

**Unity Through Diversity?
Data from a New Civic Education Program in Indonesia**

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A paper presented at the International Conference on Civic Education Research,
November 16-18, New Orleans.

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“I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion.” Thomas Jefferson

“Indonesia could disintegrate like the former Yugoslavia unless its people put national interests first.” President Megawati Sukarnoputri ¹

I. Challenge of democratization in Indonesia

The challenges to democracy and the democratization of the Republic of Indonesia are as vast as the nation itself. Indonesia is the world’s largest archipelago and spreads across a distance equal to that from Dublin to Moscow. Indonesia’s 13,000+ islands are inhabited by over 234 million people² from 300 distinct ethnic groups speaking over 350 languages³ and practicing one of five officially sanctioned religions (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism). Although Islam is the predominant religion (88.2% of the population), massive areas of the country have majorities consisting of those practicing minority faiths (i.e., Papuan Christians). All these demographic challenges not only are a threat to the development of a stable democracy in the republic, but a threat to the unitary state of the nation. As a result of ethnic and religious strife, the Indonesian military is actively engaged in suppression of rebel groups and independence movements in Aceh (North Sumatra), Maluku and Papua.

Not all challenges to democracy in Indonesia are demographic; the nation also lacks many of the fundamentals considered to be the building blocks of strong democracies.

Although the rate of adult illiteracy is below 15%,⁴ the nation has one of the lowest rates of spending (per capita as a percentage of GNP) on education in the region.⁵ Corruption is endemic and the country is consistently listed as one of the most corrupt worldwide, in 2002 Indonesia was ranked 96th of 102 countries for transparency.⁶ Much of the small middle class that does exist consists of bureaucrats and others engaged in activities that, in most countries, would be thought of as corrupt. Finally, corruption has tainted the rule of law by polluting an

¹Quoted in Ruth-Hefelbower (2002), p. 224.

² 2003 CIA World Factbook, <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/us.html>.

³ Based on information from Stephen A. Wurm and Shiro Hattori (eds.), *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area*, Canberra, 1981-83, 38-45; Frank M. LeBar (eds.), *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia*, New Haven, 1972-75; and Indonesia, Department of Education and Culture, Directorate of History and Traditional Values, *Petu suku bangsa di Indonesia (Geographic Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Indonesia)*, Jakarta, 1991.

⁴ UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS). 2002 Literacy Figures. UIS. Montreal.

http://portal.unesco.org/uis/ev.php?URL_ID=5063&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201&reload=1059709897

⁵ UNESCO. *Is the World on track? Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2002*. Education for All. Paris. 2002.

http://portal.unesco.org/education/ev.php?URL_ID=11283&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.

⁶ Asian Development Bank. *Indonesia Country Economic Review*. CER:INO 2002-06. July 2002.

<http://www.adb.org/Documents/CERs/INO/2002/default.asp>

already inefficient judiciary and creating a populace that is fearful of an acquisitive, uncaring police force that often causes rather than solves criminal activity.⁷

Another challenge stems from ignorance over what a democratic system is, or how it functions.⁸ When ventured, opinions on “democracy” focused mainly on the concepts of freedom and liberty.⁹ Citizens did not associate democracy with free elections, transfer of power, or accountability. Most Indonesian voters did not know they would need to register to vote in the 2004 elections, or about the new direct election of their president.¹⁰ A shallow understanding of democracy notwithstanding, support for democracy obtained in the most recent World Values Surveys places Indonesians near the top of the list; 96% of Indonesians agree that having a democratic system is a good or very good way of governing their country.¹¹ This suggests that the recommendation from Harvard’s Conflict Prevention Initiative, June 5-14, 2001, is still timely. Namely that “[d]emocratization in Indonesia must be supported and allowed to continue to develop at a sure and steady pace. Support should be given for organizations that attempt to educate the Indonesian people, particularly in the provinces, on democracy’s goals and the nature of democratic citizenship.”¹²

“Civic education,” as part of Pancasila, has been taught to Indonesians for the past fifty years. Presently, Indonesians are revising both the content and methods of civics instruction. Revisions resulted from events such as the 1998 Asian economic crises, which rocked President Soeharto and the Golkar Party’s “New Order Government.” IMF reforms followed, and student protests erupted into riots. Soeharto’s resignation was accompanied by a transformation of the electoral process. For the first time, the state philosophy, Pancasila, was called into question. This philosophy formed the basis of an educational curricula designed to foster a common national identity and to shape citizens’ beliefs. In the subsequent section, I will provide a snapshot of the current state of civic education and reforms that are underway to foster unity and to provide democratic skills to the large, emerging political cohort (seventy million Indonesians are under the age of 14, comprising one-third of the population).¹³

II. The Current State of Civics Instruction in Indonesia

One of the goals of education is to cultivate the intellect, thereby broadening perspectives, creating awareness of alternatives and a disposition to question, and fostering a belief that problems can be addressed by thoughtful and informed action.¹⁴ The reader might also note that “[a]ll national educational systems indoctrinate the coming generation with the basic

⁷ Schwartz, Adam. *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia’s Search for Stability*. Westview Press. October 1999.

⁸ Asia Foundation, 2003 “Report; Indonesia In-Depth Interviews, pp. 6-7.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 7-8.

¹¹ Inglehart (2003), pp. 52-53. Further evidence of Indonesians’ embrace of democracy is that less than one-fifth agreed having a strong leader who does not bother with parliament and elections would be a good way of governing their country.

¹² 2001 Web conference conducted by Harvard’s Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research, report authored by Judy Stone.

¹³ 2003 CIA World Factbook, <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/us.html>

¹⁴ Forthcoming *Res Publica: An International Framework for Education in Democracy* (2004), p. 108.

outlooks and values of the political order.”¹⁵ Civics instruction in Pancasila embodies this effort in Indonesia. President Sukarno first defined Pancasila (“Five Principles”) in a speech delivered in 1945. These principles were then codified in the preamble of Indonesia’s constitution. Pancasila represents the founding principles of the Indonesian state.

The principles include:

1. A belief in the one and only god
2. A just and civilized humanity
3. The unity of Indonesia
4. Democracy led by the wisdom arising out of deliberations among representatives
5. Social justice for all

These ideals are transformed into concrete lessons, which students receive 2 to 3 times a week, from primary school through college. “PPKn” (*Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan*) has been the civics instruction and it is not often taught interactively. Nor does it appear to be a particularly popular subject among students. The methodology relies upon the “banking method” where teachers make a deposit in students’ heads, to be withdrawn later during exams (Ruth-Heffelbower 2002, 226). This approach to the principles seems to discourage critical thinking, consideration of alternative perspectives, and the disposition to question. Randomly selected lessons translated from two widely used eighth-grade texts are included in Appendix A.¹⁶ PPKn culminates in a written examination at the end of each semester, but the course grade does not weigh heavily into the determination of whether students advance to the next grade level.

Indonesia’s education system is decentralizing, with power and autonomy devolving to regional educational ministries. Currently, the federal ministry of education provides guidelines for the content of civics instruction. Guidelines consist of modified standards printed in booklets for teachers by grade levels. For instance, middle school students, the population studied here, are expected to possess: “1) knowledge about civic responsibilities, democracy, nationalism, political attitudes, and the relationship between the nation and other nations; 2) learning experience; and 3) the ability to participate in achieving a democratic society.”¹⁷ The writing of these standards has been influenced through the addition of new curricula, such as *Kami Bangsa Indonesia* (“I am a Citizen of Indonesia,” adapted from *We the People: Project Citizen*). One of the basic competencies now states that “[s]tudents have to understand how to participate in the life of nation and country, to possess skills necessary for effective citizenship and preserve a democratic life. Evaluating, controlling, and influencing policymaking at the school, regional and national levels are the means to realizing a democratic society.”¹⁸

Indonesian students also participate in an informal curricula designed to instill national pride and cohesion. For example, each Monday morning across Indonesia, classes form with military precision by grade level on school grounds. First, the principal or teacher delivers a

¹⁵ V.O. Key, ASR V 28 No 1 1963 in Edgar Litt, “Civic Education, Community Norms and Political Indoctrination.”

¹⁶ By Sukadi 2002, and Dahlan et al. 2000

¹⁷ Translated from *Mata Pelajaran Kewarganegaraan (2001)*, the Curriculum Guide for Citizenship.

¹⁸ Ibid.

motivational speech or advice. Then a student reads five principles (*Pancasila*) to the entire assembly. Another reads the preamble to the constitution. Finally, all students salute and sing the national anthem, plus a heroic song from the war for independence. Finally, the student “commander” of the ceremony walks up to the principal, salutes, and announces that the assembly is over, whereupon students file back to their classrooms. (Meanwhile teachers may have snooped through students’ bags, confiscating banned articles such as pornography, drugs, comics, or cassettes).

Another type of political socialization occurs within school activities. The federal ministry mandates that middle and senior high schools have an internal organization that represents the students. This is known as *Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah* (OSIS) and in my study, all teachers reported an active OSIS at their schools. Teachers and/or principals select officers in OSIS and students then may vote for candidates, rendering the process less democratic. Positions include president, secretary, and treasurer, who receive the reports from many clubs that exist within each school (e.g., arts, religious, sports, science). Club presidents are expected to organize events, such as performances, celebrations, or matches, and do not seem to involve themselves in school governance. Still, one might reasonably expect that skills gleaned from organizing events or directing meetings may be transferable at a later date to the political arena (see Jennings and Stoker 2001).

III. Introduction of a New Civic Curriculum: *Project Citizen (Kami Bangsa Indonesia)*

In 1999 educators from the Center for Indonesian Civic Education (CICED) and the Center for Civic Education in the United States exchanged visits, and planned the adaptation and translation of *We the People: Project Citizen*. USIA funded a needs assessment for new civic education, and a pilot program was conducted by CICED in Bandung province in 2000. In 2001, USAID approved funding for civic education in Indonesia and the program studied here was fully implemented in Bali, East Java, Jakarta, Lampung, North Sulawesi, North Sumatra, Papua, South Kalimantan (Borneo), South Sulawesi, West Java, West Sumatra and Yogyakarta. Thirty-six coordinators in each of the 12 provinces administer the program with direction from the new Center for Civic Education Indonesia in Jakarta. In this study, six provinces were included in the study (see the map, following page).

Project Citizen was translated and adapted by a group of Indonesian scholars and the Center for Civic Education Indonesia’s staff. The revised text, entitled *Kami Bangsa Indonesia* refers to Indonesia’s constitution, Pancasila, branches of local government, as well as groups active in civil society. Illustrations resemble Indonesian students and teachers. For the purposes of this paper, I will use the English name of the program, *Project Citizen*. The program teaches students how to monitor and influence public policy. Students work collaboratively to identify, research, and propose a solution to a problem that can be addressed by local political institutions. Research has shown that this is likely to increase student learning (Niemi and Junn, 1998, 153).

Project Citizen consists of six steps through which students:

- Identify public policy problems in their communities. Often for the first time, youth contemplate problems faced by their communities as addressable through official action.
- Select a problem for the class to study by vote. Having identified problems, students must choose which to address. Discussion and debate ensue, culminating in a decision by students about which policy to pursue.
- Conduct research and gather information. Students learn how to conduct different types of research on issues they care about from a variety of sources, part of a transformation into informed advocates.
- Develop a portfolio. The portfolio is a documentary display that consists of four panels representing each of these steps.
- Present their portfolios as teams to judges similar to a legislative hearing. Judges, comprised of influential community members, acts as a legislative committee and pose questions to students that allow them to demonstrate their knowledge of public policy. Classes may compete at the school level, province and or in the national competition.
- Reflect on their learning experience. Students discuss what they learned and what they might do differently.

IV. Results

A. Research Design

In 2002-03, 1,435 middle school students were surveyed in six provinces that participated in *Project Citizen*. The survey design incorporated pre- and posttest surveys, with equivalent control groups. Students were matched time one to time two, so that gains made by individuals were captured. Teachers and principals who took part in the program were also surveyed upon the completion of the seminars they attended. Some questions were asked of both groups, which afford a glimpse into generational differences.

Other studies have been conducted on *Project Citizen* in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Latvia, Lithuania and the US.¹⁹ One finding was that participating students often went beyond the scope of the program and tried enact their policy proposals through local government. This was the case in Indonesia as well. Of students sampled in this study, nearly half, 49%, tried to implement their proposed policies. Of these, 13% were successful in getting their proposals adopted.

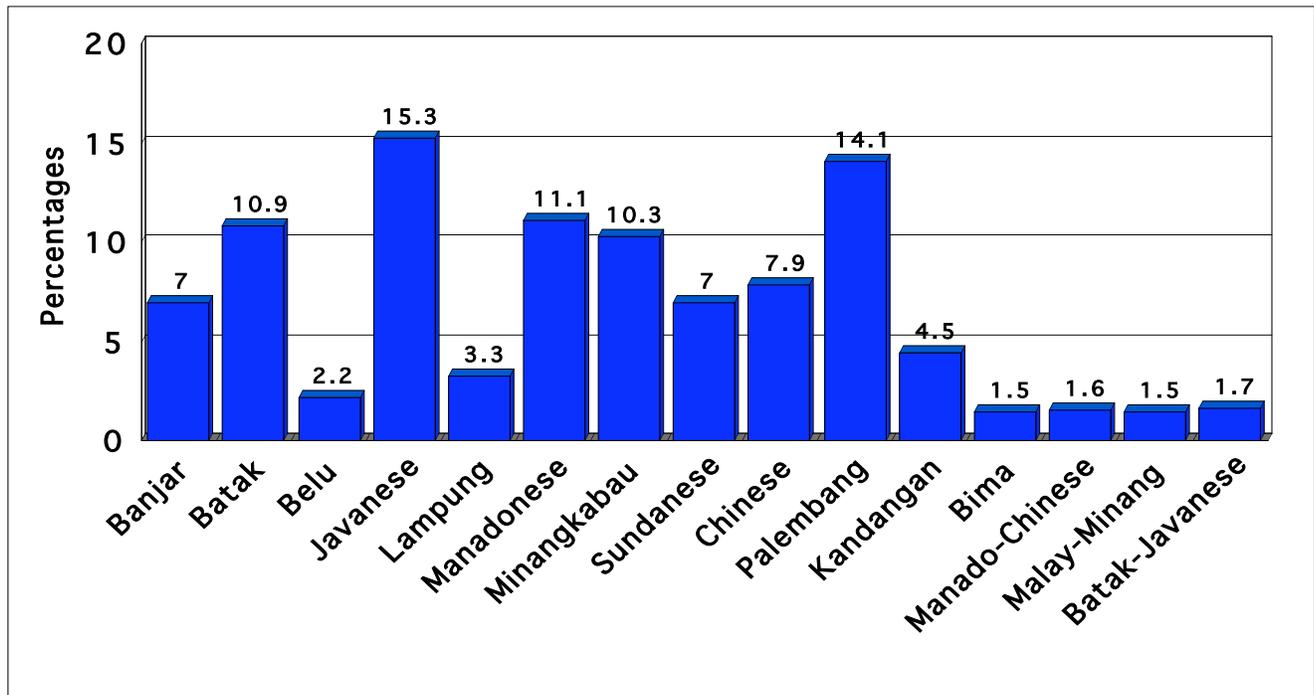
Of the 1,435 students surveyed, 915 participated in *Project Citizen* and 520 were in an equivalent control group. Students ranged in age from thirteen to fifteen, with no significant mean difference between groups, with the mean age of fourteen and a half.

¹⁹ Soule 2000, Vontz et al. 2000.

Socioeconomic status (SES), measured by mother’s and father’s occupation plus parent’s level of education was slightly higher among students in the control group. This ought to improve their scores on most measures in contrast to participants. Overall, 26% of respondents were ranked as Low SES, 40% as Middle SES and 34% as High SES.

There were eighty-four different ethnic groups in this study. This includes some students from “mixed” marriages. In some of the analysis reported later, I was forced to narrow it down to the top seven ethnic categories.

Major Ethnic Groups Included in this Study



All five sanctioned religious groups took part in this study, with the majority, 67%, Islamic. Only the groups with a large sample size were included in the analysis, Muslim, Catholic, and Christian Protestant.

Table 1

| Number and Percent of Students by Religion | | |
|---|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Number of Students | Percent of Students |
| Muslim | 956 | 66.6 |
| Catholic | 136 | 9.5 |
| Christian Protestant | 306 | 21.3 |
| Hindu | 3 | .2 |
| Buddhist | 34 | 2.4 |

Among *Project Citizen* participants, 56% were female, while in the control group 50% of respondents were female. I found no significant interactions between gender and *Project Citizen*, which suggests that both boys and girls benefited equally from instruction.

B. Statistical Procedures: Repeated Measures MANCOVA

Multiple Analysis of Covariance (MANCOVA) was used to test our hypotheses. MANCOVA is a test of mean differences when there is more than one independent variable with multiple dependent variables. Also, it allows us to control for certain variables that may affect the dependent variables. The controlled variables are called covariates. MANCOVA allows us to neutralize the effects of the covariates, which enables us to see only the effects of the independent variables. For instance, using age as a covariate allows us to measure the effect of participating in civics instruction independent of the effect of age on the dependent variables. The results of MANCOVA have the potential of showing two significant main effects and one interaction effect. The independent main effects are independent are significant for some measures (see Table 3), which means that *Project Citizen* affected some indices. Interactions are the joint effects of the independent variables.

This statistical method was employed because we are interested in measuring the effect of instruction in *Project Citizen* on 14 civic attitudes and behaviors (dependent variables) after controlling for demographic variables using a pre- and posttest design. The dependent variables include 5 political skills/involvement measures (skills, basic research, expert research, political participation, and protest) and 8 civic attitudes/dispositions measures (media use/interest, political efficacy, citizen responsibility, tolerance for non-threatening groups, tolerance for threatening groups, tolerance for atheists, government responsiveness, and no power). Appendix B contains index reliabilities and all questions comprising each index.

The first analysis was conducted to compare the *Project Citizen* and the control group in their pretest scores and post-test scores. A repeated measures MANCOVA was used for this analysis. The independent variables were time (pretest and post-test) and group (*Project Citizen* and the control group). Socioeconomic status (SES), religion, gender, and age were entered as covariates, which allowed us to look at the effects of time and *Project Citizen* on the dependent variables if the students possessed identical SES, religion, gender, and age. The results showed a significant interaction between time and group for two political skills/involvement measures, political participation and expert research. Both political participation and expert research increased more in the *Project Citizen* group than in the control group. Both indices measure aspects of direct participation, research, contacting public officials and persuasion, skills necessary for active citizenship (See Appendix B).

| Dependent Variable | Project Citizen | | Control | | <i>p</i> |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Pre-test | Post-test | Pre-test | Post-test | |
| Skills | 2.808 | 2.722 | 2.826 | 2.749 | |
| Basic Research | 2.232 | 2.236 | 2.153 | 2.151 | |
| Expert Research | 1.169 | 1.228 | 1.169 | 1.155 | .000 |
| Political Participation | 1.754 | 1.904 | 1.722 | 1.766 | .000 |
| Protest | 1.812 | 1.905 | 1.757 | 1.853 | |
| Media Use | 3.305 | 3.595 | 3.216 | 3.416 | |
| Political Efficacy | 2.691 | 2.695 | 2.685 | 2.659 | |
| Citizen Responsibility | 3.316 | 3.314 | 3.259 | 3.302 | |
| Tolerance Non-threatening Groups | 2.948 | 2.982 | 2.958 | 2.996 | |
| Tolerance of Threatening Groups | 1.634 | 1.646 | 1.696 | 1.640 | |
| Tolerance of Atheists Government | 2.633 | 2.583 | 2.538 | 2.541 | |
| Responsiveness | 3.179 | 3.086 | 3.158 | 3.109 | |
| No Power | 2.189 | 2.217 | 2.160 | 2.209 | |

Further *Project Citizen* participants improved on five measures: political participation, expert research, basic research, protest, and media use/interest in politics. The results reported in Table 3 are the main effects of *Project Citizen* and indicate that the program was effective in causing change on these five dependent measures. Most of the questions comprised in these indices measure skills and behaviors. Only two attitudinal items were contained in these measures: interest in politics, and a belief in the importance of participating in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust. Civics instruction in *Project Citizen* appears to be very effective improving skills and in changing behavior. Attitudes appear more resistant to change, a finding consistent with other studies (see Finkel and Ernst, 2001).

Table 3

| Dependent Variable | Project Citizen | Control | <i>p</i> |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|
| Skills | 2.765 | 2.787 | |
| Basic Research | 2.234 | 2.152 | .000 |
| Expert Research | 1.199 | 1.162 | .004 |
| Political Participation | 1.829 | 1.744 | .000 |
| Protest | 1.858 | 1.805 | .036 |
| Media Use | 3.450 | 3.318 | .019 |
| Political Efficacy | 2.683 | 2.672 | |
| Citizen Responsibility | 3.315 | 3.280 | |
| Tolerance of Non-threatening Groups | 2.965 | 2.977 | |
| Tolerance Threatening Groups | 1.640 | 1.668 | |
| Tolerance of Atheists | 2.608 | 2.539 | |
| Government Responsiveness | 3.132 | 3.134 | |
| No Power | 2.203 | 2.184 | |

Literature on attitudinal effects of civic education on measures such as political tolerance suggest that explicit content, process (role-playing, simulations), teacher credibility and an open classroom climate may change attitudes.²⁰ *Project Citizen* lacks an explicit content devoted to attitudes such as tolerance, but the program encourages discussion, collaboration, and role-playing. I created an index that I termed “Involvement in Project Citizen” that sums students’ responses on: selecting their own topic to pursue, competing in a regional competition, identifying public officials responsible for addressing problems they identified, trying to implement the proposal, and success in implementing the proposal. Participants were clustered into low, medium, and high levels of involvement in the program. Within some clusters, there is an observable shift in attitudes.

This model using MANCOVA with age, gender, SES, and religion as covariates displays a significant interaction between the level of involvement and time. Students in the high involvement group increased their scores from pretest to posttest on three political skills/involvement measures (political participation, expert research, and basic research) and two civic attitudes (media use/interest and political efficacy) more than students in the other two groups.

Table 4

| Dependent Variable | Low Involvement | | Medium Involvement | | High Involvement | | p |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|----------|
| | Pretest | Posttest | Pretest | Posttest | Pretest | Posttest | |
| Political Participation | 1.668 | 1.699 | 1.747 | 1.911 | 1.837 | 2.097 | .000 |
| Media | 3.121 | 3.324 | 3.286 | 3.524 | 3.44 | 3.936 | .003 |
| Expert Research | 1.158 | 1.118 | 1.165 | 1.223 | 1.182 | 1.347 | .000 |
| Political Efficacy | 2.692 | 2.576 | 2.663 | 2.681 | 2.737 | 2.841 | .000 |
| Basic Research | 2.17 | 2.139 | 2.252 | 2.235 | 2.7 | 2.349 | .041 |

Also, the results revealed a significant main effect of the level of involvement. Overall, high involvement students scored higher in four political skills/involvement measures (political participation, expert research, basic research, and protest) and five civic attitudes (citizen responsibility, media use, political efficacy, government responsiveness, and tolerance of non-threatening groups). Tolerance toward threatening groups was lower among high involvement students. These post hoc comparisons reveal the importance of engaging students fully, giving them opportunities to present their ideas and to be taken seriously.

²⁰ Torney-Purta et al. 2001, Avery 2002, Finkel et al. 2001, Brody 1994.

Table 5

| Means for Dependent Variables by Levels of Involvement | | | | |
|---|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Dependent Variable | Low Involvement | Medium Involvement | High Involvement | <i>p</i> |
| Basic Research | 2.154 | 2.244 | 2.310 | .000 |
| Expert Research | 1.138 | 1.194 | 1.264 | .000 |
| Political Participation | 1.683 | 1.829 | 1.967 | .000 |
| Protest | 1.796 | 1.883 | 1.873 | .048 |
| Media Use | 3.222 | 3.405 | 3.688 | .000 |
| Political Efficacy | 2.634 | 2.672 | 2.789 | .000 |
| Citizen Responsibility | 2.769 | 2.763 | 2.786 | .000 |
| Tolerance of Non-threatening Groups | 2.915 | 2.970 | 3.013 | .019 |
| Tolerance of Threatening Groups | 1.713 | 1.668 | 1.557 | .005 |
| Government Responsiveness | 3.122 | 3.090 | 3.211 | .016 |

Let us explore political tolerance more carefully. MANCOVA results of religion with SES, age, gender and pretest scores on tolerance of nonthreatening groups reveals one significant interaction: Catholics became more politically tolerant as a result of participating in *Project Citizen*. This finding is bit puzzling, and the only explanation I can offer currently is that Catholics possessed lower levels of tolerance overall than Muslims or Protestants.

Table 6

| Means for Tolerance of Non-Threatening Groups by Religion and Treatment Group | | | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Dependent Variable | Project Citizen | | | Control | | | <i>p</i> |
| | Muslims | Catholics | Protestants | Muslims | Catholics | Protestants | |
| Tolerance Non-threatening groups | 3.001 | 2.973 | 2.914 | 3.045 | 2.867 | 2.931 | .00 |

Also, there was a significant main effect of religion whereby Muslims were less tolerant of atheists and threatening groups than other religious groups. Muslims were however, more tolerant of non-threatening groups.

Table 7

| Means for Dependent Variables by Religion | | | | |
|--|----------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Dependent Variable | Muslims | Catholics | Protestants | <i>p</i> |
| Tolerance of Atheists | 2.494 | 2.837 | 2.656 | .000 |
| Tolerance of Threatening Groups | 1.615 | 1.617 | 1.723 | .031 |
| Tolerance of Non-threatening Groups | 3.023 | 2.920 | 2.923 | .003 |

I also asked adults, consisting of students' teachers and principals, about tolerance of atheists. There was no significant difference (Mean 2.56) on a scale of 1 to 4, where a high score represents strongly agree. Generational differences are not observed when it comes to tolerating atheists' participation in politics. Pancasila instruction, which advocates a belief in the "one and only god," has not changed over these cohorts, so similar attitudes across generations might be expected.

V. Conclusion

Civic education as part of *Pancasila* has emphasized principles over political engagement. *Pancasila* continues to be taught, while new standards and increased regional autonomy are encouraging curricular innovation. Interactive programs, such as *Project Citizen*, that aim to create politically engaged citizens, are being implemented across the archipelago. In 2004, we expect over 200,000 adolescents to participate in *Project Citizen*.

Indonesians, famous for protesting (running "amok" is a term taken from Indonesian), are less renowned for holding elected officials accountable. Corruption is rampant, the economy vacillates, and frustration is growing about the gap between their image of democracy and reality.²¹ The majority of the electorate does not fully understand the meaning of democracy nor how to access and influence officials. The results of this study are promising. They indicate that civics instruction is able to increase informed political participation among adolescents on issues that concern them.

Project Citizen participants' behavior changed more than their attitudes. In contrast to the control group, they participated more in the political process, they conducted more research by contacting experts to obtain information on issues they cared about, and they participated in protests at higher rates. They also paid more attention to public affairs in the media.

Project Citizen affected the dispositions of students who participated more fully in the program by selecting their problems, presenting their proposals and engaging in other programmatic activities. These students became more interested in politics and public affairs. Their confidence in their ability to participate, along with their sense of political efficacy, increased. Participants increased their expectations of the proper responsiveness of government, an important component of accountability. Such highly involved students' political tolerance for including nonthreatening groups in the political process expanded. These findings agree with studies of civic education that pinpoint simulations, role-playing, discussion, teacher competence, and similar factors as necessary to affect civic dispositions.

This is the first study of its kind on the effects of civics instruction on Indonesian adolescents. A next step would be to follow students over time in order to ascertain if the effects persist. This would allow us to test the model of the "virtuous circle," whereby citizens that participate feel more empowered and have more positive attitudes toward the political process. It may be that many attitudes examined here, such as efficacy, tolerance, empowerment, interest in politics, responsibility and accountability, arise through political participation. Overall, the findings suggest that interactive civics instruction that provides experiences for students to engage democratically likely assists in fostering "unity through diversity," the motto of Indonesia.

²¹ Asia Foundation 2003.

Appendix A

Translations from PPKn civics' instruction for eighth-grade students
A sample of lessons from two widely used texts (Sukadi 2002, Dahlan et al. 2000)

Topic: Faith (Pancasila #1 = Belief in the One and Only God)

It is one of the basic human rights to choose and practice a religion. This right derives from the human nature as the God's creature. All Indonesians are free to choose their own religions and to practice them.

Rationale

There are understandings of animism (belief in our ancestors who can give blessings) and dynamism (belief in things which are powerful to influence one's success or failure). There is a difference between Faith and Devote. Faith is belief in someone or something without any doubts, while devotion is loyalty to God's instruction. This principle of Faith is embodied in **the first principle of Pancasila: Belief in the One and Only God, article 29 section 2 of the 1945 Constitution, State Main Guidance, and The Criminal Act article 152a** which says: "Sanctioned by 5 years imprisonment to whomever expresses or does an action which can humiliate one religion in Indonesia" and the criminal Act is article 175.

Attitude to be achieved

The students are expected to develop their Faith in the One and Only God whether it is in the family, for example by conducting religious activities with other family members, or in the society, like collecting money to help other people who are in need. The students also need to develop the freedom to choose a religion and then to do a practice based on their religion.

Exercises

1) Survey

The students mark a thick (v) on the option they choose.

| No. | Affirmation | Always | Often | Sometimes | Never |
|-----|--|--------|-------|-----------|-------|
| 1. | Pray before doing a task | | | | |
| 2. | Participate in a religious activities | | | | |
| 3. | Respect parents and the teachers | | | | |
| 4. | Tolerance among people who have different religion | | | | |

2) Multiple Choice Questions (end of each chapter)

1. We have a faith in God because...
 - a. God has created the earth with its contents.
 - b. The religious book tells us so.
 - c. We are sure that the earth, sky and its contents happen naturally.
 - d. Our parents teach us that God really exists.

Principle # 2 of Pancasila: Just and Civilized Humanity

Topic: Kinship

The significance of the word kinship is the admission that people all over the world are one big family. People are the same before God except for their devotion. Indonesians are a large group of people who possess the same goal, morals, and laws: all are united by willingness and history. The differences among people within the large group are viewed from the:

- a. accent
- b. dress
- c. profession
- d. custom
- e. culture
- f. so forth

Indonesians must learn about differences and try to be able to be tolerant of people within the country. One way to maintain that attitude is by preserving local culture such as:

- a. local/regional cultural exchange
- b. local/regional cultural organizations
- c. articles on mass media
- d. seminars
- e. local dance club
- f. local traditional culture exhibitions

In international relationship, it must be realized that Indonesia is part of the big family of the world. Therefore, Indonesia must build up good relationship with other countries through bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

Rationale:

- 1) Pancasila
Principle # 2 of Pancasila: Just and Civilized Humanity
- 2) GBHN (State Main Guidance) 1999 on the relationship between the country and others.
- 3) Constitution 1945, article 26 verses 1.
- 4) Act No. 66, 1958

Attitude to be achieved:

1. Indonesians must preserve companionship and kinship among ethnicities.
2. Indonesian must preserve companionship and kinship among countries.
3. Indonesian must show the companionship and kinship in daily life in the part of family, school, and community.

Exercises:

1. Survey

| | Agree | Somewhat Agree | Disagree |
|--|-------|----------------|----------|
| 1. Every people have the same place before God. | | | |
| 2. The cultural diversity of ethnicity makes Indonesia stronger. | | | |

2. Multiple Choice

The attitude of respect toward all different ethnicities is an obligation of people, especially because we are:

- obliged to do so.
- accepting of differences.
- same citizenship.
- share the same history and fate.

Principle # 3 of Pancasila: The Unity of Indonesia

Topic: Loyalty

Loyal is defined as obeying carrying out tasks. Being loyal to the country means carrying out an action to always obey the state regulations. The characteristics of a loyal citizen are:

- willingness to sacrifice for the sake of the country.
- being proud of being the Indonesian citizen and avoiding all attitudes that ruin the dignity of the country.
- preserving the country's unity and safety above all.
- possessing faith in Pancasila and in the 1945 constitution along with the Acts and laws.
- discipline, honesty and hard work.

Rationale:

Principle # 3 of Pancasila: The Unity of Indonesia

Attitude to be achieved:

- Comprehend the significance of the vow/promises
- Develop the attitude of being loyal to the country, family, school, and neighborhood.

Exercises:

1. Survey

| | Agree | Somewhat Agree | Disagree |
|---|-------|----------------|----------|
| 1. Being loyal to the country is the obligation of the citizen. | | | |
| 2. Paying taxes is the realization of being a loyal citizen. | | | |

3. Multiple Choice Questions

Loving the country is the realization of the Pancasila principle number:

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4

Topic: Responsibility (Pancasila # 4: Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst Representatives)

Humans, as social creatures, should live peacefully with each other. They should follow the regulations and participate actively in their society's activities. And if any problems relating to the community arise, they should discuss it together and then decide by using "Musyawarah" (decision-making through deliberation) to reach a consensus (Mufakat). Some characteristics of being responsible in the community are having the habit of controlling oneself, being careful in deciding and doing something, following the regulations in the community, etc. Here the

responsibility refers to the behavior of taking all the risks as the result of the actions carried out by someone or a group of people.

This principle is embodied in **the article 28 of the 1945 Constitution and the fourth principle of Pancasila.**

Attitude to be achieved

The students are expected to be able to get used to taking responsible action in the family, for example, doing their house chores like sweeping the floor, mopping the floor, washing the dishes, etc. They have to develop this attitude also at their class or school such as following school regulations or giving opinions in the Internal Students Organization and in their community, such as keeping the community safe, actively participating in the social activities such as the cleaning the community together, watching the community at night in shift, etc.

Exercises

1. Survey

| No. | Affirmation | Always | Often | Sometimes | Never |
|-----|---|--------|-------|-----------|-------|
| 1. | Participate in the chief of the Internal Students Organization election | | | | |
| 2. | Clean the classroom based on the shift | | | | |

2) Multiple Choice

1. Below are the attitudes which reflect responsibility in the community, except...
 - a. following the government regulations
 - b. keeping the community safe
 - c. participating actively in many activities
 - d. attending the Musyawarah (decision-making) meeting in the community

Dahlan, Saronji and H. Asy'ari (2000). *PPKn untuk SLTP Kelas 2*. Jakarta: Penerbit Erlangga.

Topic: (Principle # 5. Social justice for the whole of the people in Indonesia.)

Controlling one's self

Controlling one's self means people have to keep and direct all of our needs and wants based on the community's norms and rules.

Natural resources, for example, should be used efficiently to create the social justice to whole of the people of Indonesia. That's why controlling oneself is so important in creating the social justice.

Rationale:

1. the fourth principle of Pancasila
2. the article 33 section 1-3 of 1945 Constitution

Exercise:

Multiple choice

1. Controlling oneself means...
 - a. prevent the need and want
 - b. get rid of egoism
 - c. get rid of selfish desires for the community's welfare
 - d. direct wants and needs based on regulations in the community

Appendix B

| Indices | Scale Reliability (alpha) | Items |
|---|---------------------------------|---|
| Political Participation | 0.6 | <p>Within the last six months, have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> met with members of interests groups to obtain information made an appointment and visited a government official by yourself or with a group tried to get other people to support your solution to a problem in your community or country attended a local council meeting spoken with a government official about problems in your community libraries (gathered information on problems in community or country) |
| Expert Research | 0.61 | <p>In doing a school assignment or some other reason, have you ever gathered information about a problem that exists in the community from the following sources?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> government offices policeman, lawyers or judges community organizations or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) professors or scholars written a letter to a government official phoned a government official |
| Tolerance of Atheists | 0.8 | <p>Do you strongly agree - strongly disagree with each of the following statements? (scale 1-4)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a person who does not admit the existence of God should not be allowed to vote a person who does not admit the existence of God should not be allowed to demonstrate peacefully a person who does not admit the existence of God should not be allowed to make a speech in your community |
| Tolerance of Threatening Groups | 0.63 | <p>Which of the following groups should be permitted to try to influence your government?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indonesian Communist Party Communist/Atheist Acehnese Movement |
| Tolerance of Nonthreatening Groups | 0.59 | <p>Which of the following groups should be permitted to try to influence your government?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chinese movement Christian movement environmentalist Moslem movement student groups human rights groups |
| Skills | 0.77 | <p>How good are you compared to other students with the following characteristics?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> communicating your ideas with others solving problems leading a group cooperating with others |

| | | |
|------------------------------|------|---|
| Citizen Participation | 0.6 | <p>How important do you think it is for citizen in a democracy to do each one?</p> <p>to vote in local elections to work to support a cause or elect a candidate to participate in activities to benefit people in the community to pay their rates and services (taxes) If you were given the opportunity to vote in the next election, how likely would you be to vote?</p> |
| Media | 0.62 | <p>How interested are you in politics or public affairs?</p> <p>I often discuss what is happening in national or local Indonesian politics.</p> <p>How many days a week do you usually read the front-page news in the newspaper?</p> <p>newspapers (gathered information on problems in community or country)</p> <p>How many days a week do you usually watch a news program, such as evening news on television?</p> |
| Political Efficacy | 0.61 | <p>I feel well prepared for participating in political and public life.</p> <p>I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.</p> <p>I am familiar with the problems that my community faces.</p> <p>How sure are you that you could find the governmental official or branch that is responsible for solving a particular problem in your community?</p> <p>I am interested in collaborating with others to solve problems in my community.</p> |
| Gov't Responsiveness | 0.61 | <p>The government is doing its best to find out what people want.</p> <p>The government cares a lot about what all of us thinks about new laws.</p> <p>When people get together to demand change, the leaders in the government listen.</p> |
| Basic Research | 0.54 | <p>television (gathered information on problems in community or country)</p> <p>radio (gathered information on problems in community or country)</p> <p>family and friends (gathered information on problems in community or country)</p> |
| Protest | 0.33 | <p>to participate in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust taken part in a protest or march to follow political issues in the newspaper, on the radio or on TV</p> |
| No Power | 0.39 | <p>ordinary people have no say in what the government does in this country a few individuals have a lot of political power while the rest of the people have little power</p> |

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