

# Civic Education for Muslim Students in the Era of Democracy: Lessons Learned from Indonesia

Achmad Ubaedillah

Director of Indonesian Center for Civic Education (ICCE), Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,  
Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN), Jakarta, Indonesia  
aubaedillah@gmail.com

**Abstract - After the fall of the military regime in 1998, Indonesia faced a new era of democratization. Democracy has been the major discourse where it emerges as the driving force for political and social changes of the nation. To nurture democracy as the public commitment within a Muslim country such as Indonesia, the role of Islamic higher education is very critical, in disseminating values and practices of democracy through a new Civic Education program for Muslim youth. Different from the old model of indoctrinated civic education in the past era, the program introduced by Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta promotes a new approach, subject, method, and evaluation of teaching democracy and related materials needed by a new democratic state like Indonesia. Regarding the threat of disintegration, the new model of civic education could give its contribution as an educational effort to engender a democratic culture and promote respect for Indonesian diversity.**

**Keywords— Civic Education, Muslim Students, Democracy**

## I. INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, the world's largest majority Muslim country, the role of Islam has significantly affected the country's political history. The history shows the historical struggle of the Muslim groups both in formal and informal political arenas, to make Islam the foundation of the state, instead of the secular ideology of Pancasila that was promoted by the secular nationalists like Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta, the first president and vice president of the country.

Despite the long-lasting competition between the two groups, at the time of independence, a political agreement was reached to enshrine Pancasila as the state ideology [9].

Political tension between the secular and Muslim groups has been recently revived during the wave of democratization in Indonesia at the turn of the 21st century. Though Islam did not become the state ideology, its role and contribution to strengthening both democracy and the position of Pancasila as the state ideology for the sake of national unity have been critical. In this regard, the initial success of Indonesia as the most democratic Muslim country cannot be separated from the contribution of Muslims. The role of two

largest Muslim organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, has been tremendously influential in promoting and strengthening democratization [10]. Their strong commitment to Pancasila has framed the discussion on how to keep nurturing democracy in Indonesia's plural society and maintain Pancasila as the state ideology.

The fall of President Soeharto in 1998 changed the fundamentals of Indonesian politics, ending more than three decades of military rule under the "New Order." Democracy had emerged as the core agenda of the student movement and became the primary public agenda in reforming the old political system. The ruling government was corrupt, ignored the participation of the civil society and abused democracy and human rights. In the Reformation era (*era reformasi*), Indonesia able to established fair and credible democratic elections.

Finally, due to its focus on indoctrination of Pancasila for students, civil servants, and military personnel, the New Order's civic education program was dismantled. This education program was a hallmark of Soeharto's New Order regime that was designed to educate Indonesian in their rights and obligations as a citizen based on the state ideology of Pancasila. The regime's manipulation and hegemonic understanding of Pancasila were the reasons why the parliament removed the national regulation requiring teaching and dissemination of Pancasila through the New Order's program. As a result, teaching Pancasila is no longer considered a mandatory program for the government to implement, though the necessity of a new civic education program for strengthening democracy and character building was recognized in the government regulations on the national education system passed in 2003.

## II. CIVIC EDUCATION IN MODERN INDONESIA

The history of civic education in Indonesia in a broad sense can be summed up as efforts to provide knowledge to citizens about their rights and responsibilities, which began before Indonesia's independence. As noted by Winataputra, before gaining independence, Indonesia showed great concern for the education of its youth [29]. In 1930, for instance, Ki Hajar Dewantara, known as the father of national education, mentioned that education is an effort to develop children's

character (*budi pekerti*), intelligence, and physical well-being. According to him, the national education must be based on national culture and aim to enhance the status of the nation and its people, also to encourage the development of mutual collaborations with other nations. However, after Indonesia proclaimed its independence in 1945, the civic education program was used primarily as a political tool of the government.

The first formal civic education program was implemented after independence by the government of Soekarno, the first President of Indonesia. Soekarno mandated the ministry of education to lead a program, with a slogan and vision to shape “New Indonesian People.” For this program, Soepardo and his colleagues wrote a civics textbook that was published in 1962 [22]. The program, as described in the book, was dedicated to strengthening Soekarno’s revolutionary mission of “three people’s commands” (*tri komando rakyat*), which ideologically was inspired by socialism. That book also describes Soekarno’s revolutionary mission to form Indonesian socialists. Initially, the book included eight subjects, those are, Indonesia’s revolutionary struggle against the Dutch and the Japanese invasion, the state ideology of Pancasila, the constitution, Soekarno’s Guided Democracy, the Asia- Africa Conference, Indonesian citizenship, President Soekarno’s political manifesto, and Soekarno’s speech in commemoration of the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of independence on August 17, 1960.

However, the political turbulence of the 1960s indicates that the implementation of Soekarno’s civics program did not achieve its intended results. His policy on Guided Democracy, which effectively promoted him to the status of an authoritarian leader, was in contradiction to the principle of the universal democracy. Opposition toward Soekarno’s highly centralized leadership climaxed during the political crisis in 1965, culminating with the failed leftist coup followed by the fall of Soekarno and the rise of Soeharto in the aftermath [9]. A campaign for the return to a correct understanding of Pancasila was a central issue during the Soeharto era, undertaken as a correction for what was considered as the manipulated implementation of Pancasila under Soekarno. The New Order’s interpretation of Pancasila, though less influenced by foreign ideologies (as Soekarno was strongly influenced socialism), failed to realize the idea of a Pancasila economy based on the principle of cooperation as articulated by one of Indonesia’s founding fathers, Mohammad Hatta.

The New Order’s vision for returning to the true principles of Pancasila was articulated through national development programs (*Pembangunan Nasional*). One of the policies implemented with an eye toward national development was Soeharto’s political policy in the 1980s requiring Pancasila as the sole basis for all political and social organizations in the country. This policy invited both supports and critics. The supporters of the *Pembangunan Nasional* as carried out by the

government were labeled as the Pancasila loyalists (*Pancasilais*), while those who disagreed with it were considered as the anti-Pancasila. The opposition groups included Muslims and nationalists, Soekarno loyalists. According to both groups, during the Soeharto era, the state ideology of Pancasila was predominantly articulated and interpreted based on the president’s political and economic interests. The government considered Islam and other ideologies as the source of political conflicts. Therefore, according to Soeharto, Pancasila should be the political basis for all political parties and civil organizations to eliminate conflicts among them. This political simplification which was endorsed by the New Oder government was responded to by individuals and both political and mass organizations [14].

As a state ideology, Pancasila is a concept that has historically been manipulated by Indonesian regimes for their political interests. The first of two regimes, the Old Order (*orde lama*) under Soekarno and the New Order (*orde baru*) under Soeharto, had both manipulated Pancasila as a political tool. For example, Soekarno introduced the principle of Guided Democracy (*Demokrasi Terpimpin*) in the 1950s to prolong his political power. Following that, Soeharto, during his presidency, implemented Pancasila Democracy (*Demokrasi Pancasila*) with a similar political agenda of perpetuating his regime under the banner of the national ideology. Regarding their political privilege and their leveraging of Pancasila toward personal political ends, the two presidents were quite similar. Soekarno’s idea of democracy was related to his position as an Indonesian national revolutionary leader who had a special veto to reject other opinions when a disagreement occurred. Soeharto’s model of democracy was a highly centralized one in which his decision was of primary importance, overshadowing others’ views. As illustrated by Robinson, the lack of tolerance for dissent was justified under the New Order regime by an assertion of the “family principle” (*kekeluargaan*) as a fundamental notion within Indonesian style of “democracy” [19]. In other words, both models of Pancasila were deliberately used by the two authoritarian regimes as a platform for their political legitimacy to maintain political power.

Though Pancasila is considered as an open ideology of Indonesia, on the implementational level, however, it has been profoundly influenced by the military force. The Indonesian military forces (ABRI) played an essential role in providing support for both presidents’ political power, and ideological interest in Pancasila which then became the determining factor in its manipulation [23]. Consequently, the performance of Indonesian democracy under these two presidents was against the central democratic principles, such as freedom of expression and fair elections, which were manipulated by the ruling governments. In contrast to the claim of Pancasila as an open ideology, the New Order government, in fact, had

narrowed its interpretation of Pancasila and eliminated the expression of any diverging interpretations of Pancasila from non-state actors.

In terms of educational policy, the civic education program in Soeharto's era was carried out under various names with Pancasila as the main subject matter through both formal and informal educational programs for civil servants and the broader population. This program focuses on indoctrination as the main method used to endorse and disseminate the regime's singular interpretation of Pancasila. Nevertheless, the Pancasila civic education program under Soeharto was far from successful. The slogan of Pancasila as the legitimacy of his national development programs appeared hypocritical considering the overwhelming corruption, cronyism, and nepotism within his centralistic bureaucracy. Soeharto's corrupt government had exploited and worsened existing social tensions, another reflection of the failure of the national civic education program.

There are at least three factors that contributed to the failure of Pancasila education. First, the orientation of Pancasila education was designed to support the regime and its maintenance of power. Simultaneously, the military power within the New Order narrowed the open ideology of Pancasila into a single interpretation. Indeed, during the New Order regime, Pancasila was wielded as a political mechanism used by the regime to exclude its political rivals. The formal teaching of Pancasila was also deliberately programmed to impose the regime's subjective political agendas while eliminating dissenting opinions within the society, referred to as a "politics of the floating mass."

Secondly, the Pancasila education material did not teach the concept of democracy and its reliance upon the importance of freedom of expression, in which everyone is guaranteed the right to express his or her mind without fear. In contrast to the universal principle of freedom of expression, in the Pancasila Democracy of the New Order, citizens were required to support and respect opinion of the majority without expressing opposition. Similarly, in the political arena, in cases of political disagreements, political opposition was positioned by the regime as an opponent of Indonesian political culture and the state ideology. Thus, this particular kind of democracy was protected by the regime in order to minimize political opposition. Due to the running of his development programs, president Soeharto looked to the military as his critical political support for ensuring stability. Consequently, he faced no significant opposition from the military, or from either political parties or civil society components.

Lastly, the methods used to teach Pancasila civic education during the New Order also contributes to its failure. The subject was taught through indoctrination, in which instructors who had been trained and certified by the government played the dominant role when delivering the

lesson in the classroom. Teachers delivered monotonous lectures, and students participated mostly by performing rote memorization. If opinions deviated from the material, for example, instructors would directly reject those different notions of Pancasila and impose the regime's version of Pancasila as the only correct interpretation that should be followed by students. In doing so, teachers were disseminating the state ideology of Pancasila as formally mandated by the state.

In political terms, Soeharto's monolithic ideological interpretation of Pancasila was opposed by the nationalists (Soekarno loyalists) and Muslim activists. Both groups were very critical towards his policies, which they thought were in contradiction with the spirit and principles of Pancasila. Furthermore, political opposition was voiced by Muslim figures who argued that Soeharto's policy regarding Pancasila reflects the anti-Islam value. It was in the 1980s when Islamic groups emerged as hard-line groups against Soeharto's regime. As a result, the tension between the state and the position of Muslim groups marked political discourses in the 1980s [26].

In the 1990s, the political antagonism between Islam and the New Order government lessened, and the relationship between the two eventually became more cooperative. The foundation of the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia or ICMI) was led by B.J. Habibie who was also one of his ministers, he then guided Soeharto's political change towards Muslim politics [7]. The founding of the ICMI was partially Soeharto's attempt to politically accommodate Islam at a time when he faced less support from the military and increasing challenge from the pro-democracy movements [9]. Although many concluded that the relationship between Islam and the state was in a "honeymoon" period, the reform movement (*gerakan reformasi*) after Soeharto was initially led by Amien Rais who at that time was the chairman of the modernist Islamic organization of Muhammadiyah and prominent leader of ICMI.

#### A. The Post Soeharto Era: A New Era of Teaching Democracy

The Asian financial crisis of 1998 left a significant impact on Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia. As economic turbulence hit Indonesia, mass protests against President Soeharto forced him to step down. Furthermore, such a political crisis had pushed the country to be more democratic and transparent as well. In the case of Indonesia, the fall of the authoritarian New Order regime was noted as an extraordinary historical event in contemporary Indonesian history. The role of university students was critical in protesting the regime and leading it to its end. Students, whose political orientation had been enforced during the regime, reemerged at the end of 20th century to call for President Soeharto to step down.

Democratic activism had become increasingly prevalent before the fall of Soeharto. After more than three decades of authoritarian rule, many argued that the moment had come for the nation to stand behind the true principles of democracy, unlike the Guided Democracy and Pancasila Democracy which were introduced by the previous regimes. Furthermore, the democracy movement asked the parliament to nullify the national regulation on the dissemination of Pancasila and dissolve the institution that responsible for producing the pedagogical materials for civic education. Indeed, the political manipulation of Pancasila during the New Order resulted in an aversion, especially among youth, toward Pancasila.

Democratization supported by the student movement not only toppled Soeharto from his presidency but also extended public participation in politics. In addition to the steep increase in the number of political parties, public participation exploded through the mushrooming of civil society organizations. The first general election of 1999 was followed by more significant openness and civic participation.

In contrast with the New Order era, in contemporary Indonesia people can express their critiques without any fear of retribution from state apparatus or infringement on civil rights. Some oppressive regulations from the New Order have been replaced with a more democratic ones. For example, the new regulation on public demonstrations protects protesters as long as it remains peaceful. In addition, the increasing number of media outlets through newspaper and television is another convincing sign of Indonesia's democratization.

Unfortunately, after the fall of the New Order, the reform movement had not sufficiently paid attention to the necessary efforts to educate people on how to become responsible citizens in a democratic country. In fact, after the demise of authoritarian power, initiatives to prepare youth to engage as informed democratic citizens has been a prime requirement for nurturing a democratic culture in the context of political reforms. When a democratic society is not something that can be taken for granted, efforts and programs for educating young generations in democratic values should be prioritized [2]. Countries like the United Kingdom, Australia, the USA, and European countries that have made a long-lasting effort of democratic education through their national curriculum [18]. Those countries show the essential role of formal educational institutions in transferring the culture of democracy to their younger generation. It is also crucial for the students in a developing country like Indonesia to have a similar experience to build an awareness of the positive impacts of democracy for protecting the shared common needs of the citizens.

Based on these arguments, in the effort to teach Indonesian students to be a democratic citizen, there is a need to approach this issue by using a with a new orientation, materials, and methods. A new civics education program centered on democracy was designed to substitute the old

model of civic education that had been implemented by the previous governments. It is inspired by Print's approach to civic education that teach students the knowledge, skills, and values of democracy so that students can be accustomed to and participate in democracy in their everyday lives [17]. Here, learning based on experience appropriately parallels with Dewey's conception on the relationship between the process of education and daily lives of students. According to Dewey, learning should be conducted through experience therefore every individual can be actively involved in the process of defining and solving their daily problems (Craton, 1992). Also, in this model of teaching, students are challenged to change their perspectives and consciousness to become part of a global democratic society.

Theoretically, many experts have come to a similar conclusion that civic education should be aimed at the process of preparing good citizens through learning principles of democratic citizenship and participation in civil society. In addition to those basic notions, it is also important to address the of an ideal citizens in the 21<sup>st</sup>. Cogan defines the term "citizenship" as a set of characteristics of the citizen of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as will be discussed later on [5].

Print (1999) argues that the main focus of civic education should include: 1) rights and responsibilities of citizens; 2) government and institutions; 3) history and constitution; 4) national identity; 5) legal system and the rule of law; 6) human, political, economic and social rights; 7) democratic principles and processes; 8) active citizen participation in civic issues; 9) international perspectives and; 10) values of democratic citizenship. In the case of Indonesia, these components will be essential in allowing citizens to address the current multidimensional political and social crises faced by the country.

Regarding current ethnic conflicts and the threat of disintegration, for instance, the new model of civic education could contribute in an educational effort to engender a democratic culture and respect for Indonesian diversity. Students of the program could be encouraged to be engaged deliberately in resolving their social problems through conflict resolution to address ethnic, religious, and social conflicts.

The main goal of the civic education program is to make participants responsible for solving their social problems and capable of resolving the problem by themselves in a democratic way. To this end, the civic education program developed by IAIN Jakarta (now UIN Jakarta), a state-run institution of Islamic higher education in Indonesia, focuses on the community building that emphasizes the Indonesian tradition of community togetherness.

The new civic education program can be differentiated from the previous versions in its orientation, material, learning methods, and evaluation. First, while the state's orientation was strongly directive in past programs, the new program is

designed to encourage students to become active, well informed, and critical.

Second, whereas the New Order's civics program called *Kewiraan* stressed on the national resilience with an inward-looking perspective of nationalism, the new civic education offers principles of democracy, human rights and civil society in the global arena as the bulk of the curriculum. Third, in contrast to the method of indoctrination commonly used in the old civic education program with its very limited active learning [27], the instructors of the new program are enriched and urged to practice democracy through an active learning method. With this new method, the relationship between teachers and students becomes closer as they study together during the classes, finding, discussing, and solving the problems. Last but not least, another difference from the past model of assessment of civic education in the new program is evaluated through a combined quantitative and qualitative evaluation made by the instructors. Combinations of the two are used to assess comparative results of students' knowledge, affective traits, and performance or attitude during their classes. In addition to that, to gain a more comprehensive result on students' engagement in the classroom, instructors are obliged to have a portfolio evaluation or field research activity for students.

Though the program was run by a state institution of Islamic higher education, it was not a state-led initiative, and all faculty members involved in this program are chosen through an open selection process and coming from various educational backgrounds. In this way, it differed from the old civic education program with instructors trained and exclusively certified by the particular government agency that was responsible for teaching and disseminating the values of Pancasila across the country.

#### B. Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic Institute's Civic Education Project

Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic Institute (IAIN, now a State Islamic University or UIN Jakarta) is the largest institution of Islamic higher education in Indonesia. It is known for its moderate stance, and for housing prominent Indonesian Muslim thinkers such as Harun Nasution, Nurcholish Madjid, Azyumardi Azra, Komaruddin Hidayat, Bahtiar Effendy and so on. In particular, Professor Azyumardi Azra has been highly involved in the development of IAIN's civic education programs during the post-Soeharto era. As rector of IAIN at the time, Azra was the initiator of the program, which recognized the importance of teaching democracy for the Muslim community, especially Muslim youth. According to him, the democratization process in Indonesia must be carried out thoroughly, with no turning back. The institution supports the move towards democracy by disseminating democratic values

through formal and informal education programs. Although IAIN's pilot civic education program has been sponsored by American aid awarded through the Asia Foundation in Jakarta, Azra affirms that its material and methods of teaching must be designed and based on the Indonesian context and dedicated to an inclusive teaching of Islam.

The pilot, civic education program, was developed with the intention to enrich Muslim students' understanding of democracy to support the future of democracy in Indonesia, as a new democratic Muslim country. Azra suggests that IAIN, as a renowned center of moderate Islam, should be responsible for contributing to the improvement of democracy in the country. Therefore, he emphasizes, the dissemination of democratic teachings and building up of democratic culture during the classes are needed, and it will encourage the student to be an informed and active citizen. His point of view that democracy and Islam are compatible in Indonesia has surely shaped the implementation of IAIN's civic education program, which was the first program developed toward the goal of teaching democracy in the Reformation era. According to Azra (2000:v), during the transition to democracy, there are at least three interlinked reform agendas that must be carried out. Those are constitutional reform through the ideology and the foundation of national politics and its system; institutional reform by development and enhancement of political institutions; and last but not least, the progress towards a more democratic political culture, in which the role of civic education is critical.

The program was launched in the middle of the year 2000 and implemented as a collaboration between IAIN's research center and The Asian Foundation (TAF) in Jakarta. After a rough draft of the module was prepared by IAIN's Civic Education team, experts discussed and scrutinized the agenda, and worked together to enrich the materials relevant for teaching democracy according to a perspective and method in line with the spirit of the reform era. Experts from different backgrounds contributed to the project. The team includes Mochtar Buchori (education), Azyumardi Azra (history of Islam, the rector), Udin Winataputra (civic education), Rita Maran (democracy), Abuddin Nata (Islamic education) and Dede Rosyada (Chair of IAIN's research center and current rector of UIN). These experts were invited to participate in the seminar, aimed at enriching the first draft of the program and its teaching guide.

After the completion of the module, the team stepped forward to prepare faculty members for the implementation of the program, which was designed to be enriched with active learning methods to deliver democratic teaching for university students. Accordingly, the team chose andragogy as the teaching method to be implemented in the classroom setting to match the democratic approach that it tries to deliver. Andragogy refers to the adult learning method in which adult

students are encouraged to fully participate in the learning process by allowing them to share their daily life experiences and to work together to consider an appropriate solution for their problem. The method seemed to fit well with the goal of UIN's civic education program to prepare active, well informed and critical citizens. This technique is supported the faculty members fully at IAIN who were already familiar with the active adult learning method. As part of IAIN's project, education professors from the McGill University of Canada were invited to empower the faculty member with the additional teaching skills. The training given by McGill University was enriched by an academic discussion with Indonesian academics, such as Aldi Alfian Malarangeng (political science), Imam Prasodjo (sociology), Bahtiar Effendy (political science), Dawam Rahardjo (economy), Indria Samego (political science) Salim Said (political science), Udin Winataputra (civic education).

The program was designed with the ultimate goal to make students more knowledgeable, responsible, active so that they can be good citizens. The program required students to master citizenship competencies such as a strong commitment to democracy and human rights. Students should also be able to engage in a peaceful conflict resolution and contribute toward solving daily problems. The module for this program was developed with the following eight subjects: national identity, state and citizenship, constitution, civil and military government, the relation of state and religion, civil society, democracy, and human rights. Through the teaching of these interlinked modules and the application of the skills and teaching techniques of the faculty members, the delivery of this program aimed to meet the common goal of the global civic education program and its fundamental elements, namely civic knowledge, civic skills, civic dispositions, and civic participation.

The next step was to test the program on a smaller scale through a pilot project. For the project, ten trained faculty members and 463 students from five different departments at IAIN engaged in a one-semester of teaching and learning by using this new civic education material. Each class consisted of approximately 35-40 students. Before the program began, each instructor was required to present his/her course outline and course design for every weekly teaching during the semester.

Due to the implementation of the active learning method, the instructor leads the class to be active through the varied ways of brainstorming, discussion, small group activities, presentation, role-playing, or debates on current issues. Those activities demanded students to engage in a collaborative learning setting. After the class ended, which lasted for 100 minutes, students and teachers were asked to participate in a short evaluation of the day's lesson. This evaluation asked students to comment on teaching method used by their instructors and followed by an assessment of their

understanding of the material and their feeling during the class. Before closing the session, the instructors also had to fill out observation forms to evaluate their students' involvement in the class. Each week the ten instructors made weekly reports to share their experiences, findings, and difficulties during their classes. In addition to a weekly report, in semester students were evaluated by using two exams: a mid-term and final exam. Both exams consisted of multiple choice and essay questions related to the chapters and material they studied. Finally, the results of the students' final exams were combined with portfolios detailing their activities and their comments on the instructors, materials, and methods of their teaching.

At the end of the semester, IAIN released a research center report (2001:24-27) which showed that compared to classes of controlled students or who did not take the course, the civic knowledge and civic attitude of those experimental students had increased. In addition to this change in attitude, the experimental classes with democratic methods and contextual teaching contributed to a more dynamic class atmosphere in which students had higher motivation to study and discuss daily problems within the society. The report also showed high enthusiasm among civic education instructors. They said that the program has made them more aware of the issues related to politics, economy, government policies and citizens' problems. Finally, instructors recommend that IAIN's pilot project should be implemented in all Islamic universities throughout the country.

Following the recommendation that was mentioned in IAIN's pilot project report, since 2001 the project has been widely implemented in all state Islamic universities across the country. Before the launch of the national program, more than 150 young faculty members were recruited from each university and college to participate in a two-week workshop. Under the new national program of civic education led by IAIN Jakarta, around 2000 students who were enrolled in Islamic higher education institutions had the chance to experience this educational program. For this program, the rector of IAIN Jakarta founded the Indonesian Center for Civic Education (ICCE) at IAIN Jakarta. During the 2001 academic year, the center was in charge for providing supplementary materials and a guidebook for teachers offering methods for teaching civic education, monitoring class progress, and seminars on civic education on the consolidation of Indonesia's democracy.

According to ICCE's final report, many students, faculty members, and university leaders had a positive response to the program. As many as 95% of the respondents (students and faculty members) shared that the program had a positive impact on themselves, because of its orientation toward knowledge enrichment and empowered instructors and students to practice democracy. Respondents also appreciated how this program gives a room for different opinions, so that they can

develop critical thinking, and that they were even able to deal with actual information on democracy, human rights, and civil society [12].

Following the success of the pilot program, an assessment was carried out to see the result of the national program implementation. Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta did the evaluation, and according to its qualitative findings, the program was considered valuable due to its well-developed materials and strategies, and its distinctiveness in encouraging change among Muslim University students. The program also created a progressive learning atmosphere among students that could potentially encourage them to become good citizens [6]. The ICCE has continued to publish books on Civic Education for university students in support of the program. The Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) supported the implementation of IAIN's civic education program in private Islamic Universities and colleges [13]. Since the program has been accepted as a compulsory course (*Mata Kuliah Dasar Umum*) in Indonesian Islamic Universities, a national network was developed to promote the democracy education through democratic methods.

In addition to the university level civic education program, the research center also shared the program with the Islamic secondary schools (*madrasah*). Seminars and workshops on teaching democracy were established in collaboration with local and international institutions with a similar concern for nurturing democracy and tolerance among students. The education program was designed for this partnership, namely "peer mediation" and "student government." It was implemented in Jakarta from 2006 to 2008 under the cooperation among ICCE, TAF, and USAID. Peer mediation is a program that introduces students to the process of democratic politics in the parliament and the creation of public policy. Students from different secondary schools were invited to engage in a conflict mediation workshop and act like politicians. Also, they engage in dialogues with religious leaders of various beliefs, aimed at building mutual understanding among students with varying backgrounds of faith [13].

### C. Civic Education in the Era of Religious Radicalism: Putting Pancasila in the Center

Since its new beginning in 2000, civic education in Indonesia has been facing new challenges. A crisis of national identity, religious intolerance, conflicts, and corruption are a few among many other recent issues. As money politics and corruption are still violent and religious radicalism has grown, the need for civic education remains critical for the nation. To face these ongoing threats to the inclusive ideology of Pancasila, the ICCE of UIN Jakarta has responded by including

material about Pancasila and anti-corruption education in its current civics publications for students [26].

Pancasila and democracy were selected as the angle of civic education in Indonesia to respond to the obligation of the nation to ensure the future of democracy, with Pancasila as the common denominator for Indonesian citizen. Since democracy has become the primary focus of the amendment of the constitution, the rise of political discontent and deliberate manipulation of the notion of democracy has been overwhelming. Indeed, such misconceptions of democracy have led to the idea that democracy clashes with the principles of Pancasila. The current practice of democracy, which is seen by many as too liberal, is said to be incompatible with the Indonesian culture of *musyawarah*, democracy through deliberation and consensus, as it is stated in the national ideology. In a similar vein, manipulation of democracy has been occurring among hard-line Muslim organizations. According to their interpretation, because democracy ensures freedom of expression, any efforts to promote a true implementation of Islamic law or replace Pancasila with Islamic ideology are constitutionally allowed and guaranteed. At the same time, proponents of a global Islamic caliphate (*khalifah Islamiyah*) have been penetrating campuses. Due to these major concerns, especially the influence of religious radicalism among students, teaching the history of Pancasila in civic education courses is necessary for students [21].

The principles of democracy and Pancasila have been challenged by the propagation of radical Islam through hard-line Muslim groups like Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). According to HTI, since the decline of the Ottoman Empire in 1924, the ummah has faced a crisis of global leadership and failed to implement Islamic law (*syari'ah*). HTI promotes Islam as the solution and replacement for an un-Islamic-democratic system in Indonesia [11]. Based on these views, the HTI has been nationally recognized as the most radical Islamic hard-line group in the country, particularly among youth. Its campaign for the implementation of Islamic law has threatened the concept of the Indonesian nation-state and its national ideology.

Another movement with a divergent understanding of Pancasila is the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (*Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia*, MMI). This group opposed the notion of Pancasila which signify that Indonesia is neither a religious nor secular state. MMI argues that religion (Islam) should be the spirit of the state following the first principle of Pancasila, the oneness of God (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*), which is a theological teaching of Islam. Thus, according to MMI, the government of Indonesia must implement Islamic law (*syari'ah*) [1].

Slightly different from MMI's impression of Pancasila, the Islamic Defender's Front (*Front Pembela Islam/ FPI*) respects the position of Pancasila and the diversity of

Indonesia, though it often acts outside the legal system. According to FPI, Pancasila must be understood and interpreted according to an Islamic perspective (*syari'ah islamiyah*). FPI considers Pancasila is based on Islamic principles so the Muslim community might not have serious problems with to accept it. Therefore, rather than denouncing Pancasila, FPI leaders have sought to make Indonesia increasingly influenced by *syari'ah* rather than replacing Pancasila with another ideology [24].

Responding to the criticisms toward Pancasila and in the effort to reaffirm its relevance for Indonesia, it is useful to re-contextualize its five principles with current problems faced by the nation [15]. As an open ideology, Pancasila is believed to be able to respond the changes brought by globalization, including the wave of democracy and any global Islamic ideas and movements. In other words, in its very literal meaning, Pancasila does not oppose democracy or Islam [26]. Furthermore, to practice democracy in such a diverse country, placing Pancasila in the center of the civic education program is part of an effort to maintain constitutional respect for diversities in Indonesia. The country's diverse nature is addressed in the nation's motto: *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity).

Since the development of democracy in Indonesia, corruption has been rampant during regular elections. In response to this national problem, many have called the nation to re-consider the ideal democracy for Indonesia as stipulated in Pancasila's fourth pillar of democracy. Different from liberal democracy which is based on individual rights, Indonesian democracy is based on the notion of making decisions through a group consensus (*musyawarah*). Historically, the *musyawarah*, which might have existed for centuries and been practiced by the people across the archipelago. The founding fathers considered it as the authentic practice of the Indonesian model of democracy. In the modern era of the country, however, Soekarno and Hatta, firmly emphasized that Indonesian democracy is not only for the sake of political freedom but also for the economic freedom of the nation [15].

Since democracy and political freedom have thus far failed to reduce economic gaps in the population, making Pancasila the core of the civic education program could serve to tame the individualism of liberal democracy, deemed unsuitable for the character and tradition of Indonesia's collectivism. In this regard, the author has argued for an emphasis on the need for the re-actualization of Pancasila for the sake of democracy, pluralism, tolerance, and last but not least, encouragement to gender balance and anti-corruption education [26]. It has not been an easy task thus far, but after introducing IAIN's program through workshops and seminars on civic education and teaching democracy for Muslim students, Islamic campus leaders showed their positive response towards the program. Their enthusiasm about the

need for a well-educated Muslim to promote democracy was affirmed by the number of lecturers and students who participated in our workshops on civic education and used our publication for civic education in their universities.

### III. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the idea of making Indonesia a democratic nation should be realized through a democratic educational program. The civic education program with an emphasis on teaching democracy offers a new perspective on how Islam is viable for the process of democratization. Through democratic and participative methods of teaching, the program transforms campuses into laboratories of democracy for the reactualization of Pancasila in the reform era. Almost two decades into the reform era, Indonesia is still experiencing tension between pro-democratic and anti-democratic groups, such as moderate Muslims and those with radical ties. Pancasila as a shared common denominator can be a viable framework when dealing with the anti-democratic groups. Hence, helping the country to maintain its diversity by also promoting unity among its people. For the time being, to strengthen Indonesia's consolidated democracy, the role of civic education in disseminating the values and culture of democracy is of critical importance, in addition to the ongoing institutional and regulatory reforms.

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