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The Dynamics of Civic Education within the Schools in Indonesia: A Study of Educational Politics and Curriculum in Three Orders

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Abstract

The Dynamics of Civic Education in Indonesia. Civic Education has experienced its dynamics from time to time in accordance with the shift of the regime in power. Each regime has a tendency to intervene in Civic Education for the sake of power. This study aims to reveal and trace the dynamics of Civic Education in primary and secondary education in the Old Order, New Order, and Reform eras in terms of the educational politics and curriculum. This was a descriptive historical study employing the qualitative approach. It involved the document study as the primary method. The document study was conducted on primary and secondary sources. This study also employed interviews as a complementary method. In-depth interviews were carried out with experts in Civic Education. The results of the study are as follows. **First**, there are dynamics in educational politics in Indonesia in accordance with the interest of the regime in power. Educational politics in the Old Order was characterized by Manipol USDEK, guided democracy, and revolutionary leadership; education was meant to bring about socialist citizens and society in Indonesia. Educational politics in the New Order was characterized by a spirit to purify Pancasila; education was meant to build people with concern over development with the Pancasila ideology.

Education in the Reform era is characterized by a democratic spirit; education was

meant to build democratic and responsible citizens. **Second**, the meaning of Civic

Education in the Old Order era was relevant to the goal of the national education

at that time, namely inculcating patriotism and nationalism, spirit to create a

revolution leading to Indonesian socialist society. The meaning of Civic Education

in the New Order was relevant to the goal of the national education at that time,

namely building people with concern over development to support economic

development and Pancasila morality. The meaning of civic education in the

reform era is relevant to the goal of the national education at present time, namely

empowering citizens to build democratic Indonesian society in diversity that

respects human rights highly, conforms to the laws, and possesses global

perspectives.

Keywords: civic education in Indonesia, the dynamics.

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Introduction

Education, in essence, is the effort of preparing children and youth to face the future, giving them knowledge and encouraging their feeling to fulfill the needs of the era. Therefore, education is the most important thing to build a society (Ahmad Syafii Maarif, 2004: 2). In line with Maarif, Emile Durkheim shifted his education as follows:

"Education is the influence exercised by adult generation on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically distined." (Jeanne H. Ballantine, 1983).

John Dewey (1959: 89-90) views education as a reconstruction or reorganization of experience to make it meaningful, so that experience can lead to the next experience. According to Dewey, education should be based on experience, an individual's active interaction with his environment, where education as an experience reconstruction. Past experience is used to understand current events or experiences. And then to direct the experience to come. For Dewey the ultimate goal of education is the growth or reconstruction of experiences that determine the direction and control of subsequent experiences.

According to George R. Knight, the purpose of education in addition to being influenced by metaphysical (ideological, religious) views, is also influenced by the political dynamics and economic conditions of a country. Any political and economic development can affect the goals of national education. Further George R. Knight states:

"....there is a definite relationship between philosoophic beliefs and educational practices. For example, a distinct metaphysical and epistemological viewpoint will point to a value orientation. This value orientation, in conjunction with its corresponding view of reality and truth, will determine the goals that will be deliberately aimed at in the educational process. The goals, in turn, will suggest preferred methods and curricular emphases" (George R. Knight, 1998: 32).

Every society in any hemisphere is eager for its young generation to be prepared to be a good citizen and to participate in the lives of the people and the country. For that purpose, it is developed Civic Education (Civics).

Article 37 paragraph (2) of Law Number 20 of 2003 on National Education System states that the Education Curriculum shall contain: Religious Education, Civic Education, and Language. These three compulsory subjects signify the purpose of building a religious nationhood. This article places Civics as one of the important and strategic subjects besides Religious and Language

Education. The article clearly and firmly mandates and requires the Civics must enter the curriculum at every level and type of education from primary school to college.

Civics is not only given in Indonesia. Other countries around the world also provide it, although it is packaged in various shapes and names. Civics or Civics Education is awarded in the United States. Citizenship Education is awarded in the UK. Ta'limatul Muwwatanah or Tarbiyatul Watoniyah, in Middle Eastern countries. Educacion Civicas in Mexico. Sachunterricht in Germany. Civics or Social Studies in Australia. Social Studies in New Zealand. Life Orientation, in South Africa. People and Society in Hungary. Civics and Moral Education in Singapore, and Obscesvovedinie in Russia (Udin S. Winataputra, 2006: 3).

Conceptually the Civics aims to prepare young people to be good citizens, citizens who have the knowledge, skills, and values necessary to actively participate in their communities. Civic should not be merely an instrument of interest to the regime's power, but must be oriented to the interests of the nation and state. National development in the economic, political, social, cultural, and defense fields will not succeed if it is not supported by all citizens. Therefore, Civics should be able to stimulate the growing active participation of citizens in the life of nation and state. In the Encyclopedia Americana it is stated that Civic is as follows:

"Citizenship Education consists of the formal enabled to understand and contribute to the effective working of their society. All nations are their schools to promote effective citizenship. The schools attempt to develop young persons who have the necessary knowledge and under standing and who hold the values and ideals that will lead them to satisfying and competent roles as citizens of the state. Central to such education is the furthering of the nationalistic and patriotic goals of the society. This is true in closed sicieties as well as in democracies". (Encyclopedia Americana, 1997: 745).

Civics can be done through formal education (schooling) and community education through social organizations. Civics is a compulsory subject in elementary, junior and senior high schools as mandated by the National Education System Law. The development of Civics in Indonesia since independence has undergone a long historical journey which is basically expected to foster a strong sense of nationalism. However, history proves the Civics in Indonesia as well as in many countries often experience deviations from the vision, mission and goals. Civics are often used as tools of power to perpetuate power. Such a Civic figure indeed appears in many countries, especially developing countries. Cogan's research (Ace Suryadi and Somantri, 2000: 1) states:

"Citizenship education has often reflected the interest of those in power in particular society and thus has been a matter of indoctrination and the establishment of ideological hegemony rather than of education".

Civics often reflect the interests of those in power in society. It is therefore often a tool of indoctrination and hegemony rather than as a means of education for citizens. Civics in Indonesia are experiencing dynamics from time to time along with the alternation of the regime in power. Each regime has a tendency to interfere with Civics for the sake of its power. This study aims to reconstruct the dynamics of Civics in primary and secondary education in Indonesia since the Old Order, the New Order, until the Reformation era.

Metodology

The type of this research is descriptive-historical research using qualitative approach. Library study was conducted in various libraries, curriculum centers, and National Archives. Documentation is used to obtain information about education politics, curriculum of Civics at primary and secondary education level, as well as the meaning of Civics during the Old Order, New Order, and Reformasi era. Interview conducted on Civics experts. Interview method was conducted to collect information about education politics, curriculum of Civics at elementary and intermediate level, as well as Civic meaning in Old Order era, New Order, and Reformation era. This study aims to reconstruct the dynamics of Civics in primary and secondary education in Indonesia since the Old Order, the New Order, until the Reformation era. There are four steps taken in this method: (1)

heuristics, (2) external and internal criticism, (3) interpretation, (4) fact formulation and presentation of new thinking in the form of description of Civics dynamics at elementary and secondary education level Indonesia since the Old Order until the Reformation era (Homer Carey Hockett, 1967: 9).

Result

1. The Political Dynamics of the Education of the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reformation

Political education in each era is the answer to the problems facing the era.

Political education can not be separated from the context of the political environment that become the background.

Year 1945-1966 Indonesia under Soekarno (Old Order). Old Order education politics can be divided into three periods as the political dynamics affect it. (1) The period 1945-1950, colored by the spirit of revolution, education aims to instill the spirit and soul of patriotism. (2) Period 1950-1959, colored by liberal democracy, education aims to establish competent moral persons and democratic citizens and is responsible for the welfare of society in Indonesia. (3) The period 1959-1966, colored by Manipol USDEK (the teachings of Soekarno), education aims to produce Indonesian socialist citizens who are have an attitude. National education in the Old Order era that lasted from 1945 to 1966, remains based on Pancasila. Although during this period Indonesia used the three

Constitutions, but in its journey tilted on the form of guided democracy with revolutionary leadership to build a socialist society

Year 1966-1998 Indonesia is governed by Suharto (New Order). The transition from the Old Order to the New Order brought the consequences of a national education's political change. The implications of the dissolution of the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party), led to the closure of schools under the PKI and the organizations under it. When the PKI was dissolved, and purified Pancasila, the goal of national education changed to "to form a true Pancasila man based on the provisions desired by the preamble of the 1945 Constitution." This fundamental change indicates that the USDEK Manipol ideology has been firmly changed into the Pancasila philosophy. The New Order characterized the spirit of economic development on the one hand and on the other hand laid back Pancasila as the basis of the state. That spirit is always emphasized in education. Upgrading of P-4 (the guidance of practice Pancasila) must be given to every student received in school, in addition to the still subject of Pancasila. The subject of PMP (Moral Pancasila Education) and PPKn (Moral Pancasila and Civic Education) is dominated by P-4 material. PMPs including those affecting classroom upgrades and school graduation. Once EBTANAS (national exam in Indonesia) is enacted, PMP becomes a component of the field of study affecting the value of the DANEM comatative (EBTANAS Score List). DANEM serves as a standard entering the education level above it. The purpose of education is directed to prepare students to be developmental people who have Pancasila soul.

The Reform Era was started in 1998. Reform is the renewal, the old paradigm shift into the new paradigm, as a remedy against the previous conditions. The politics of education in the Reformation era is based on the Law on National Education System (Sisdiknas) Number 20 Year 2003, which states that the purpose of national education is to develop the ability and form the character and civilization of a dignified nation in order to educate the life of the nation, aims to the development of the potential of learners to become a man who believes and cautious to God Almighty, noble character, healthy, creative, independent, and become a democratic and responsible citizen. Politics of education at this time more colored by efforts to build a democratic school life, religious, moral, smart, creative, and independent.

2. The Dynamics of Civics Curriculum at the Primary and Secondary Education Level The Old Order, the New Order, and the Reformation

The curriculum of Civics in every era is strongly influenced by the education politics outlined by regime at that time. The Old Order's Citizenship Education Curriculum: (1) The purpose of inculcating the spirit and the soul of patriotism, in order to form a good citizen, that is a resident Indonesian socialist citizen. (2) The subject matter / content is dominated by Manipol USDEK so that its scientific roots become unclear. Designed to support state strengthening, submitting to the regime, as well as staunch supporters of the status quo. (3) The learning method uses indoctrination and hegemony.

Curriculum of Citizenship Education of New Order era: (1) The purpose of forming a pure human development of Pancasila and Indonesian people. Subject matter / content covers P-4 very dominant, 1945 Constitution, GBHN (The Outline of National Guidance), and History of Nationality. Like the Old Order, the New Order Civil Code was also designed to support the strengthening of the state, to obey the regime, as well as to the staunch supporters of the status quo. The method of indoctrination through upgrading of P-4 was done to all students and students, even civil servants, Korpri, bureaucrats, teachers, and community leaders.

Curriculum of Citizenship Education in the Reformation era: (1) The purpose of empowering citizens, namely to form citizens who actively participate in the life of nation and state, civic politics citizenship, critical and creative thinking. (2) The content / content of the lesson consists of politics, law, and morals. Civics in this era of scientific roots is clear, regime intervention is minimal, serves as a democratic education, legal education, and moral education. (3) The learning method uses critical dialogue.

3. The Dynamics of Meaning of Civics at the Level of Primary and Secondary Education, era The Old Order, the New Order, and the Reformation

The meaning of Civics in every era is strongly influenced by the politics of education as well as the educational curriculum outlined by the regime at that time. The meaning of Civics during the Old Order in accordance with the purpose of national education at that time, namely to inculcate the soul of patriotism and

nationalism, the spirit of revolution to the Indonesian socialist society.

The meaning of Civics during the New Order period was in line with the national education objectives of that time, namely to form a Pancasila-spirited development man to support the economic and moral progress of Pancasila.

The meaning of Civics in the era of Reformasi in accordance with the objectives of national education at this time, namely for the empowerment of citizens, realizing a democratic Indonesian society in pluralism, uphold human rights, law-abiding, and global insight.

Conclusion

Taking into account the dynamic of Civics in Indonesia from the Old Order to the Reformation era, curriculum decision makers should be able to use the past experience to better design the future of Civics. Past experience has placed the Civic Education as a tool of power alone, and vulnerable to political changes. Improvements to Civics should place citizens as subjects to be developed into critical and creative citizens, proactive, innovative, democratic, respectful of human beings, cultured, and obedient to laws and regulations.

Past experience teaches us, that Civic Education in the Old Order era, and the New Order very poor concept and theory, so that more dominant element of indoctrination. Therefore, the Civic Education in this era of Reformasi should be clarified scientific concepts and theories that are more scientific. The method of indoctrination must be terminated, the dialogical method should be developed in the Civic learning at school. Civics in the Old Order era, and the New Order was developed based on the theory of hegemony, namely the political socialization of the state to its citizens to strengthen the regime in power. Such a method must be abandoned during this Reformation era. Civics should be used as a means to empower citizens in the context of forming civil society, a society in which states and citizens are in a balanced position.

Civics in the future should continue to develop the substance of the material. The material of Civics should be sourced from political science, legal science and morals. Thus, these subjects will have a clear science bar. It needs the same perspective from various components in developing Civics in the current era of Reformasi. Dikdasmen, Curriculum Center, Lemhannas, LPTK, and various Civic Communities in Indonesia need to gather to formulate the best Civics for Indonesia. Civics should be the attention of all parties, governments, LPTK (The Institution of Teacher Education) that have Civic Education Departement, Civic Community, as well as Civics teachers in the field. There is no more important task for a nation than to develop responsible, educated citizens. Therefore the task of educators, policy makers, and other members of civil society, is to campaign the importance of Civics to all levels of society, and the ranks of government. Ideally Civic Education is aim to form a good citizen should be free of the pragmatic political interests of the regime in power. Civic Education should base itself on state politics as contained in the national constitution.

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