

Habituation of Political Learning in Senior High Schools in Yogyakarta City

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Abstract-Political learning for young beginner voters is important for their political life. Communities and schools still have problems in carrying out their nurturing functions. This paper intends to uncover possible alternatives to organize political learning at schools. Referring to Bourdieu's thought on his habitus theory, schools, agencies, and elements of their social structures have accommodated various alternative knowledge, values, and culture that fill the arena of political learning, and provide opportunities for the disposition of subjects to learn with their consciousness. The analysis shows that the process and product of internalization in political learning in schools need to be questioned.

Keywords: *habitus, political learning, internalization*

I. INTRODUCTION

Young people especially beginner voters need to get political learning. Political learning refers to a mental process such as motivation, values, and norms of a culture. Apter (1985: 264) said the process of political learning is a result of the regulation of motivation around the perception of the value of appropriate participation and affiliation. This process takes place by incorporating children into a political culture and transforming them into responsible adults who are able to assess and exercise rights relevant to that culture. Both walk together in an open society, but this then demands active political action. Political learning is an attempt to understand the rights and responsibilities relevant to cultural values, especially transmitting the values of togetherness. In reality, most of young people do not have enough knowledge and political experience, but they do not get nurtured, they are impressed but left to languish. Political parties that have a direct interest in winning votes in every election, also do not carry out the obligation to foster it.

In rural areas, after the election of people's representatives in *DPR* and *DPRD*-which are local and national legislatures, political parties almost have

no activity at all. This confirms that political education for the people by political parties is never done anymore. Have we, both during the Soeharto regime and in the reformation era, carried out correct political education towards the people, both at the national and local levels? (Suwondo, 2005: 26).

Political parties are weak, Helen (08/08/2019) asserted that our political parties have not moved from the problem of political party regeneration that has never been carried out except in the momentum of legislative nomination. Thus, political education (learning) for young people in Indonesia is still considered not urgent even by the parties interested in winning votes in the election.

Political learning takes place in the arena of the process of social interaction of individuals with social structures. People in the society, organizations, schools, literacy, social media, are social structures that can be a source of political learning. Regarding schools, "in relation to political learning and school level, it is assumed that as a student enhances his schooling, his or her political interest develops and attitudes toward political matters and towards oneself as citizens become increasingly formulated and clearly denoted" (Apter, 1985: 266). Schools are a source of young people's political knowledge and experience. There is enough knowledge material for political learning in schools, but in reality the role of schools still needs to be questioned. Social science (*IPS*) courses, or the like, or social studies education should be a transfer of values, not just a transfer of knowledge, but in practice learning the formation of attitudes and personalities as the main goal of education is often forgotten or ignored (Pramono, 2013: 16). There is a view of high school students in Yogyakarta regarding the learning practices of Pancasila and Civics Education (*PPKn* which is *Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan* in Bahasa Indonesia) course at schools that lack political understanding (Hf, student, 14/02/2019). *PPKn* at school provides knowledge about many things about the country; however, it is ineffective, and often underestimated. In a situation where the community faces an election like this, *PPKn* course does not

become a reference (Jz, student, 24/06/2019). Schools have not provided political experience and knowledge as expected.

The two phenomena of the social structure mentioned indicate the weakness of Indonesian young people's political education. In term of political life, toward the 2019 general election, political parties exploited young people to gain votes, but the role of political parties to nurture them was almost never (questioned), while political learning at schools was also considered ineffective. This paper intends to reveal how habituation of political learning was conducted in schools, especially in the city of Yogyakarta.

II. METHODS

This study employed a qualitative approach, it is to understand the phenomena experienced by research subjects (Creswell, 2015; Moleong, 2006). The data collection was based on the phenomenon of the problem, using interview techniques and focus group discussion (FGD). The research subjects were selected using purposive sampling techniques to vividly describe the uniqueness of the information in the context. Interviews were conducted with 5 high school students covering the ones from SMA (*Sekolah Menengah Atas* or senior high school) and SMK (*Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan* or vocational high school) as beginner voters in the 2019 legislative and presidential elections in Yogyakarta city. The interview was also conducted to two teachers in SMAN 1 Yogyakarta and SMAN 3 Yogyakarta. In order to obtain the conceptual/theoretical structure, the data analysis was carried out by applying inductive thinking and the habituation theory (the product of social structure internalization) as stated by Pierre Bourdieu (1989).

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. *School as an Arena for Habituation of Political Learning*

Referring to Bourdieu's thought, education becomes an arena or space for the transmission of values, norms, and cultural symbols (Ritzer, 2015). Social structure and agency practice culture through the process of habituation so that culture can be accepted/disposition by the subject through a process of growing willingness (consciousness) or taken for granted. The process is without compulsion, but Bourdieu sees that the educational process is actually a form of violence, although it requires to be voluntarily accepted in transmitting the values, but he said it as a form of symbolic violence.

B. *Integrated Political Learning of the Subjects in Accordance with Curriculum*

Schools can be one of the social structure form as a medium of transmitting cultural values or it is called

political education. Courses such as civics education, civics, social science, etc. provide knowledge content in political learning (Prmono, 2013: 16). Cultural transmission through learning activities were based on several courses such as Social science (*IPS* which is *Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*), Sociology, *PPKn*, and other social sciences that support the acquisition of political knowledge and experience. Regarding political education at schools, Teacher (Wal.D, 23/05/2019) stated:

The relevance of Pancasila and Civics Education as political education, among others, is through the teaching of political culture and democracy, how the students understand the concepts of culture, that is, culture is the result of human work, and politics is government, policies or regulations, then how political education can lead the students to have a broad insight about politics, especially politics in Indonesia.

Another view says:

sociology education can convey political education, in grade 11 there are learning materials on: Social grouping covering political grouping, and political participation in general elections. In semesters 3 and 4, there are materials on social grouping, diversity of Indonesian society and integration (San.A, Teacher, 23/06/2019).

Both views confirm that at schools, learning can take place as the transmission of political, social and cultural values to strengthen the students' political knowledge and experience.

In addition to social science-based courses, there are extra-curricular activities that can also provide a habituation of students' political life. The activities of the scout movement, student organizations, sports, and other activities can be managed in such a way to create a space for habituation of political learning, as it is confirmed that:

Political learning at schools, in addition to being theoretically delivered as learning knowledge in the classroom, political learning at schools is applied in real student lives, among others, during the election of the student council (*OSIS Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah*) president and the formation of its management. The student council president election is like a general election. There is a campaign, usually held within a day of campaigning through an open debate forum among the candidates supported by their posters (San.A, Teacher, 23/06/2019).

Bourdieu(1989) states that habitus dialectics is a product of the internalization of the structure of the social world (Ritzer, 2014: 482). Learning at schools can be developed following the habitus dialectics. In this context, internalization is in the form of activities

to deepen the materials on the knowledge developed from the curriculum. The knowledge is both normative and empirical on values, norms or rules, messages, and facts of social structures that can be reproduced as personalities and behaviors of the learning courses. In terms of political learning, learning is as a product of the internalization of social and political structures that can be accepted by the subject voluntarily so that the subject has political knowledge and experience. Regarding the political term, Magnis Susena Franz (1987: 19-21) defines "politics" as a dimension of social life leading to "society as a whole." "Political" decisions are the ones that have the dimension of society as a whole. The aspects of human political life in question are social life which includes (1) the circle of legal institutions; (2) the state; and (3) the values and ideologies that provide legitimacy. Therefore, political learning is the learning that contains knowledge, values and culture of all three aspects of political life, including legal, state, value and ideological institutions. Those three aspects of political knowledge can be designed for learning purposes (objective elements), then internalized and accepted by the learning subjects (subjective elements).

In regard to the fact that education is a cultural effort based on civilization, that is advancing life in order to enhance the degree of humanity (Dewantara, 1977:166), learning at schools aims to make students' behavior change into a more mature behavior (cultured and civilized). According to Bourdieu, a change in behavior occurs through habituation as a product of the internalization of his or her social structure. The learning process of transmitting cultural values involves the system elements of the system, at least including the elements of knowledge, culture, and values (teaching materials) developed from the curriculum, agency (teacher), and students who have consciousness and motivation to learn. The learning process is then, as habituation, i.e. the internalization of objective values accepted with willingness (consciousness) as taken for granted, so that changes in behavior occur.

The learning process of several social science-based courses (social studies), such as social science, sociology education and Pancasila and Civics Education (*PPKn*) in high schools (*SMA/SMK*/equivalent), theoretically contains sufficient political and social knowledge, concepts, and topics to be developed or explored as political learning. The following is about the practice of *PPKn* learning at *SMAN 1 Yogyakarta*:

In *PPKn* learning on political topics, the teacher not only provides basic concepts, but also teaches the students to both understand and analyze political problems in our country. Politics is talking about organizing the country, so that it is expected that the students do not have a narrow view on politics. Recent years,

political discussion is urgent in developing democracy in general elections, therefore, the students can make their own decision, never choosing those who are not competent (Wal.D, Teacher, 23/05/2019).

PPKn can be explored as political education and or learning, to enable the students to have a wide view of politics. From political knowledge, it can be developed theoretical dimensions (principles, concepts, and political theory) and empirical dimensions (facts and political problems) as well. Knowledge exploration is adjusted to the values, culture, and interests of the social and political systems. Schools and teachers as agencies of social structure have this exploration function, and the results fill the learning arena as an objective factor. On the subjective side (students), the individual political knowledge and experience in the form of rational abilities, motivations, and political learning commitments becomes his or her social capital to internalize and accept objective values, resulting in behavior change(s). The learning process as stated by Didit Waluyono previously, has fulfilled the elements of the (objective) social structure. Political learning can then be designed by applying habituation theory as a framework to provide opportunities for the subjects to learn with their rational abilities, so that their knowledge, culture, and political values, and (objective) structure can be internalized/accepted as taken for granted (with consciousness). Considering the age of high school students who are politically mature, and their social capital, participatory methods of learning, surveys, discussions, and the like can be recommended as instruments in habituation.

C. *Political Learning through Extracurricular Activities*

Political learning can also be held outside regular learning activities, i.e. not integrated with the courses, but attached to extracurricular activities. Among schools there is a variety of extracurricular activities in terms of type and form regarding the interests and abilities of the schools. As an illustration, *SMAN 1 Yogyakarta* and *SMAN 3 Yogyakarta* held student organization activities, such as (1) Democratic election of *OSIS* chair accompanied by a free forum to convey their vision, mission, and freedom of voting; *OSIS* activities that have sub-organizations, including *PMI* (*Palang Merah Indonesia* or Indonesian Red Cross), *Pramuka* (Scouts), *ROIS*, *ROKAT*, etc; (2) *Perkemahan Teladan Bakti* (*PTB* Teladan Bakti Camp); (3) Social-religious activities in the community; (4) Other activities involving interactions among schools, parents and the community (Wal.D, Teacher, 23/06/2019). Whereas, at *SMAN 3 Yogyakarta* there are student activities such as: (1) community empowerment through camping which ends with scientific writing; (2) Science Expo which familiarizes students to research methods (social science and natural science research practices); (3)

Dialog Forum Komunikasi Guru Murid (FKGM - Student Teacher Communication Forum) and *Forum Komunikasi Warga Sekolah* (FKWS - School Community Communication Forum) once in every semester (San.A, Teacher, 23/06/2019). Despite the various forms of activities, the type of political learning through these activities is more directed at internalizing values to gain political experience, especially in the formation of attitudes and abilities. These activities can provide opportunities or teach the materials in understanding the regulation, the mechanism of organizing meetings, decision making, ideological attitudes, political participation, etc. as a student experience.

Schools become an alternative for political nurturing for the youth. Political learning can be reflected or intentionally done academically by exploring the content of political knowledge in social science-based courses (social studies), as well as skills training and the formation of political attitudes that support practical political life. In line with the habitus theory, the researchers see that the schools have provided alternatives to the possibility of political learning of young people as demanded by (objective) social structures, but there are still subjective problems, i.e. the problem of internalizing learning subjects towards changing their optimally growing political behavior. There are statements of several Vocational School students about the relevance of *PPKn* to the political life toward the 2019 general election, among them, "actually *PPKn* in general is sufficient. Some day, we as the member of society will deal with problems that we learned at school" (Essa R., Vocational School student, 17/03/2019). Essa's statement is positive, different from following statement which is less positive, "*PPKn* at school provides me with knowledge but I don't think it is enough" (Budi P, Vocational School student, 08/02/2019), the other student viewed less, "*PPKn* at school did not seem affecting my vote, the knowledge was gone with the wind, knowledge about political parties from school was not enough" (N.Ian, Vocational School student, 02/07/2019). Those three statements of the students above indicate the different levels of acceptance (disposition) of the subjects to the *PPKn* of which coverage on knowledge, values and objective culture, still needs to be questioned.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Habitus is a product of the internalization of the structure of the social world. This habitus theory provides the possibility to develop (conceptually / theoretically) academic and practical development of political learning at schools, both in learning integrated with social science-based curricular courses (social studies) or through extracurricular learning activities.

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