CIVICS AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE REFLECTIONS[1]

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Abstract

Dalam sejarah panjang dunia ini, civics dan pendidikan kewarganegaraan di sekolah merupakan fenomena yang relatif baru. Ada dua faktor yang mengarahkan hal ini. Pertama adalah pertumbuhan negara-bangsa dan kedua adalah diperkenalkannya pendidikan untuk massa.

Negara bangsa muncul di seluruh dunia dalam jumlah yang besar setelah akhir perang dunia kedua pada pertengahan abad ke duapuluh. Kekuasaan kolonial telah ditentang dan pergerakan kemerdekaan dilakukan atau mencapai kemerdekaan. Di Afrika, Amerika Latin, dan Asia ada peningkatan di sejumlah negara merdeka. Sebagian terbesar menjalankan bentuk pemerintahan demokratis. Mereka melaksa-nakan pemilu dan memiliki badan perwakilan. Semuanya memperkenalkan beberapa bentuk persekolahan bagi kebanyakan penduduk.

Artikel ini membahas sejarah pendidikan yang didukung oleh negara di Eropa. Di dalam konteks itu, dibahas civics dan pendidikan kewarganegaraan di Sekolah abad ke dua puluh satu dengan kemungkinan implikasinya bagi pendidikan kewarganegaraan di Indonesia.

Keywords: *civics, citizenship education, Australian schools*

Introduction

The policy of using citizenship education as a means of unifying the country and of instilling within its population an orientation that lies beyond its own geographic region and/or its own ethnic group of origin is one that has been used by countries round the world for generations. Sometimes the policy has been benevolent; sometimes massive re-writing of history has taken place and large-scale crucial events have been ignored or discredited. Usually, there has been some combination of these practices as governments seek to use the education sector to legitimate the nation and its system of government, but which at times has been used to legitimate particular leaders. In other words, the history of citizenship education has many permutations.

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[1] This paper was initially presented to Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, May 5, 2001 at the kind invitation of Professor Cholisin and Drs Samsuri.

The 'need' for civics and citizenship education

In the long history of the world, civics and citizenship education in schools is a relatively recent phenomenon. That is because schools are also relatively recent. When, in Europe, the Middle East and China, societies did introduce schools, these places of learning were initially associated with religion and only with a very small proportion of the population.

Most people had a subsistence lifestyle, working in the fields or forests or fishing in the rivers and oceans, whilst others traded and bartered from coastal ports or sold their wares up and down the rivers. With the industrial revolution many people worked in the factories, or were employed on large-scale construction projects or as artisans or as domestic labour for the wealthy.

When there was a war, they were the first to be sent to the front line. When there was an attack by an enemy, they were in some sense protected because of allegiance to their ruler. These people did not have to be taught to be obedient, for they grew up knowing that the option was obedience, death or exile. The relationship was what we know as patron-client. It existed in Indonesia as much as it existed in feudal England. The patron protected, the client gave his or her obedience and loyalty in return. Civic education was unnecessary.

Two factors changed this situation. The first was the growth of the democratic nation-state and the second was the introduction of education for the masses.

The world has not always been organized into nation-states. Empires such as Majapahit and Srivijaya, the Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire, the Moghul Empire and etc all claimed allegiance from portions of the world's population. In addition there were small egalitarian societies who lived close to the land– often in highland settings– away from the trade that was taking place on coastal settlements. Finally there were gypsies – wanderers who showed no allegiance except to their family and group.

Nation-states emerged in the greatest number after the end of world war II in the mid twentieth century. Colonial powers were challenged and the new independence movements fought for, or were accorded their independence. In both Africa and Asia there was a marked increase in the overall number of independent countries. Most of these operated with some form of democratic government. They had elections and a representative body. All introduced some form of schooling for a large proportion of the population.

The history of state-sponsored systems of education – the European model.

When they first achieved, or were granted independence, the new post world war II states tended to produce education systems which were of the top-down type. The systems were state-sponsored, and centrally controlled. In the first instance, the aim of the education system was to provide legitimation for the new state. As many of the new states consisted of diverse ethnic and language groups, and as many of them were intent on throwing off the yoke of colonialism, the education system (often itself a

colonial legacy) was an important means of instilling a notion of national unity by way of a national language and a nationally shared history amongst the new generation. The second major aim of the education system was to supply bureaucrats for all the services that the state needed to provide, but from the state-makers' perspective, this aim was usually of ancillary significance; national unity being of prime concern. The way in which these goals were achieved was by the infusion of an ideology that would provide the energy for growth and commitment.

The historical roots of this legitimating link between the state and the development of an educational system for the masses can be seen in Europe in the nineteenth century. It was then copied or absorbed in many new states in the twentieth century. The theoretical interpretation that Ramirez and Boli (19 give is that education was part of the process of the nation-building efforts of states competing with one another within the interstate system.[2]

> [P]olitical, economic and cultural developments in Europe led to a model of the legitimate national society that became highly institutionalized in the European (and later, world) cultural frame. This model made the construction of a mass educational system a major and indispensable component of every modern state's activity.[3]

Ramirez and Boli ask: "Why was the social innovation of mass state-sponsored education adopted in virtually every Western European country... from Prussia (1763) to

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[2] In his analysis of international politics, Ralph Pettman (1990. *International Politics: Balance of power/ Balance of productivity/ Balance of ideologies*. Melbourne, Longmans Cheshire) has examined the current on-going global interstate competition. The growth of a state's education sector is immanent in the overall process. The dynamic he has meticulously teased apart consists of the same three broad processes, namely the balance of power, the balance of productivity and the balance of ideologies. He sees these processes occurring within the respective domains of state-making, wealth-making and ideology-making. State-making is a political process and has to do with the way the world's peoples and territories have been and are being divided. Wealth-making is an economic process which refers to the movement of global resources and the process of class-making. As we move into the study, we are made aware that the political and economic dimensions are in fact "fused". "The balance-of-power and the balance-of-productivity are linked. If power is thought of in terms of its functional dimensions (political, economic, military and ideological) and we take production (rather than just exchange) to be the core of economics, then productivity is a dimension of power, and the balance-of-productivity is a dimension of the balance-of-power" (p.108). It was precisely this situation which occurred in the early states. Finally, the ideology of modernity and its pre and post alternatives is examined within the context of ideology-making. Running as integral themes throughout the study are those of gender and militarism. Pettman's framework provides us with a comprehensive story of the way in which states make, and continue to make themselves on the world stage.

[3] Francisco O. Ramirez and John Boli. (1987). "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization." in *Sociology of Education*. Vol 60. (Jan):2-17, p. 3.

Belgium (1914), despite great variation in societal characteristics and histories?"[4] Their contention is that the European states became engaged in funding, managing and according legitimacy to mass schooling as part of an endeavour to construct a unified national polity. Within the state, individuals were expected to give their prime identification to the national unit. From time to time external challenges to the state's ranking on the world stage stimulated state action in education in that efforts and funds would be devoted to internal obstacles such as the power of the clergy, state or class-based privileges or regional autonomy.

The earliest example we have of a national education system is that of Prussia. In writing of Prussia, Karl Schleunes states that:

> Prussia's experience is uniquely important to an understanding of European schooling...The Prussian schooling process was only part of a larger educational revolution that spanned the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The main impact of this revolution's early phase was upon higher education for the elite... Schooling for the non-elite, though the subject of increasingly intense discussion and even of some legislation was not made effective until after the military disaster at Jena-Auerfeldt in 1806. Then, during a decade of feverish activity, schooling became established as one of the reform generation's most lasting contributions to the remaking of Prussia.[5]

The legacy of this Prussian mass schooling venture was that the 'lower orders' were seen to be made up of educable beings and secondly that the state, rather than the church, was seen as the authority in matters of education.

Ramirez and Boli drew attention to what they saw as two important aspects of the union of the making of the Prussian state and the growth of its education system, namely a unification of its populace and a means of increasing its stature on the world stage.

> First, the state attempted to use mass schooling to create *a more unified national citizenry* and thereby consolidate state power both within the nation and relative to other national states, as enunciated explicitly by Fichte. Second, the union was sparked by a clear challenge to Prussia's position in the European state system - its defeat at the hands of the French after a period during which Prussia had managed gradually to increase its international stature and power. Prussia saw its rise in the European system blocked. Its response was state-controlled education, and the system it constructed would

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[5]Karl A. Schleunes. (1979). "Enlightenment, Reform, Reaction: The Schooling Revolution in Prussia." *Central European History.* Vol.XII. No.4. December., p. 317

later be widely cited as an important element of Prussian (German) *success in the state system* (my emphasis). [6]

As well as the issue of the political regeneration of what had been a divided Germany (within the context of a competitive system of states) in the nineteenth century, Dewey drew attention to the need for a psychological or ideological justification for this dramatic move of educational expansion from the elite to the masses. He saw such a justification as being given by the German philosophers, Fichte and Hegel. They saw a need to transform the "private individual" who is "an egoistic irrational being enslaved to his appetites and to circumstances" into one who "voluntarily submitted to the educative discipline of state institutions and laws" (Dewey,1966:96). That is, the education system was seen to be important in the making of obedient 'citizens' from the raw material of willful private individuals.

In many third world states, the external rationale for educational expansion to the masses in the twentieth century was phrased in language that connoted a change from the old to the new. In the 1960s education was seen as a means of creating 'modern' citizens from the stock of the 'traditional' peasantry. [7] Hunter's position, which was adhered to by the Western 'developed' countries of the time reflected the Eurocentric perspective. However, if we take the view of indigenous governments, then the major rationale for either the creation or localization of a colonial education system was exactly that of the European states a century earlier -- i.e. the creation and continuing consolidation of a new nation-state.

The political dynamic of educational expansion

State-making is a process which involves the production of 'good' citizens. In order to achieve this goal, the state must reach every member of the population. [8] In his analysis of the history of the term, 'state', Carr shows how the term, state, changed from being one which solely referred to the ruler to one which currently includes the whole population. It is what Carr has termed "the socialization of nationalism." [9] Anderson has termed these bounded groups of people "imagined communities." He posits two major historical movements with this change in people's orientations. The first is the traveling pilgrim Creole functionaries who became ipso facto representatives of 'nations'. These Creole communities developed early conceptions of nation-ness well before most of

[6]Francisco O. Ramirez and John Boli. (1987). "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling...", p. 5.

[7] Guy Hunter. (1969). *Modernizing Peasant Societies*. London, Oxford University Press.

[8] The need for mass recognition of political legitimacy was not always a requirement which rulers visited upon their populations. See Ben Anderson's research on pre-18th century dynasties where boundaries were not necessarily demarcated and leadership did not depend upon establishing legitimacy among the people (Anderson 1983: 25-28).

[9] Edward Carr. (1983). "States and Nationalism: The nation in European History." in D. Held. (ed). *States and Societies*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Europe. Secondly he sees the development of the print media as critical in providing the means for disseminating information to large numbers of people.

> What I am proposing is that neither economic interest, Liberalism, nor Enlightenment could, or did, create in themselves the kind, or shape of, imagined community to be defended from these regimes' depredations; to put it another way, none provided the framework of a new consciousness - the scarcely-seen periphery of its vision - as opposed to centre-field objects of its admiration or disgust. In accomplishing this specific task, pilgrim Creole functionaries and provincial Creole printsmen played the decisive historic role.[10]

More recently, radio and television have leap-frogged print media as global means of information dissemination.[11]

Universal compulsory education within individual nation-states made the extension of the franchise to the masses easier. It was initiated and organized by the state as a means of creating loyal citizens, citizens for whom their state would be as 'natural' as the family into which they were born.

A major function of education therefore, even in consumer-sponsored systems such as in the United States was to provide legitimacy and loyalty to the state.

> While political conflict propelled the process of educational state formation, educational structures and practices in turn aimed at the reconstruction of political conflicts. For the governing classes, the educational state was 'the social', a domain organized spatially, temporally and discursively, where political conflicts were to be remade. In this Educational State, social peace and harmony were to prevail. Here members of different social classes, genders, religious sects, and (to a much lesser extent) ethnic groups were to encounter one another on conditions of a specific 'social equality'. At the same time, participants in the educational state - students, teachers, trustees, electors and parents - were to internalize and embody principles of social tolerance, respect for legitimate authority, and for standards of a 'collective' morality. Political conflicts were to be remade in the educational state through the remaking of political subjectivities. *What is at work here is the making of (modern) social identities* (my emphasis).[12]

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[10] B.R.O'G. Anderson (1983). *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London, Verso.

[11] Indonesia has received substantial aid from Australia in the setting up of sophisticated telecommunication satellite networks.

[12] Bruce Curtis.(1988). *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871.* London, Ontario, The Althouse Press., p. 13.

Educational aims were couched in terminology such as 'equality of opportunity', a phrase which conveyed equal access, but which masked structural inequalities; inequalities which existed because of the political-economic nature of competing states on the global arena.

As a crucial component of the political arena, it is important to examine the issue of force or violence. Militarism has not usually been associated with the education system. However, when one examines the practices of those involved in war-making policy, the element of social control/legitimation/ consent is a crucial goal of the state. Barkin states:

> Current scholarship on Prussian education stresses compulsory schooling as a mechanism of social control to indoctrinate children in religion and political submissiveness. Other themes adumbrated include schooling as a preparation for tedious industrial labor and its utility to a state seeking to nationalize and integrate an increasingly urbanized and disparate population. Social mobility and education for democracy have been found quite alien to the thought of early nineteenth-century educators.[13]

Among the poorer classes, compulsory education has historically been associated with making the populace pious and patriotic in order that it will consist of more obedient and subservient workers and soldiers. Barkin [14] cites Hartmut Titze's description of the Prussian schooling system as "the first modern dictatorship of the mind". Branson and Miller describe schooling in Bali, Indonesia as "epistemic violence".[15].

Whilst it would be facile to view all states' education systems as large bureaucratic control mechanisms, there is a sense in which a state's education system can be seen (to a greater or lesser degree) as implementing psychological pressure in aiming to socially institute a hegemonic pervasion of all the values embodied in 'the state'. The point is that education can be a bounded act, not in a physical sense, but in the sense of limiting horizons, foreclosing options and restricting a vision of the possible.[16]

The theorist who expresses this most potently is Poulantzas. He recognizes the gradation or continuum of violence inherent in the monopoly of structures of power. This

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[13] Kenneth Barkin. (1983). "Social Control and Volksschule in Vormarz Prussia." in *Central European History.* Vol XVI, No.1. March., p.32.

[14]*Ibid.* p. 35

[15] Jan Branson, and Don Miller. (1991). "Schooling and the Imperial Transformation of Gender: A Post-Structuralist Approach to the Study of Schooling in Bali, Indonesia." in R.J. Burns and Welch, A.R. *Contemporary Perspectives in Comparative Education.* New York, Garland., pp. 6-7.

[16]Barbara Leigh (1999), Learning and Knowing Boundaries: Schooling in New Order Indonesia, *Sojourn,* Vol 14, No 1.

monopoly "underlies the techniques of power and mechanisms of consent: it is woven into the disciplinary and ideological apparati, and fashions the materials of the social body on which domination depends, even if this violence doesn't get exercised directly". [17]

> For Poulantzas, the capitalist State neither separates law from violence nor substitutes mechanisms of manipulation-persuasion (ideology) for repression. To the contrary, the capitalist State develops a monopoly on legitimate physical violence: the capitalist State's accumulation of the means of corporal control goes hand in hand with its character as the State of law and order. He argues that... disciplinary institutions and the emergence of ideological institutions like the parliament and the school assume the monopoly of violence by the State, and this violence, in turn, is obscured by the displacement of legitimacy toward "legality" and the law. Not only that, but the major instrument of legal violence - the army - serves as the model for the organization of schools and bureaucratic hierarchies both within the State and in the private corporations. [18]

The violence that is often embodied in state education systems is most frequently a non-physical manifestation which can present the face of 'naturalness' within the internationally legitimated phenomenon of compulsory attendance or UPE (universal primary education). Once in school, students are often subjected to military history that presents a glorified picture of war and its heroes and heroines. Sometimes militarism within the education system takes a more overt form in that school students are enlisted for proto-military activities such as cadets or the equivalent. Within the curriculum, war-making is usually glorified [19] because of its integral link with the project of state-making. As Tilly (states so succintly and graphically, "States make war and wars make states". [20]

As is often the case, it is the story, rather than the social science text, which provides us with the most graphic picture of the power of the education system. In C.H.Kane's short story "Ambiguous Adventure", a fictional new school in a new nation, Diallobe, is described:

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[17] Nicos Poulantzas. (1975). *Political Power and Social Classes*. London, Humanities Press. p. 88. As quoted in Martin Carnoy. (1984). *The State and Political Theory*. N.J., Princeton University Press. p. 13. In contrast, Foucault and Gramsci see a dichotomy between violence and ideology. They see consent based on the internalization of normalization as non-violent, as opposed to physical repression which is patently violent.

[18] Martin Carnoy. (1984). *The State and Political Theory*. N.J., Princeton University Press, p.13.

[19] Robin Burns (1986:147) has shown this phenomenon in relation to the US. "[T]he war made science a national policy issue, and this in turn, assisted by the Russian launching of Sputnik in 1957, has framed the rhetoric and formed the rationale for subsequent US government spending on science."

[20] Charles Tilly . (1985). "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" in P. Evans et al (eds). *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge, University Press.

The new school shares at the same time the characteristics of cannon and of magnet. From the cannon it draws efficacy as an arm of combat. Better than the cannon, it makes conquest permanent. The cannon compels the body, the school bewitches the soul. Where the cannon has made a pit of ashes and of death, in the sticky mould of which men would not have rebounded from the ruins, the new school establishes peace. The morning of rebirth will be a morning of benediction through the appeasing virtue of the new school.

From the magnet, the school takes its radiating force. It is bound up with a new order, as a magnetic stone is bound up with a field. The upheaval of the life of man within this new order is similar to the overturn of certain physical laws in a magnetic field. Men are seen to be composing themselves, conquered, along the lines of invisible and imperious forces. Disorder is organized, rebellion is appeased, the mornings of resentmentre sound with songs of universal thanksgiving.

Only such an upheaval in the natural order can explain how, without either of them wanting it, the new man and the new school come together just the same. For neither of them wants the other. The man does not want the school because in order that he may live - that is, be free, feed and clothe himself - it imposes upon him the necessity of sitting henceforth, for the required period, upon its benches. No more does the school want the man because in order to survive - that is, extend itself and take roots where its necessity has landed it - it is obliged to take account of him.[21]

It is not the aim of this section to paint a bleak picture of schools, but rather to allow some ventilation for the complexity of the issues involved in an examination of the state and its relationship to the education system.

Civics and Citizenship in Australian Schools

Schools in Australia are faced with exactly the same sorts of questions that those in Indonesia face. To what extent should the curriculum be used for purposes of citizen-making? To what extent should politics be introduced into the curriculum? As a civil society, how do we best inculcate those values that we consider important to the next generation?[22] (Print et al, 2001).

Within schools in NSW, the aim is to integrate the civics and citizenship terms and concepts throughout the syllabus content. At secondary level, civics education is

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[21] As quoted in Kane, C.H. "Ambiguous Adventure" in George Lamming (ed), *Cannon Shot and Glass Beads*, Picador, 1974.

[22] Murray Print and Wally Moroz and Pat Reynolds (eds). (2001) *Discovering democracy in civics and citizenship education*, Katoomba, NSW: Social Science Press, 2001.

taught through an elective unit within the history syllabus for years 7-10. The syllabus was last revised in 2001. While students may have different experiences and understanding of citizenship to which teachers need to be sensitive, civics and citizenship education in the History syllabus is underpinned by the following values:

- A sense of the students' own worth as participants in Australian society
- A respect for the rights and dignity of all people
- Respect for their own culture and the culture of others
- Appreciation of the value of students' own heritage and the heritage of others
- Commitment to democratic processes, including freedom of speech, association and religion
- Commitment to social justice
- Commitment to ecological sustainability
- Commitment to active and responsible participation in community and public affairs
- Commitment to critical evaluation of ideas, norms and values.[23]

Civic and citizenship allows students to develop understanding about civic life as distinct from private and personal life, and to this end, the content embedded in the syllabus is focused on three broad areas:

- Australian identity
- Rights and responsibilities
- Decision-making and democratic processes.[24]

In terms of what students learn about, civics and citizenship includes the study of:

- Government, constitutions, institutions, the rule of law and the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and
- Political heritage and the democratic process values.[25]

In terms of what students learn to do, the syllabus provides opportunities to develop the skills needed for active and informed citizenship, such as critical reflection and inquiry, how to make and suspend judgement in an informed way, solving problems and negotiating conflict, communicating information, ideas and viewpoints and co-operating with others. Underpinning the knowledge and skills is a set of values associated with democratic citizenship and civil society, including values in social justice and equality, democratic processes, social cohesion, ethical behaviour, intercultural understanding and tolerance of difference. The syllabus suggestions have emphasized the place of Aborigines within Australian society.

[23] Board of Studies, NSW, History Syllabus, Values. <www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au> accessed at April 10, 2003.
[24] Board of Studies, NSW, History Syllabus, Values. <www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au> accessed at April 10, 2003
[25]Board of Studies, NSW, History Syllabus, Values. <www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au> accessed at April 10, 2003.

At the primary level, schools in NSW, Australia have introduced a topic 'Teaching Civics' into the primary school key learning area of Human Society and Its Environment. The activities cover a range of topics and include a variety of teaching and learning approaches. The topics look at the Constitutional Convention, the history of Federation, how young people influence government, local government, the flag, human rights and voting in elections. Pedagogical suggestions for the teachers are the use of debates, role-play, writing of petitions, engagement in on-line discussions with other students, and the overall fostering of awareness within the individual student as an active citizen.

These curricula, are evidence of the sorts of material that is being taught within Australia. During the New Order in Indonesia, Pancasila education was the subject that encouraged students to be aware of their 'Indonesian-ness'.[26] It was compulsory at every level of schooling from kindergarten through to tertiary education, as well as pancasila courses being compulsory for all civil servants. The need for civics and citizenship education remains potent when governments wish to instil the values of active engagement within the community, whilst at the same time wishing to control that engagement. The dialectic of that governance is both dynamic and contextual.

The history and sociology of civics education involves the examination of:

- the ways in which its education system (as a system) has developed – the mix between public and private, religious and secular, co-education and single sex schools
- the system of governance and the practices of democracy in context
- the degree of centralization; control of curricula content
- control of examinations; means of entry into the country's universities
- budgetary allocation as a proportion of GDP
- wages
- infrastructure
- system of teacher training
- career structure for those employed in the education sector

Solutions that may be suitable in one context are not always appropriate in another context.

If a country is committed to democratization, then this will be evident in the pedagogy available to the students. There will be opportunities for discussion; group work will be part of the school day, as learning to respect the views of others, to listen and to be able to engage in dialogue is essential learning within a democracy. Most importantly, assessment tasks will examine the student's capacity for critical reasoning, active participation and an ability to view problems from a range of perspectives.

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[26]Barbara Leigh. (1991). "Making the Indonesian State: The Role of School Texts" in *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, Vol 25, Winter 1991.

These are the values that were emphasized in the conference on civic education held in Bandung, Indonesia. As Professor Dr Endang Sumantri stated, "the ultimate goal of ... citizenship education is to provide people with the capacity to ... think and make intelligent and socially responsible decisions".[27]

None of these processes take place quickly. The leaders of a country can show their commitment to the development of a civil society through providing every student with the opportunity for learning their rights and responsibilities through relevant and appropriate school-based activities. Educationally, students with a strong sense of civic responsibility show that they have something to contribute to their own learning, the learning of their peers and as active citizens, to the growth of a civic society.

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[27] Endang Sumantri. (1999) "Community Civic Education" in Center for Indonesian Civic Education (CICED) and USIS, Jakarta, Balitbang Dikbud, and IKIP Bandung, *Proceedings from Conference on Civic Education for Civil Society. Democratic Citizens in a Civil Society: Building Rationales for the 21st century's civic education,* Bandung, March 16-17. p. 7.

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