:666).

Reconstructionist discourses – a type of critical citizenship - take up progressive and neo-Marxist histories to question how active, critical participation in democratic societies has been neglected in our conceptualizations of citizenship. I`m now going to present some elaborations on the reconstructionist discourse.

"A civic identity of bold radicalism, combined with a Deweyan critical intelligence and active political work both within and outside the state" (ibid.:671)*,* characterize the reconstructionist discourse in citizenship. Like other critical discourses on citizenship, reconstructionist texts express values of inclusion, equality, and the open embrace of difference. Reconstructionist texts focus, in particular, on those citizens who have been left out or poorly treated in former or present political processes or social institutions, and advocate strategies for expanding rights and powers to those groups and reconstructing social hierarchies and institutions (ibid.).

"A point of focus, given the Marxist threads within reconstructionist discourse, are the poor and working classes" (Torres 1998, in ibid.).

Reconstructionist discourse consists of two overlapping but distinct threads, differing in the kinds of reconstruction they wish to undertake through civic participation, activism, and work. The progressive, populist thread leads to *"a more inclusive, involved, active, participatory democracy that engages in public (often local) problem solving and common work"* (ibid.:671). The Marxist or critical thread employs more *"revolutionary rhetoric and practice in constructing notions of civic identity, as well as a more hegemonic analysis of government and corporate power"* (ibid.:671)*.* They continue to argue that these strains have in common their shared commitment to the transformation of democracy, such that it

embodies broader political inclusion and participation. Both strands rely heavily on the values and skills associated with social justice activism.

"Social justice" is a term widely used in reconstructionist writings on democracy and political theory, especially in education. Giroux (1991) writes:

"[C]ritical educators need to offer students the opportunity to engage in a deeper understanding of the importance of democratic culture while developing classroom relations that prioritize the importance of cooperation, sharing, and social justice" (:3, in ibid.).

Public work, spaces, and processes of deliberation and problem solving all signal the values of open, accessible, shared democratic life of reconstructionist discourse.

To reclaim democratic institutions for the poor and marginalized, reconstructionist citizenship discourse emphasis critical thinking, conflict, and controversy. Westheimer and Kahne (2003, in ibid.:10) explicitly address the distinction between the kind of critical thinking advocated in the political liberal discourse and the kind expressed by reconstructionists.

"The consensus regarding critical thinking generally vanishes when the possibility arises that students will articulate conclusions that differ from mainstream or parental values (or, in some cases, values the teacher holds that differ from mainstream values)" (:10, in ibid.).They continue to argue that *"educators in public schools often see "critical thinking" and citizenship in a way that will work in the interests of the current hierarchy and structure"* (ibid.).

Reconstructionist texts advocate fostering civic identities that embrace the values and skills to question, rethink, and confront, when necessary, the ways in which democratic institutions are not working on behalf of all citizens (ibid.).

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The civic knowledge emphasized in reconstructionist citizenship discourse goes beyond the "facts". Learning facts, within this discourse, is important *"only insofar as those facts help to promote and propel active learning about the actual workings of political life"* (ibid.:673). The progressive strains of reconstructionism have lately been successful in integrating some active-learning pedagogies into civics education discourses.

More critical reconstructionist texts explicitly advocate types of civic knowledge that unmask and derail official and state-sponsored "fairy tales". Citizenship education in this realm seeks to foster the engagement and criticism of powerful institutions, including the government and state-sponsored schooling itself.

Patriotism in reconstructionist discourses is somewhat the antithesis of what civic republicans mean by "love your country". To love your country is to *"encourage dialogue, critique, dissent and social justice"* (ibid.:673). It is to engage in the messiness and difficulty of a pluralistic democracy that does not currently work well for all citizens. A culture of discussion and dissent is necessary to *"inform public citizenship and legitimate access to decent health care, housing, food, meaningful employment, child care, and childhood education programs for all citizens"* (Giroux 2003:25, in ibid.:673).

Now that I've presented the theoretical framework of this paper I want to elaborate a little on the implications of the choice of these types civic education by put them into a framework of "thin" and "thick" citizenship education as it is presented by different scholars on the subject.

A civic republican discourse, and to a little degree liberal discourse, is arguably "thin" according to this understanding of civic education, while a critical is "thick". An elaboration is on its place, to foster deeper understanding of the typologies of democratic citizenship education and their, arguably, consequences and implications

4.2.4 Theory on "thin" civic education

A thin civic education approach emphasis abstract skills and knowledge and voting procedures. This passive and instrumental understanding of citizenship *"encourage students to make restricted choices within inherited or prescribed political parameters, rather than promoting a critical evaluation of the prevailing conditions designed to promote hegemonic […] precepts"* (Hyslop-Margison & Thayer 2009:2). They also argue that a citizenship education which doesn't contest the concept of citizenship and contain emphasis on nationalism, patriotism, national unity, loyalty and obedience tempered by statements emphasizing democratic values and international understanding, might be viewed as *"ideological ploys to distract citizens from the issues underlying widespread contemporary public suffering"* (ibid.:62). They continue to argue that this thin type of citizenship education is inadequate to meet the requirements of substantial democracy, which requires that citizens are fully *"capable to critically assessing the information they receive from any number of public, private and media sources"* (ibid.:62).

In addition tends many international citizenship education programs to focus on a:

 "sanitized historical account of a nation`s development. They draw inspiration from such accounts and seek to instill patriotism and pride as necessary goods in the process by recounting notable national achievements, distinguished personages and the variety of supposedly great challenges overcome" (ibid.:62.).

This *"mythological version of citizenship with its ideological and historical distortions becomes embedded in the consciousness of citizens and contemporary students and impedes their subsequent ability to reflect critically or authentically on their nation`s actions, its history, and the concomitant effects on all citizens"* (ibid.:63).

In thin citizenship education there often a focus on social cohesion that they label "undemocratic". They argue that social cohesion is *"an objective that promotes groupthink and unrealistically assumes political homogeneity among the population"* (ibid.:66) which makes the space for critical discourse and related political action extraordinarily limited.

They also argue that a thin model of democratic education lays on the premise that:

"providing students with more knowledge about history, government and various patriotic symbols will somehow make them better democratic citizens. The problem with such an approach, of course, is that such knowledge does absolutely nothing to contribute to a sense of meaningful or practical choice and engaged debate about the kind of social and economic structures desired by citizens. It is difficult to make informed choices about real political alternatives when individuals do not know what choices are available" (ibid.:67).

We can see that these indicators of "thin" civic education very much overlap the civic republican discourse presented by Abowitz & Harnish. It also to some degree resembles the liberal one, or at least is complementary with the liberal one, because an emphasis on individual rights and liberty is not in contrast to these indicators.

4.2.5 Theory on "thick" civic education

When we consider learning in civic education I don`t think it would be controversial to argue that to be able to make independent judgements of local, national and global political contexts, the students need to receive information and education about local, national, and global contexts that relate to democracy and human rights. As Osler & Starkey claim (2010:124) *"a key aim of any programme of citizenship must be to enable young people to understand the barriers to citizenship… and equip them with the skills to challenge and overcome such barriers"*. Hence, one aspect of substantial civic education is the importance that students learn about local, national and global contexts that relate to democracy and

human rights. And if the purpose civic education is to make a democratic citizenry in context of a nation in a post-authoritarian transition stage towards democracy I want to argue that its crucial to learn about perceived challenges for democracy and human rights in Indonesia to best equipped to fight undemocratic institutions and practices in Indonesian society. This is the main reason why I argue that a thick (or critical) civic education is better suited than the alternatives to further democratization in a post-authoritarian state, as Indonesia.

But, it`s not enough to receive information on contextual democracy-issues, it is also important that the education provide genuine options for fighting undemocratic practices both at the conceptual and practical level (Hyslop-Marginson & Thayer 2009:15). As Hyslop-Marginson & Thayer (2009:116) argue:

"...denying students access to the knowledge and dispositions required for democratic citizenship leaves them subject to the ideological manipulation that undermines forever their potential to become engaged democratic citizens". This mean that for students to become engaged democratic citizens it`s important to provide alternatives to contemporary undemocratic practices in society.

The thick type of civic education consists also of a transformative element. Osler & Starkey (2010:131) has argued that human rights education – which is incorporated civic education classes (PKN) in Indonesia – is necessarily transformative *"since it is based on a commitment to social justice and cannot condone systems that simply reproduce social inequalities"*. We can easily paraphrase this line to include democratic ideals;

"civic education is necessarily transformative since it is based on a commitment to equal democratic citizenship and human rights, and cannot condone systems or practices that reproduces deficits to these stated ideals".

Hence, it`s important that students are provided with an education that makes them *"perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but a limiting situation which they can transform"* (Freire & Macedo 1998:50). As long as the oppressed -

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in a Freirean language - remain unaware of the causes of their condition, aren`t provided with alternatives to their situation and aren`t taught a) that they have the ability to transform their society, and b) ways of transforming their society, they will "fatalistically "accept" their exploitation (ibid.:62). Thus, it`s important that students are taught a) that they *can* transform their societies in which they live, and b) ways to transform their society democratically.

All these three elements of substantial and critical engagement will have to be engaged when I`m going to try to provide an answer to my research-question.

4.2.6 Literature on the implications and consequences of type of democratic citizenship education taught

Hyslop-Margison & Thayer (2009) have argued that for a democracy to work the citizens must be engaged, knowledgeable and imbued with a sense of political empowerment. For this mean to be realized it`s important that they understand social, economic and political organization and possible political options, and be disposed to translate that knowledge into both formal and informal action (:116). It is not enough to provide facts alone following a banking method of teaching to become a democratic citizen, in fact it's a bigger challenge for democratic citizenship when students are denied access to "facts" that might actually undermine the prevailing hegemony (ibid.:67).

They continue to argue that *"a politically neutral approach to citizenship that fails to critique prevailing structural conditions, in effect, advances the idea that those conditions are acceptable"* (Hyslop-Marginson & Thayer:98). Another related argument is that *"democracies are only meaningful when genuine options are offered to citizens both at the conceptual and practical level"* (ibid.:15). In addition have Freire and Macedo (1998) argued that in order for the oppressed – here recognized as people suffering from unequal citizenship and undemocratic practices in society – to be able to surmount the situation of oppression

they must first critically recognize its causes and then they must perceive the reality of oppression *"not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform"* (:50).

Martha Nussbaum argues that the capacity for critical examination of "everyday life" and traditions and habits are *"essential to the cultivation of democratic citizenship in today`s world"* (Nussbaum 2006:388). These ideas emphasis the criticality of being able to challenge undemocratic practices in "the water which they [the students] swim" (Bahruth & Steiner 2000:137). Others of importance that have argued on behalf of this approach towards civic education is among others Charles Reitz – which argued that its *"necessary to critically theorize about our society if we are to have a vehicle for correctly informed transformative practices"* (Reitz 2000:41) – and the Council of Europe which argues that civic education "should be differentiated according to national, social, cultural, [and] historical contexts" (Bîrzea et. al. 2005:25), and that civic education is a:

 "form of literacy, aiming at coming to grips with what happens in public life, being "lucid", enlightened, developing knowledge and understanding, critical thinking and independent judgement of local, national […] and global contexts. EDC [Education for Democratic Citizenship, my remark] *is social learning, learning in society, about society and for society"* (ibid.:26).

This is also the view of Freire and Macedo (1998:3) which argues that instead of bashing teachers for inadequate teaching-practices we should:

   "put the blame squarely on institutions and schools of education that trained them in an approach that abstracts methodological issues from their ideological contexts and consequently ignores the interrelationships between sociopolitical structures of a society and the act of learning and know. In part, the exclusion of social, cultural and political dimensions from learning and teaching practices gives rise to an ideology of cultural reproduction that produces teachers who are de-skilled and acritical without much independent thought".

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I will argue, in line with the scholar mentioned above, that the thin model of civic education is too limited and unsubstantial to provide the necessary skills, knowledges, attitudes and praxis necessary for civic education in Indonesia to become a substantial "tool" for creating a empowered and knowledgeable citizenry and as a tool for further democratization, especially in a context of post-authoritarianism.

4.3 Different "types" of pedagogical practices

It`s also important, as argued further above, to examine the pedagogy involved in civic education teaching and learning. This because: a) the pedagogy is important in itself, b) the pedagogical methods used implicit says something about the civic education approach, and c) because of the decentralization and democratization in education have left the local teachers, and the local district government "free" to implement and teach the curriculum in creative manners. That's why I`m including the teaching and learning-dispositions in the analytical framework. But since this is mainly a thesis in political science this field will not be considered as important as the curriculum-issues.

4.4 Summary of theory

I have now presented much literature that emphasis the importance of the type of democratic citizenship education students receive in schools. In my, and the presented scholars, view is the only democratic citizenship type that can contribute to further democratization and empower and attribute useful knowledge to students, which are to be the new citizenry.

The hypothesis is presented on background on empirical evidence of elite consolidation of the fragile democracy and on the premise that democratic citizenship education type reflects the interests of the elite. I will now present the research design and methods that I have found useful to find an answer to the hypothesis.

I have also included a former ethnography of the Indonesian education system written by Christopher Bjork. I have included his major findings of challenges for democratic change in the educational system and assess their persistence in contemporary Indonesian education as a mean to widen and deepen this study and improve the validity of this study.

5   Research-design and methodology

5.1 Introduction

I have up till this point presented contemporary literature and theories on civic education in a general *and* in an Indonesian context. Remembering the presented hypothesis: "Civic education in Indonesian public schools haven`t changed much post-Suharto in content and practices, and can still be considered to emphasis political indoctrination over democratic empowerment" and the follow-up question: "What are its implications and consequences of this choice for the struggle for further democratization of Indonesia?", it`s now important to present the research design and methodology used as the scientific framework to answer the questions.

5.2 Case study as research-design

This study aim to assess and analyze civic education curriculum and practices with the aim of assessing what discourse of democratic citizenship education Indonesian students are taught in. Following from this I will also analyze the prospects of creating an effective and substantial democratic citizen through the discourse of democratic citizenship education delivered in Yogyakarta (Jogja). The research design most suitable for this task included the interpretive case study method, which means *"an intensive study of a single case where the purpose of that study is to shed light on a larger class of cases"* (Gerring 2007:20). The case will then be the Jogjan case and the "larger class of cases" will be Indonesian civic education in general. The case will include both deductive (based on research about how civic education most effectively and substantively foster democratic citizens) and inductive-deductive (based on former and contemporary research about contextual historical and contemporary issues related to civic education in Indonesia) in its nature. These approaches will contribute to the validity of the study, since it takes more information into equation than only one of the approaches could. This following the argument by Rueschemeyer (2003:332) that *"the best*

analytic history is characterized by a high degree of theoretical reflection that embodies a wide range of previous observations and analyses in theoretical frameworks". This is also done to minimize alternative explanations. Combining my aim of this study is to assess the discourse of democratic citizenship education taught in Jogja, and the theory on civic education as reflecting the ideas of the political elite, my aim is hypothesis-testing. The study will also contribute to the research fields of democratic citizenship and education, and democratization in post-authoritarian states; as either a case to include into a wider cross-case research or to the accumulating knowledge of democratic citizenship education practices in the world today, as emphasized as important by Keohane et. al. (1994:15). The results might also contribute to literature on civic education in post-authoritarian states, which have gained momentum and importance by the Arab spring revolts in Northern Africa and the Middle East. The results will also be used – as advocated by Rueschemeyer (2003:307) - to explain the outcomes in other relevant statistical studies, in this case the ICCS study (Schulz et. al. 2010).

5.3 The choice of Yogyakarta as a case

My choice of Yogyakarta as a case was a matter of chance and relevance. The University of Oslo has for a time now collaborated with University Gadjah Mada which is found just outside the city limits of Jogja. When I brought my proposal for master thesis to one of the lecturers on UiO, Olle Törnquist, he encouraged me to write about this subject. He then became my supervisor, and found a possible spot for me to contribute to the joint research-project "Power, Welfare and Democracy" about Indonesias democratization sponsored by UiO and UGM. This seemed like a great opportunity considering the stress on the importance of education – historical and contemporary – in Jogja, a city considered the "Capitol of Education" in Indonesia. This because of the dynamic and big student masses in, and around, the city. These factors made this special disctrict seem like one of the places in Indonesia most viable towards a substantial change towards substantial and effective civic education in Indonesia in a post-authoritarian context. If this modern city with its educational focus and dynamic still doesn`t seem to change towards an effective and substantial civic education, it

seems difficult to develop the same in less resourced and/or education-oriented districts.

When this is said it`s important to recognize the huge diversity in the Indonesian education-system, especially after the implementation of the decentralization and democratization of education-program during the reformasi. Differences in educational orientation, educational importance and resources makes it likely impossible, as not to say arrogant, to try to generalize the findings in this study to the system as a whole. That's why I have concentrated on *public schools* – as these are supposed to be a national type of education (reflecting the ideas and choices of the government) free of charge and aimed at the whole Indonesian population, hence a public school in Papua and one in Jogja are assumed to be more like than a private school in Papua and one in Jogja. But it`s still likely to be huge differences in resources and quality in the educational sector in Papua and Jogja, and that's why I have chosen to present Jogja as a type of "critical case" which in this study means that if this district with its known quality of education haven`t reformed their civic education towards a discourse more suitable (than the authoritarian/civic republican) to create empowered and knowledgeable democratic citizens it is less likely to be realized somewhere else in the public education sector in Indonesia.

5.4 Reasons for the choice of research-design

The choice of research design evolved naturally from the research-question. First, because of the huge diversity in resources, educational traditions, and importance of education in the Indonesian society. This meant that to examine the discourse of democratic citizenship in Indonesia I had to choose a smaller within-case to examine. This because of the available resources and time I had conducting this study. This is also why Jogja is presented as a kind of critical case. The chosen research-design also makes it possible to make a deeper and more reflected analysis – than provided by the statistical studies - of the prospects for consolidating democratic freedoms won and for a further improvement of democracy by an empowered and knowledgeable citizenry.

The research design also makes it possible to use important methods like document-analysis and interviews for data-gathering, which is crucial for this study, where I am to assess both the curriculum and the pedagogy involved in civic education *in* a historical, societal, economic and political context. The design will also make it possible for me to do a method-triangulation as a mean to put more meat on my qualitative bones.

5.5 Weaknesses of the research-design

There are two main concerns while applying a case study type of research design. The first is in relation to the external validity of the case. The study of a single case is usually low in its external validity and gives limited possibilities to generalize eventual findings to the whole universe (Gerring 2007:43). However, as I mentioned earlier, I have tried to minimize this problem by 1) choosing Jogja as a kind of critical case, and 2) recognize this challenge and therefore mainly aiming at Jogjan policies and practices, while arguing that these findings can`t be representative for the public education system as a whole in Indonesia without further studies, even though this is the research goal (Keohane et. al. 1994:10).

The other main concern is about reliability. This means that I have to very carefully include every bit of information about how I gathered the data and how I operationalized it, as a goal for replicability (Keohane et. al. 1994:8). This is particular important in this study since the documents and interviews which is going to be analyzed originally is in Indonesian, which I don`t read/speak. Since I`ve had limited resources doing this study I will include only the information from the civic education curriculum and teacher-manuals which are used in the analysis in English, while all the interview-transcriptions will be presented in its fullest form in English. This is a little challenge for the reliability and replicability of the study, at least for non-Indonesian speaking actors who might want to double-check the results from this study. But I find this is only to be a minor challenge since the curriculum and teacher-manuals will be included in its Indonesian form.

Some have also argued that case studies generally are weak to the purpose of testing hypotheses. But I want to argue that this is in a general sense, that is, to draw wider and statistically inference. In this study though, is the hypothesis presented as a mean to examine *one* case deeply, since I failed to find any theory on democratic citizenship education types practiced in Indonesia. The hope is that this will contribute to other research projects studying the implications of civic education type further and perhaps statstistically.

5.6 Source triangulation as research method

The choice of method-triangulation came as a mean to increase the relevance, the reliability *and* the validity of this study. Both as a mean to gather enough relevant information that was important *before* conducting the important hands-on research and as a mean to better enlighten my findings in the *later* analysis of the material. The triangulation will consist of former and contemporary research, qualitative and quantitative, as a mean to develop the most up-to-date research question and, hence, to facilitate for a relevant and substantial study (Yin 2003:97ff). The triangulation in the analysis will be on data collected first hand; interviews and documents, and second hand; the ICCS-study.

5.7 Fieldwork in Jogja

The aim and scope of this study called for a fieldwork approach, since the relevant informants was to be found in the local schools in Jogja. I got much help from the UGM while doing my research. First, and foremost, I got help by two master students in the political science faculty to find informants and to translate and conduct the interviews. Of the 16 public junior high schools in Jogja, we started to call around to the receptions and Human Relations-employee`s to find a schools which has incorporated the KBI-program into their civic education, and three

that hadn`t. This, apparently, is how they "do it" in ill-organized Indonesia. We first found the KBI teachers and students who were willing to do the interviews. The three other was easy to find by just dropping by some schools and ask to schedule interviews to be done later. This seemed like the most effective way to do this in Indonesia where public school employees didn`t seem to care to much for my research with responses like "your annoying me" when we asked a receptionist for some information about civic education teachers in the given school. It also helped that I was provided with official research letters from UGM which authorized my interview-inquiries.

One of the students which helped doing the interviews also helped me to translate the interview-guide, which because of the "fear" of losing information in the translation was done in a semi-structured way, but very detailed. This fixation of details also presented a minor challenge in the interview-situations because of the little knowledge the two students had into my research. Some interviews could have been seemed a little too detailed and focused. The time the interviews took was nevertheless between 45 minutes and 1 ½ hour, which much be considered to be within a reasonable time-limit for interviews.

Another minor problem which presented itself while conducting the interviews was the traditional authority-structure in Indonesian culture in general, and Javanese in special (Chandra 2004). At least seemed one female "helper" to have some problems with "taking control over the interview-situation" and to contribute with critical questions (for example did one female teacher talk for about 30 minutes without her interrupting). The woman later conferred to me that she had problems with "taking control" and to ask critical questions due to the traditional authority and respect-culture in the society. The interview-guide aimed at the students also suffered a little from complicated concepts – even though the two "helpers" knew of my research and the main concepts involved in it – presented to the students. This was only a small challenge that was soon fixed by adding more clear examples on the concepts. Nevertheless, the interviews did not suffer from any crucial deficits or problems and was conducted more or less without big problems during my data-collecting.

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5.8 Type of interviews: semi-structured with key-informants

As mentioned above does the research design provide the framework for doing interviews with relevant informants. The relevant informants were chosen by the method of strategic selection. The key-informants are teachers and students, which are the best actors to assess civic education practices in their own classes. This type of interviews is also useful when we want in-depth information about the subject by central actors.

The interview-guide was first written in English on the basis of the research-question and then translated to Indonesian by a master-student in political sciences at UGM. It was developed as a semi-structured qualitative interview – which made it possible to add questions and jump back and forth through the interview-guide (Bryman 2004:321) - with its point of departure in analytical prerequisites within a theoretical defined framework. The interview-guide was developed following the ideas of Bryman (2004:324f), which states the importance of: categorized topics, include relevant questions, clear language, not asking leading questions, recording "fact sheets", having a good quality recorder, familiarize with the context of interviews, and making sure that the interviews were conducted in quiet and private setting. After the interviews I wrote down how it went, where it took place, the setting and other relevant observations. I also followed Kvale`s list of qualification criteria for the interviewer (Kvale 1996, in Bryman 2004:325) which emphasis the personal qualities associated with a good interviewer/good interview-situation. The students which assisted me in conducting the interviews were also drilled in these aspects of the interview before the actual interviews as to minimize challenges in this situation. I also had some help transcribing and translating the interviews into English after they were conducted. This is considered very important for the reliability and validity of this kind of research designs.

5.9 Type of document-analysis:

As the research question splits the field of assessment into two: a) the curriculum, and b) the pedagogy, it`s important to assess the national PKN curriculum up against the provided theory on types of democratic citizenship education. This part will be done by the use of document-analysis – content analysis - of primary sources such as the PKN curriculum, PKN instruction manuals and PKN policies. The main requirement of this method is to be replicable (Krippendorff 1980:21). Since my aim is to assess what kind of civic education is provided students and how this is provided, in relation to theories on democratic citizenship education.

I will have to develop and operationalize different indicators on type of democratic citizenship education in the civic education curriculum and teacher-guides. The type of document-analysis that will be applied will be the "content-analysis"-method. Here the content and examples of the relevant documents will be assessed in relation to indicators on types of civic education. The parts that can contribute to an understanding of the emphasis on these different indicators will be included in the analysis.

Krippendorff (1980:27) argues that the task in any content analysis is *"to make inferences from data to certain aspects of their context and to justify these inferences in terms of the knowledge about the stable factors in the system of interest"*. To achieve this I have constructed an operational theory by operationalizing the key indicators of the given types of civic education. This approach is very similar to a type of idea-analysis (Bergström & Borèus 2005). We have to ask which ideas associated with democratic citizenship education-types are expressed in the curriculum and teacher-manuals?

Abowitz & Harnish (2006) has argued that:

"a speech, article, or curriculum articulating a position regarding civic membership, identity, values, participation, and knowledge constitutes an expression of belief about citizenship. Such expressions, by the very language and ways of thinking they employ, construct meanings of citizenship, privileging some meanings over others by means of choices of language, logic, or theoretic. […] These choices and claims lead to the assertion, production, reproduction, and contestation of certain meanings and truths of citizenship" (:655).

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This is called a discourse, and are *"the primary way that ideology is produced, reproduced, and circulated"* (ibid.:655) while ideologies are *"belief systems that help people to understand and act in the world"* (ibid.:655). My presented indicators of discourses on civic education will be operationalized as ideal-types - or systems of ideas (Bergström & Borèus 2005:159, George & Bennett 2005:235ff). These ideal-types will then provide the framework for analysis of the mentioned documents. And the goal is to examine if one of given ideal-types can best describe the type of democratic citizenship education provided junior high students in public schools in Indonesia.

5.10 Validity and reliability

Validity refers to *"measuring what we think we are measuring"* (Keohane et. al. 1994:25). We often differentiate between internal and external validity. The latter may be viewed as a challenge of representativeness, or generalizations. This type of validity is general low in case studies (Gerring 2007:43). The internal validity is referring to the credibility of the causal conclusions, in this case it might be better to use the term "measurement validity" instead since I`m not conducting a causal analysis. Measurement validity is *"specifically concerned with whether operationalization and the scoring of cases adequately reflect the concept the researcher seeks to measure"* (Adcock & Collier 2001:529). They go on to argue that *"valid measurement is achieved when scores … meaningfully capture the ideas contained in the corresponding concept"* (ibid.:530). This means that the operationalized indicators and its use in the analysis must be well informed and argued for.

It also means that it`s important to record and report on the process by which the data are generated (Keohane et. al. 1994:23). This will also guard against unwanted biases in the handling of the data. This action will also contribute to the notion of replicability in this thesis. Keohane, King & Verba (1994) emphasize that *"all data and analysis should, insofar as possible, be replicable"* (ibid.:26). This applies to the entire reasoning process used in

producing my conclusions. They also argue that *"only by knowing the process by which the data were generated will we be able to produce valid descriptive …. inferences"* (ibid.:23).

By reliability we mean *"applying the same procedure in the same way will always produce the same measure"* (ibid.:25). Keohane et. al. (1994:27) also argue that "*scholars should always record the exact methods, rules, and procedures used to gather information and draw inferences so that another researcher can do the same thing and draw (one hopes) the same conclusions"*.

In the presented framework it`s very important that the operationalization's is very clear and substantial if it should be considered to draw valid inference from the documents and interviews. The operationalizations will now be presented.

5.11 Operationalization of indicators

The framework of this study puts a lot on pressure on the operationalization of the indicators. This will, obviously, contribute as a background for the analysis, and will hence be crucial for the inferences in this study, also when validity and relevance is concerned.

In the analysis I will first present my findings related to Bjork`s presented challenges for an qualitative education in Indonesia. Then I will present the analyses of the civic education types found in Jogja. The first indicators are:

1. Historical top-down authority structure and focus on national cohesion

2. Professional attitudes

3. Economic insecurity

4. The role of community in education

In this thesis I have set on the task of: a) assessing the type of civic education provided students in Indonesia (junior high-school in Yogyakarta), and b) to assess the contemporary status of the challenges of a qualitative education presented by Bjork. This means that I have to three main subjects of assessment: a) Curriculum-orientations, content and practices, b) Pedagogical orientations and practices, and c) Bjorks` presented challenges for a qualitative education in Indonesia. The assessment of the two first presented subjects will be done on national- and local (school) level through a document-analysis and through interviews.

The types of civic education and their indicators have been extracted from Abowitz & Harnish`s (2006) democratic citizenship discourses for the content-analysis of the curriculum. These ideal-types and their corresponding ideas on civic education will now be presented:

Type 1: Civic Republican Citizenship:

Political community:

- Expresses the values of love and service to one`s political community (local, regional, and national)
- Very exclusive citizenship (an idea that gives priority to political and national community over universalist or humanist ethics)
- Emphasis loyalty to national symbols and icons
- Emphasis cooperative participation in pro-government activities (voting, involvement with political parties and civic activities)
- Emphasis on civil society as a major field of democratic actions
- Emphasis on cohesiveness and unity in society (civil society)

Civic identity:

- Characterized by commitment to the political community, respect for its symbols and active participation in the common good
- The most important civic virtues are self-sacrifice, patriotism, loyalty and respect

- Important civic skills are "those enabling citizens to engage in productive dialogue around public problems, building consensus and working cooperatively"
- These virtues and skills are well articulated in the focus on community service
- Civil identity as an allegiance to a systematic set of moral and political beliefs
    - The emotional and moral concomitants to the beliefs are a devotion to one`s community and a sense of responsibility to the society at large
- Emphasis responsibilities set up against rights

Teaching and learning dispositions:

- Emphasis the need for better civic knowledge as a mean for good citizenship
- Emphasis the importance of learning facts and information about democratic history and institutions (while reserving far smaller space for more humanistic, international, and critical content and pedagogy)

Typology 2: Liberal Citizenship:

Political community:

- Emphasis the rights of individuals to form, revise, and pursue their own definition of the good life, within certain constraints that are imposed to promote respect for and consideration of the rights of others
- Emphasis equality and the ability of all people to fully exercise their freedoms in society
- Emphasis and value civic pluralism
- Envisions a limited political arena, with focus on procedures that would ensure fair, inclusive deliberation about governance and policy

Civic identity:

- A moral citizen is one who is free, self-originating, and responsible in exercising rights and discharging duties
- Much emphasis on "autonomy"
- Emphasize the primacy of individual liberty

- Emphasis the deliberative values of discussion, disagreement, and consensus building
- Other civic virtues are independence, open-mindedness, the capacity to discern and respect the rights of others, the ability to evaluate the performance of those in office, and willingness to engage in public discourse

Teaching and learning dispositions:

- Citizenship as a critical attitude toward all authority, consistent with its focus on liberty
- Emphasis the ability to reason (abilities to identify and describe, explain and analyze, and evaluate and take/defend a position)
- Typically attempt to balance education for responsibility, obligation, and cooperation with education promoting individual and group rights
- Democratic schooling practitioners advocate a political liberal framework of rights, deliberation, and shared decision making as a school governance model
- Emphasis on the values and skills necessary to take part in a culturally diverse public life

Typology 3: Critical Citizenship:

Political community:

- Emphasis on shared commitment to the transformation of democracy, such that it embodies broader political inclusion and participation
- Rely heavily on the values and skills associated with social justice activism
- Emphasize on an open, accessible, and shared democratic life
- View patriotism as a disposition toward encouraging dialogue, critique, dissent and social justice

Civic identity:

- Emphasis a civic identity of bold radicalism, critical intelligence and active political work both within and outside the state
- Emphasis values of inclusion, equality, and the open embrace of difference
- Rely heavily on the values and skills associated with social justice activism
- Emphasis fostering civic identities that embrace the values and skills to question, rethink, and confront, when necessary, the ways in which democratic institutions are not working on behalf of all citizens

Teaching and learning dispositions:

- Emphasis membership, identity, and engagement in creative and productive ways
- Have the agenda of challenging liberal and republican notions of civic membership, civic identity, and forms of civic engagement
- Emphasis specifically on exclusions based on gender, culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexuality, or socioeconomic class
- Focus in particular on those citizens who have been left out or poorly treated in former or present political processes or social institutions
- Advocate strategies for expanding rights and power to marginalized groups and reconstructing social hierarchies and institutions
- One point of focus, given the Marxists influence, are the poor and working classes
- Focus on deeper understanding of the importance of democratic culture while developing classroom relations that prioritize the importance of cooperation, sharing, and social justice
- Emphasis critical thinking, conflict, and controversy (as a mean to reclaim democratic institutions for the poor and marginalized)
  o Critical thinking as accepted when it differ from mainstream or parental values differ this type of critical thinking from the liberal one
- Learning facts, within this discourse, is important only insofar as those facts help to promote and propel active learning about the actual workings of political life
- Some emphasis on civic knowledge that unmask and derail official and state-sponsored "fairy tales"

These synthesized indicators of different ideal-types of civic education will work as an analytical framework in this paper.

I hope that this analytical framework and other data of relevance (for example the latest ICCS study), will contribute to the main task of assessing the type of civic education provided to students in Yogyakarta public junior high school.

6   The analysis

The analysis will be divided into different sections to make it easy to read and understand. First I'll present my findings on Bjork`s (2004) challenges for qualitative education, then I will analyze civic education in Jogja in light of the three presented types of democratic citizenship education, then I will make use of method-triangulation by introducing a more comprehensive analysis of the ICCS study in light of mentioned theories and Indonesian civic education, at the end I'll present the analysis of the prospects for civic education to develop a deeper and more substantial democratic citizenship.

6.1 Analysis of Bjorks` challenges for an qualitative education in Indonesia

About "Historical top-down authority structure and focus on national cohesion":

After the decentralization and democratization of education taken place during the reformasi the top-down authority structure have been importantly altered. The national government still decides upon the national curriculum in civic education, but local authorities and teachers (and local teachers unions) have been granted much autonomy in how it is implemented in the classrooms. Another related change is that teachers now sign contracts with the local government (Interview with teacher at SMP 1). Of the teachers I interviewed none of them emphasized their loyalty as professional teachers/civil servants to the state, but rather to the good of the society and their students. This was also shown in statements about the teacher view on students inclination toward changing society. One states that she *"hope my students can the the society ... because students are the next generation"*, she also states that *"we face an obligation to rebuild the awareness of citizenship through students and society"* (Interview with teacher at SMP 1). Another stated that *"I think we can [change], I hope we can"* [change society] (Interview with teacher at SMP 2), while a third teacher states that *"as social being,*

we need to serve the society well" (Interview with teacher at SMP 9).

About the ideological ties to the state I observed in a school (SMP1) that at the library hang eight pictures of military and marine personnel. I later learned that this was the "8 Heroes of the Revolution", the military officers murdered in the alleged coup-attempt by the 30th of September group in 1965, an event which are quite mystical and controversial to this day. But conversely, I observed flagpin on teachers in only one school (SMP2).

My conclusions on this subject is that this doesn`t present itself as an important challenge for qualitative education in those schools I visited.

About "Professional attitudes":

One important focus during the reformation of the education system was teachers` professionalism. An important change towards fostering more professional teachers have been to improving teachers` education qualification up to Strata 1 or Diploma 4 (equals to bachelors). The government has also raised their salaries as a mean toward this goal (ICE 2008). Teachers, as civil servants, still receive a stable salary, but the local government gives incentives for good teachers (Interview with teacher at SMP 1). One teacher said that in the past many teachers *"became lazy ... were often absent, but they would still get their salary"* (Interview with teacher at SMP 9). The same teacher states that it makes her sad to see young teachers which teach only for the money (Interview with teacher at SMP 9). While another says she teaches in society as a kind of social work without payment (Interview with teacher at SMP 2). They were, anyway, satisfied with the payment, but three of them complained about the new certificates that demand 24 hours teaching each week. One states that *"there`s a lot of PKN teachers in Jogja, but we provide a 2 hours class on every grade. How can we meet this obligation to teach 24 hours a week?"* (Interview with teacher at SMP 1). This meant that she had to find other classes to teach, which makes her think that the *"teacher distribution by the local government should be better"* (Interview with teacher at SMP 1). The teacher in SMP 9 sorted this out by teaching at another school, while the teacher at SMP 5 taught in civil society to fulfill her 24 hours. But as the teacher in SMP 9 says some of her

partner tried to teach in two schools to fulfill the 24 hours teaching, but they didn`t feel comfortable with it, it just made them tired and not focused.

That teachers (and local teachers` unions) have gained much autonomy in implementing the curriculum might also have contributed to more professional attitudes. Especially in Jogja where they have the only PKN teachers association in Indonesia, an association where teachers discuss implementation methods in PKN classes (Interview with teacher at SMP 1, 5, and 9). This might also contribute to a peer-pressure towards developing and implementing innovative teaching methods. This is reflected by one teacher who states that the teachers` union is to "develop our professionalism [and] sharing experience among the members" (Interview with teacher at SMP 1).

All this factors combined have undoubtedly developed a more professional teachers` stand in Yogyakarta. So I`ll want to argue that this challenge for qualitative education is minimized, in Jogja at least. It`s worth mentioning though, that the newly developed 24 hours' work per week demand, seem to – while it might facilitate for more experience for the teacher – be a challenge for teachers to fulfill – often because of the many PKN teachers in Jogja – and it also might contribute to less focus on the classes the teachers actually teach, and it can also make them tired and demotivated as one teacher stated. This program and its effects on teaching civic education should be assessed thoroughly as to prevent to swap one issue of demotivated teachers with another producing the same thing.

About "Economic insecurity":

As mentioned above the teachers now receive higher salary than before. All four teachers I interviewed claimed that the income was adequate. Two worked at the side, both as a teachers in civil society, but one did it voluntary while the other did it to fulfill the 24 hours' work demand. So this doesn`t seem to be a challenge for qualitative education anymore, at least in Jogja.

About "The role of community in education":

The role of the community have been emphasized during the reformation of the educational sector in Indonesia. The intent has been that schools shall, in collaboration with the local community, set their *"own education plans and at the same time the community ensure that the plans are implemented more accountably"* (ICE 2008). This have, by some degree, been fulfilled by giving the local government and schools autonomy to implement the curriculum in their own ways.

One teacher says that:

"the school always tries to make good relation between the school staff and the parents. Every once in two month, the school always hold meeting at 6-8 a.m. in Monday. They can share about the students' achievement and how to develop them. The speakers could be coming from UNY or UGM. The parents also give contribution by giving money purely for the religion activities and importance. All in all, the relation between the school and the parents are good, because they realize that education cannot be separated from parents and family. When the school has programs, the parents always support it as long as it is useful for their children, some of them even give money sincerely to the school" (Interview with teacher at SMP 9).

Another informs us that they have a parents committee in school which have regular meetings every semester (Interview with teacher at SMP 1). A third teacher says that parents involves in the students activities at the beginning of the year, while other encounters sometimes are on their initiative (Interview with teacher at SMP 2). The teacher from SMP 5 says that parents receive some examinations by the school to test their children at home. The interviews with the students showed that there was little community participation – only as charity – and parental involvement with school governance.

Some of the teachers also states that parents can, and do, contribute by providing materials and money to their children or the school. One mention that they can contribute by providing

"laptop and internet for the students" (Interview with teacher at SMP 1). Another states that parents can give "a media" – that is a computer (Interview with teacher at SMP 2). While the teacher from the "best junior high school in Yogyakarta"; SMP 5, which has an "international program" that *"parents of students has the obligation to pay two millions in the beginning of the semester and pay Rp.250 0000 every month"* (Interview with teacher at SMP 5), an enormous sum of money for the average Indonesian. The challenge of illegal fees in Indonesia has Rosser et. al. written comprehensible about (see Rosser et. al. 2011)

There`s seem to be little experiences with collaborations with the local community, other than research in society or about society or charity. One teacher said that "sometimes we want to engage with the society, but there is no response and support from the society and the school, so we are busy with our own business and never develop the society engagement" (Interview with teacher at SMP 1).

I`ll have to argue that the local communities role in education seem to be that of the local teachers unions. Parents seem to be a little included, but not much. While gift-giving still seem to be "the best way" a parent can contribute to their children's education. While interviews with four teachers won`t be enough to draw any firm conclusions, I would definitely argue that this education – community link can be a potential space for democratic and contextual empowerment, if some schools or NGO`s/CSO`s inquire for collaboration in the future.

To conclude I will argue that the issues of "top-down authority structure" and "economic insecurity" today seem to have vanished as challenges for an qualitative education. The development of professionalization of teacher have also done a lot to raise the standards of teachers, while the 24 hours teaching obligation might become a problem for some. As for community participation (including parents) there seem to have been few changes, at least in those four schools I did interviews, but this space could also provide a democratic space for collaboration between PKN-classes and NGO`s/CSO`s about democracy and human rights.

6.2 Analysis of civic education curriculum in light of presented ideal-types on democratic citizenship education

This analysis is divided into three parts, each assessing the texts on civic education, in relation to the presented view on a) the political community, b) civic identity, and c) teaching and learning dispositions. I must admit that it was a little difficult to decide what was worth to include since terms like "emphasis" and "rely heavily" can be difficult to make sense of in an analysis because these terms are not used in the official documents about civic education. But I still believe, after numerous readings with an Indonesian translator, that I caught the essence in the documents.

First I want to present the general intention of civic education in Indonesia, as expressed by the national government:

"Citizenship and personality course is needed to increase the awareness and insight of the students about his or her status, rights, and obligations in society and the nation-state, and also to increase his or her life quality. The awareness and insights are to include the national values; patriotism to guard the state; regarding human rights; plurality; environmental; gender equity; democracy; social responsibility; rule of law; taxes; anti-corruption, -collusion, and –nepotism" (Attachment to the Ministry of Education act no. 22, 2006:2).

In relation to this standard competency of "patriotism to guard the state" they mention related basic competencies such as "explaining the importance of guarding the state", "identify types of guarding the state", and "show how to participate to guard the state" (Guidance to Syllabus Development :8).

Another related intention of civic education:

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"National education based on Pancasila and the Constitution [1945] function to develop the nations` ability and character, and civilization of the nations` values. This is the core of educating the citizen to build the students potential to become a religious person with a good manner, healthy, intelligent, skillful, independent, democratic citizen along with the full responsibility" (Attachment to the Ministry of Education act no. 22, 2006:preamble).

6.2.1 The political community

In the text emphasizing the intention of civic education we can read that it emphasis: 1) rights and obligations in society and the nation-state, 2) to increase his or her life quality. This includes the national values of: patriotism to guard the state, regarding human rights, plurality, environmental, gender equity, democracy, social responsibility, rule of law, taxes, and anti-corruption, anti-collusion, and anti-nepotism.

That they are emphasizing rights and obligations and personal development can be viewed mainly as a liberal concept. But it also can be attributed to the civic republican typology, since it says nothing about personal liberty or autonomy, just "to increase his or her life quality", which doesn`t really mean anything by itself. When we look at the national values emphasized we can see that by arguing that the student should aquire national values they align with the civic republican typology, whereas the liberal would have emphasized the values of autonomy, independence and equality as the main aim. The critical citizenship approach would have emphasized shared commitment to the transformation of democratic life to the improvement of all. The value "patriotism to guard the state" can be considered a civic republican one, considering its importance – first value presented. The phrasing of this value also suggests this, since a critical citizenship approach consider patriotism as a disposition toward encouraging critique, dissent and transformation of the state.

It also mentions plurality which is very important in the liberal citizenship approach. But anything else would surprise me when their national slogan is "Unity in Diversity". Overall

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are the values presented very general, but I want to argue that they predominantly seem to fit the civic republican and the liberal approach to citizenship education. Plurality, gender-equity, democracy, rule of law and taxes are all very much related to the liberal citizenship approach, but I found no indications on universal or humanist approaches to citizenship as is usual in this approach. The mentioning of values against corruption, collusion, and nepotism, might be considered an opening for critical citizenship approaches.

The main civic education document also states that:

"The development of the curriculum should give an emphasize both on the national and local interest to build the citizenship in a nation state scope. The national and local interest should be complementary and empower each other along with the motto "Bhineka Tunggal Ika" in the framework of the unitarian state of Republic Indonesia" (Attachment to the Ministry of Education act no. 22, 2006:5).

To build citizenship "in a nation state scope" must be considered to imply a civic republican approach to citizenship education. A liberal approach to citizenship, as argued earlier, are individual-oriented, while a critical citizenship approach would have emphasized a "social justice scope".

They continue to write that:

"The development of the curriculum should involve the stakeholders to guarantee the relevance of the education to the needs of life, including the social community, job vacancies and enterprises. Therefore, the development of personal skills, thinking skills, social skills, academic skills, and vocational skills are a must" (Attachment to the Ministry of Education act no. 22, 2006:5)

The relevance of education "to the needs of life" could in a critical citizenship approach mean for example a focus on the human right to subsistence. While here, it more ambiguous. This

phrasing might also fit the liberal notion of "the ability of all people to fully exercise their freedoms in society". All the mentioned skills can be attributed to this idea.

This is more or less what is expressed about the political community in the civic education documents. Doing the interviews the teachers responded to the question "What is the purpose of PKN?" with emphasis on being a good citizen according to the national ideology of Pancasila, defend the state and to love "our country". These views reflect a civic republican approach. That those were ideas was heavily emphasized – as opposed to liberal notions of personal liberty or critical notions of social justice – seem to reinforce the argument that the political community mainly is understood as civic republican ideas, while including some liberal elements in the texts.

6.2.2 Civic identities

When we look at the expressed intention of civic education presented above we can see that a good citizens is a citizens embedded with the national values. The focus on safe-guarding the state is an explicit civic republican value. But the other values can be considered either civic republican or liberal in its nature, since they emphasis plurality, democracy, social responsibility, rule of law, human rights and environmental protection.

They texts also state that the core of educating citizens is *"to build the students potential to become a religious person with a good manner, healthy, intelligent, skillful, independent, democratic citizen along with the full responsibility"*. To become a religious person can be considered an anti-thesis to the views of – especially - the liberal approach, since it emphasize autonomy and the choice of the individual. Independent is a term very important in the liberal approach though. The focus on responsibility that we find here, and in Guidance to Syllabus Development (:3) which states a good citizen is one *"who can apply his/her rights and obligations based on the constitution"* is reflecting both the civic republican and liberal approach to citizenship. But the text also states under last phrase that the goal of this mission
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is to *"have a rational, critical, and creative thinking to understand the discourse of citizenship"* (Guidance to Syllabus Development:3). This understanding of civic virtues can reflect a critical approach, though, in a context with little more than these notions of being critical and rational, I`ll argue that this follow a liberal notion of critical thinking.

The principles to follow when implementing the curriculum are view as:

"learning to believe in God, learning to understand, learning to do effectively, learning to live together and help each other, and learning to find self-identity through active, creative, and effective learning" (Attachment to the Ministry of Education act no. 22, 2006).

Except learning to believe in God, as mentioned above, this can mean everything.

The liberal value of plurality is also emphasized:

"the development of the curriculum take concern on the diversity of the students characteristics, local condition, stage and kind of the education / school, without stressing on the differences of the religious, ethnic groups, culture, custom, economic and social status, and sex" (Attachment to the Ministry of Education act no. 22, 2006:4).

This is an especial liberal notion of citizenship, which, as mentioned, is quite common to express in Indonesia through their slogan "Unity in Diversity".

When analyzing the Guidance for Syllabus Development-document we find a list of 13 standard competencies which are supposed to be learned to students. All these competencies have attached basic competencies. I`m now going to present those considering civic identity and comment on them accordingly:

"Showing positive attitudes to independence day and the spirit of the first constitution"

"Showing positive attitudes to Pancasila in daily life in the state and society"

"Showing positive attitudes to the first constitution and the amendments"

"Be obedient to national regulations"

"Showing participation to guard the state"

"Show the positive attitudes towards peoples sovereignty and the Indonesian system of governance"

All these basic competencies reflects a civic republican approach toward civic education. While the others competencies presented subsequently could be considered liberal:

"Appreciate mechanisms to protect and enforce human rights"

"Actualize freedom of speech along with the responsibility of it"

"Showing positive attitudes to apply democracy in daily life"

Considering the findings in the texts on civic education I will argue that the civic identity that is promoted through civic education in Indonesia is close to the standard civic republican identity. This is also reflected in the interviews where teachers mainly thought the purpose of PKN is to teach students to be good citizens according to Pancasila and to love their country. But one student answered "to make students think critically and democratic" (Interview with student at SMP 2). It seems like civic identity and its elements reflect a civic republican approach, with a few liberal elements spread around.

This conclusion gain credibility by looking at the interviews. Especially the teacher in SMP 9. She have taught students in civic education in almost thirty years and said that *"actually, the content is just the same as in the New Order government. It`s just the way of delivering the material to the students which makes a difference"* (Interview with teacher at SMP 9). This view is also expressed by another teacher (Interview with teacher at SMP 1) when answering the question "Have there been any difference in PKN since the reformasi?" she responds *"Ya,*

it was delivered by speech… Nowadays, without the national examinations, it has become more democratic to the students".

So, considering that I have found the curriculum-content to more or less represent continuity in the civic education approach since the authoritarian rule, I would need to analyze how the curriculum are implemented in Yogyakarta`n junior high schools. The interesting question now is about how this approach reflects in the related pedagogical implementation, or if it does? Another important issue is about the prospects for local curriculum-implementation to develop a deeper and more substantial civic education with the same curriculum as every district in the nation.

6.3 Analysis of curriculum implementation and pedagogical practices in Yogyakarta

The standard – and additional basic – competencies stated as learning goals in Guidance to Develop Syllabus-document clearly emphasize the importance of learning facts. This could be considered to represent the civic republican approach, but these facts are also very abstract in nature and are centered on "describing and explaining" which arguably can be recognized as a liberal approach. However, I found no reference to being critical to all forms of authority, little references to personal and group rights, and I found no reference to humanistic, international, or critical approaches to citizenship practice so I would argue that this emphasis on facts represent the civic republican approach to citizenship education.

But as the teacher in SMP 9 said, there have been changes in the pedagogical methods used in education in Indonesia. She also says that the biggest change since the reformasi is that there is now Freedom to Speech, while before *"there was a limit to express everything"* (Interview with teacher at SMP 9). She also holds presentations, encouraging students to critically watch the news. She also invites them to ask and give questions about the study-material or the

news. She also claims to encourage them to debate and change opinions in a mature matter. She also invites students to share their experiences, whatever they may be (Interview with teacher at SMP 9). The student interview from this school show that he has the same experiences, he even told me that his teacher had taught the students about "money politics" (Interview with student at SMP 9).

The teacher in SMP 1 argues that with the Competency Based Curriculum – mentioned earlier – facilitating debate between students has become important. When asked how the debate is conducted she says: *"Starting with a group discussion about the news, and the presenting in front of the class, others student comment, and teacher concluding those issues"* (Interview with teacher at SMP 1). She also says that with the cooperative learning methods they are now using they bring students` goals into the curriculum. In class they do this by first defining an issue, then they ask for the students experiences on the issue, and then they conclude. The students interviewed at SMP 1 also found the classroom climate open for discussions and friendly communication. They use a lot of group discussions apparently.

The same statements about the teaching-methods are found in the interviews of the teachers and students of both SMP 2 and SMP 5. The students are asked to critique each other, and even the teacher in SMP 2 (anonymously). In SMP 5 they use an international Project Citizen-program called Kami Bangsa Indonesia. This is a portifolio-based method of education where students are meant to come up with a local issue of society concern, then describe and analyze the issue, and at the end propose solutions. I will argue that this kind of program could work to deepen democratic citizenship education in Jogja towards a more empowered critical citizenship.

These findings suggest that the pedagogical methods used in implementation of the civic education curriculum are student-centered and democratic-liberal in practice and nature, with a little emphasis on facts. But I have also found that there are openings for a critical approach, especially where Kami Bangsa Indonesia is implemented.

6.4 Analysis of the ICCS study in light of civic republican, liberal, and critical citizenship

In the ICCS-study principals and teachers were asked to identify – from a set of goals associated with civic education – the three most important aims of civic and citizenship education. The teachers in the study identified "promoting knowledge of citizens` rights and responsibilities" (75%), "promoting knowledge of social, political, and civic institutions" (57%), and "developing students` skills and competencies in conflict resolution" (42%) as the three most important aims of civic education. The goal of "promoting students` critical and independent thinking" came in fourth with an percentage of 37, which was the second lowest reported emphasis on this indicator – with only Colombian teachers with reportedly lesser emphasis on the subject – amongst the participating countries, and this percentage was also statistically significant more than 10 percentage points below ICCS average. When principals were asked to assess the most important aims of civic and citizenship education the three mostly emphasized goals were "promoting knowledge of citizens` rights and responsibilities" (78%), "promoting knowledge of social, political, and civic institutions" (58%), and "promoting respect for and safeguard of the environment" (57%). The percentage of principals who considered "promoting students` critical and independent thinking" among the three most important aims of civic and citizenship education were considerably lower than amongst the teachers with only 14%. Which was also significantly lower than 10 percentage points below ICCS average (Schulz et. al. 2010:180ff).

These numbers hints to us that there`s in general a bigger emphasis on abstract skills and knowledge, associated with a thin civic education approach, than on critical thinking – which is considered as the best suitable education mechanism to "expose the various ideological and manipulative strategies that undermines the hope for authentic and informed political decision-making (Hyslop-Margison & Thayer 2009:78). And which is situated under the «thick» type of civic curriculum.

A secondary factor associated with EDC/HRE approaches in ICCS is the stated emphasis on different civic processes in the curricula for civic and citizenship education at the target grade. The respondents reported "some emphasis" on "analyzing and observing change processes… in the community" and "reflecting on and analyzing… participation and engagement opportunities". The reported "some emphasis" may be the result of the newly decentralized and democratized education system where teachers are granted much autonomy in the implementation of the curriculum provided by the national government. But it might also tell us that there might be a potential for civic education concerned with substantial and critical engagement with contextual democracy-issues in Indonesian educational context. This was also what I found in my fieldwork.

We find one indicator in the ICCS-study that suggest to us that the specific subject of patronage and nepotism isn`t provided sufficient attention in civic education classes in Indonesia. Here, student respondents from Indonesia presented the highest percentage of trust (66) in political parties in the study. This might not say anything by itself but when in the same study 49% of the students disagreed with the statement "Political leaders should not be allowed to give government jobs to their family members". This was the lowest reported agreement to this statement amongst the participant countries in the study, as well as it was statistically significant on more than 10 percentage points below ICCS average (Schulz et. al. 2010:89). There might be an error in the understanding of the response to the question, it should have added "unjust" or something similar. But nonetheless, these numbers suggest to us that the subjects of patronage and nepotism isn`t receiving substantial and critical attention in civic education in Indonesia.

My findings in the ICCS study strengthen my findings during the fieldwork. Mainly that while pedagogical inputs seems satisfactory there`s a tendency to downplay the importance of critical thinking in Indonesia.

7 Conclusions and suggestions for further research

I want to conclude that the hypothesis was partially confirmed. Civic education approach and content has not changed much post-Suharto. It still seems to fit into the civic republican approach to civic education which emphasis national cohesion and patriotism as well as this approach emphasizing the learning of facts to become a good citizen. My suggestion as to why this is still prominent is that civic education is conducted through the principles and ideas in the national ideology Pancasila. These ideas are very influential on the civic education content, and might be considered unsuitable as a mean towards a) a thick and empowering democratic citizenship education, and b) further democratization by educating critical and empowered citizens.

Civic identity in civic education is here mainly understood as a loyal and patriotic citizen, with some emphasis on the good for the citizen and the society. These characteristics of the citizen as loyal and patriotic are a challenge when undemocratic laws and practices flourish in the society – and these emphasizes present itself as a challenge for the aim of creating a critical and empowered democratic citizenship, which could contribute to further democratization of Indonesia.

So, I haven`t found substantial ideological changes in the content of civic education, as the structural changes, including the Competency Based Curriculum (CBC), supposed to entail. But I found that the virtue CBC had of "promoting attention to active teaching and learning processes" have been more or less realized. My findings in Yogyakarta suggest that the pedagogical methods used in civic education have become largely student-centered and democratic-liberal in practice and nature. I have also argued that programs like Kami Bangsa Indonesia might serve as an educational and political opening for more substantial and empowering democratic citizenship education. I would propose that some qualitative research is done on this program and how it is used in civic education. There seem also to be a need for more research on society-school-links in relation to civic education in Indonesia.

All in all, it's the content of civic education which present itself as the biggest challenge for a substantial democratic citizenship education, and therefore, for further democratization in Indonesia. The pedagogical implementations of the curriculum has changed and become more substantial, democratic and empowering. The reluctance of the new "democratic" political elite towards reforming the content and aim of civic education might be contributed to their interest in sustaining status-quo.

I have also included inductive-deductive research in this paper. I found that Bjork`s stated challenges for a qualitative education is eroding. The issues "top-down authority structure" and "economic insecurities" seem to be no challenge anymore. And the professionalization of educators has seen many positive effects. The 24 hours teaching obligation might become a problem to fulfill for some teachers though. As for community participation I have found few changes, but as I have mentioned, this might provide a democratic space for collaboration between PKN-classes and NGO`s/CSO`s about democracy and human rights issues.

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Appendix – List of interviews and documents:

SMP 1:

Dwi Cahyaningtyas – PKN teacher. Personal interview in Yogyakarta, 30/3-2011.

Dewi Kencana Wati & Anisa Amalia Ramadhani – PKN students. Group interview in Yogyakarta, 30/3-2011.

SMP 2:

Anastasia Partini – PKN teacher. Personal interview in Yogyakarta, 4/4-2011.

Ahmad Aulia Justisiananto – PKN student. Personal interview in Yogyakarta, 4/4-2011.

SMP 5:

Endang Sayekti – PKN teacher. Personal interview in Yogyakarta, 28/3-2011.

Anindya Noor Agusta – PKN student. Personal interview in Yogyakarta, 28/3-2011.

SMP 9:

Mrs. Suwarsih – PKN teacher. Personal interview in Yogyakarta, 26/3-2011.

Dida – PKN student. Personal interview in Yogyakarta, 26/3-2011.

List of documents:

Guidance to Syllabus Development. PKN material.

Attachment on the Ministry of Education Act number 22, year 2006. PKN material.