

**A Rising Tide in Indonesia: Attempting to Create a Cohort Committed to
Democracy Through Education**

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A paper presented at the Midwestern Political Science Meeting,
Chicago, April 14-17, 2004

Draft: Please do not cite without permission.

Abstract

Indonesia, the most populous Islamic nation, is struggling to democratize. Part of this effort relies upon civics courses that attempt to impart democratic skills, as a supplement to Pancasila, the state ideology impressed upon students at every grade level of education. One-third of Indonesians are under fifteen years of age. They face challenges posed by corruption and poverty. They are also entering into a political environment where attitudes toward the United States are largely unfavorable, and one where many political parties, including Islamic parties, are actively recruiting voters. I explore a new civics curriculum in instruction as a means to foster commitment to democratic principles and behaviors considered important for democratic stability. The data analyzed here are based on a study I conducted on 1,500 adolescents in six diverse provinces in 2002.

I. Challenges Facing a Democratizing Indonesia: Diversity, Lack of Political Knowledge, Corruption

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

Over 234 million people² from 300 distinct ethnic groups speaking over 350 languages³ are citizens of the Republic of Indonesia. Five officially sanctioned religions are practiced (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism). Although Islam is the predominant religion (88% of the population), massive areas of the country have majorities consisting of those practicing minority faiths (i.e., Papuan Christians). Diversity over the vast archipelago poses a challenge to the unity of the Republic. Indeed, the Indonesian military is actively engaged in suppression of rebel groups and independence movements in Aceh (North Sumatra), Maluku and Papua.

On April 5, 2004, the government declared a national holiday to facilitate the turnout for 147 million eligible voters. Across 13,000 islands, approximately 130 million Indonesians descended upon 600,000 polling stations, some of which lacked voting registration documents. Despite the hitches, the election was peaceful. This was the second election since the 30-year Suharto dictatorship ended six years ago. More than 24 political parties fielded over 7,000 candidates for

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

² 2003 CIA World Factbook.

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.

the 550-seat parliament, along with thousands of candidates for regional, provincial and local legislatures.

The overwhelming turnout demonstrates a popular enthusiasm for voting, a well-understood ritual reflecting widespread support for democracy. Ninety-six percent of Indonesians agree that having a democratic system is a good or very good way of governing their country.⁴ However, a majority of Indonesians cannot name any characteristics of a democratic country.⁵ When ventured, opinions on “democracy” focused mainly on the concepts of freedom and liberty. Most voters remain unaware of how choosing officials can promote official accountability. A nationally representative sample of Indonesian adults conducted in July of 2003 found that only 15% of the populace thinks they can influence government decisions.⁶ Between 1999 and 2003, the percentage of Indonesians believing that government is not paying attention to their ideas doubled to 39%, with the sentiment concentrated among better-educated and younger voters.⁷ Moreover, 48% of voters, concentrated among the well-educated, urban, younger and those with higher incomes, think that their votes will make a difference.⁸ Thirty percent of the electorate thinks the vote will not matter. Enthusiasm for voting masks a lack of basic knowledge about the 2004 election. Preelection polls revealed that most voters did not know that they would create a new parliamentary body, that there was a deadline to register, whether they would cast ballots for a party or candidate, or what would happen if a candidate does not obtain a majority vote.⁹

Although only 30% of the electorate professed interest in politics prior to this past election, two-thirds wanted to know more about candidates and party positions.¹⁰ Support for parties has tended to be based on emotional appeals rather than issue positions. A 2003 study of the electorate revealed affective attachments to political parties with few voters able to name any differences between parties, resulting in over 60% of the electorate operating as swing voters without any strong party identity.¹¹ Few voters have supported Islamic parties. Among supporters of Islamic parties, portrayed clearly in Western media as advocating Sharia law and an Islamic state, only a small minority believes they promote these agendas. Nearly half of the electorate, 40%, is unsure what makes Islamic parties unique. Those who do think Islamic parties are different cite vague characteristics: Muslim membership, the party stands for Islam, it is moral, or pious.¹²

Economic issues dominated this election, as over 50% of the electorate citing a decrease in purchasing power within the past four years, and voiced concerns about jobs and poverty.¹³ Violence and social unrest was the next most mentioned problem, cited by 20% as a major issue

⁴ 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.

⁵ Asia Foundation, 2003 “Report; Indonesia In-Depth Interviews, pp. 6-7.

⁶ Democracy in Indonesia: A Survey of the Indonesian Electorate (2003), pp.19-20.

⁷ Ibid, 16.

⁸ Ibid, 17

⁹ Ibid, 17-18.

¹⁰ Ibid, 20.

¹¹ Ibid, 19.

¹² Ibid, 20.

¹³ Ibid, 12-18

facing the country. Economic distress may exacerbate political corruption. Indonesians expected that “money politics” would include vote buying. Prior to the 2004 election, 40% of voters thought that voters would be swayed by gifts of food or money from parties (although only 15% thought gifts would influence their votes, with 24% expressing uncertainty).

Corruption is endemic; in 2002 Indonesia was ranked 96th of 102 countries on a scale measuring corruption.¹⁴ If *Corruption = Monopoly + Discretion – Accountability*, Indonesian elections may help.¹⁵ As it stands, democracy and decentralization of power have not seemingly lessened corruption. Indeed, “[i]ncomplete democratization often puts into place incentives for corruption, while lacking those elements of democracy that would enable those harmed to fight back.”¹⁶ Indonesians still lack skills and means to hold their elected officials accountable. In addition to institutions, such as popular elections, citizens need political education.¹⁷ I briefly explore political education as it is currently taught, and then describe a new program that adolescents are taking in schools. I will present data from student surveys to discuss the ability of civics instruction to impart the kinds of skills necessary to improve citizen representation.

Indonesians’ perceptions of the United States have deteriorated. In a list that included Osama bin Laden, President Bush was the figure deemed most untrustworthy.¹⁸ Indonesians felt the military campaign in Afghanistan was unjustified. A majority of those who pay attention to the Middle East crises between Israel and Palestine, disapprove of the U.S. role. Many Indonesians (41% as June 2002), thought that the US war on terror was “an excuse to fight against Muslims and Islam.”¹⁹ Indonesians, however, view the US educational system positively. They are open to educational reforms that promote and enlightened citizenry, even if some of these programs originated in the US. Indonesian educators are embracing change. Indeed, some might concur with John Dewey, who wrote “if people are to secure and maintain a democratic way of life, they must have opportunities to learn what that way of life means and how it might be led.”²⁰

II. Civic Education in Indonesia: Pancasila and Project Citizen

“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

Although the rate of adult illiteracy is below 15%,²¹ Indonesia has one of the lowest rates of spending (per capita as a percentage of GNP) on education in the region.²² “Civic education,” as part of “Pancasila,” has been taught to Indonesians for the past fifty years. The reader might consider that “[a]ll national educational systems indoctrinate the coming generation with the

¹⁴ Asian Development Bank (2002).

¹⁵ Schwartz (1999).

¹⁶ Warren (2004, 341).

¹⁷ See recommendations by the Asia Foundation (2003).

¹⁸ Nationally representative study, conducted August 2002, Office of Research, U.S. Department of State, M-81-02.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 2.

²⁰ Dewey (1910).

²¹ UNESCO (2002).

²² UNESCO (2002).

basic outlooks and values of the political order.”²³ 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 sweeping ideals are taught in classroom lessons, 2 to 3 times a week, from primary school through college. “PPKn” (*Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan*) is the title of civics instruction. PPKn rarely employs interactive methods, nor is the subject popular among students. The teaching methodology relies upon the “banking method”; teachers make a deposit in students’ heads, to be withdrawn later during exams.²⁴ This approach to the principles may discourage critical thinking, consideration of alternative perspectives, and the disposition to question. PPKn has not attempted to foster the belief that problems can be addressed by thoughtful and informed citizen action.²⁵ Passive instruction culminates in a written examination at the end of each semester, whereupon the grade becomes a small factor in determining advancement to subsequent grade levels.²⁶

Decentralization and other reforms are beginning to transform Indonesia’s education system. Guidelines for civics instruction consist of modified standards printed in booklets by the federal ministry, to be distributed to teachers through regional ministries. Sample guidelines for middle school students, the population studied here, include: “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.”²⁷ 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 new basic competencies 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

²³ V.O. Key, ASR V 28 No 1 1963 in Edgar Litt, “Civic Education, Community Norms and Political Indoctrination.”

²⁴ Ruth-Heffelbower 2002, 226

²⁵ Forthcoming *Res Publica: An International Framework for Education in Democracy* (2004), p. 108.

²⁶ Political socialization also occurs as part of the schools’ informal curricula, which includes the Monday morning motivational ritual (assembly, reading the Pancasila, singing the national anthem), and within organized student groups. The federal ministry mandates that middle and senior high schools have an internal organization that represents the students, the *Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah* (OSIS). In my study, all schools had OSIS. It differs from U.S. student government in that teachers and/or principals select officers in OSIS, and students may then vote for candidates. This renders the process less democratic. However, some of the skills obtained as president, secretary, treasurer, etc. may be transferred at a later date to the larger political arena (see Jennings and Stoker 2001).

²⁷ Translated from *Mata Pelajaran Kewarganegaraan* (2001), the Curriculum Guide for Citizenship.

policymaking at the school, regional and national levels are the means to realizing a democratic society.”²⁸

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, then, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) funded this civic education initiative as well as the study presented here. The program was implemented in 12 (now 18) provinces: Bali, East Java, Jakarta, Lampung, North Sulawesi, North Sumatra, Papua, South Kalimantan (Borneo), South Sulawesi, West Java, West Sumatra and Yogyakarta. The study was conducted in half of those provinces. As of 2003, over 300,000 students had taken part in the program.

“*Kami Bangsa Indonesia*,” hereafter referred to as *Project Citizen*, 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. A sample of problems students selected were: drug use in the community, underage rape, air pollution, public smoking, student mass-fighting, local electricity prices, not giving students the opportunity to attend school, and street vendors.
- 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, act 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 or province level or at a national competition.
- Reflect on their learning experience. Students discuss what they learned and what they might do differently.

In this sample, nearly half of the students, 49%, went beyond the scope of the program and attempted to pressure local officials to enact their policy proposals. Among students who took this step, 13% were successful in getting their proposals adopted.

²⁸ Ibid.

III. Results

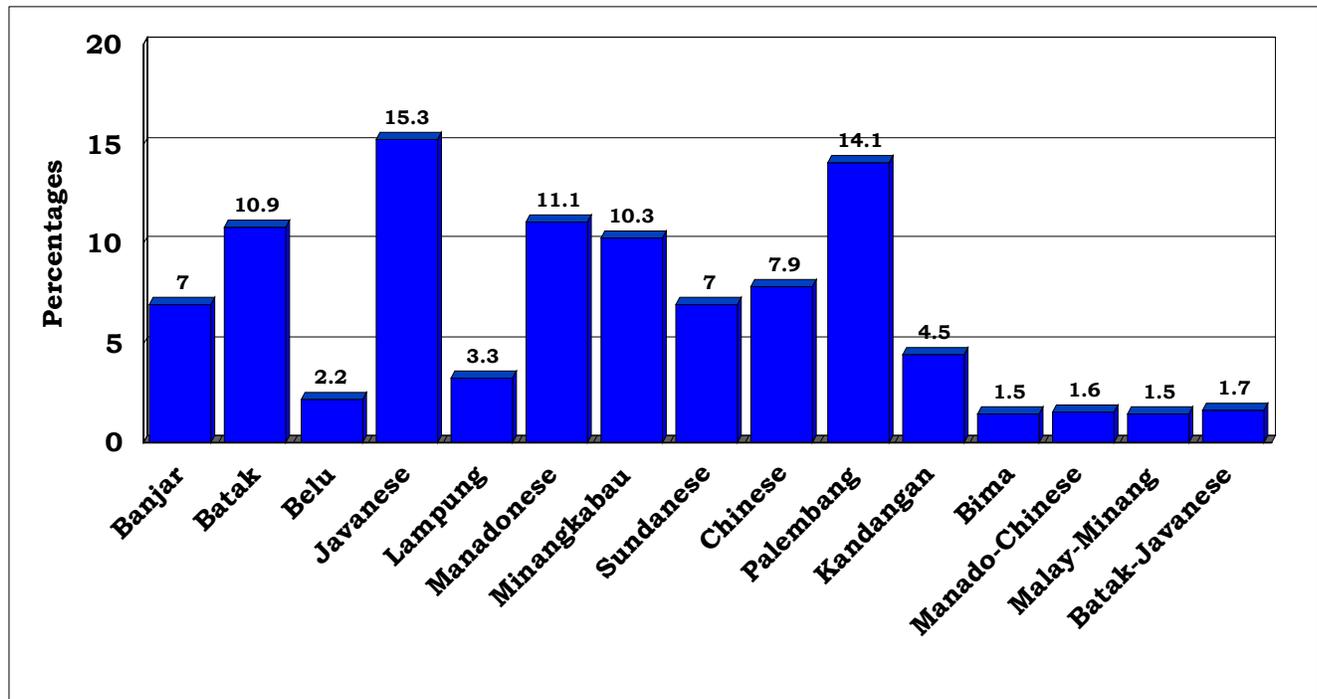
A. Research Design

In 2002-03, I surveyed 1,435 middle school students. The survey design incorporated pre- and post-test surveys, with equivalent control groups at each school. Of adolescents surveyed, 915 participated in *Project Citizen* and 520 were in an equivalent control group. Students ranged in age from thirteen to fifteen, with the mean age of fourteen and a half. Students were matched time one to time two, permitting me to analyze gains made by individuals. Teachers and principals who took part in the program were also surveyed. A few questions were asked of both adults and adolescents, affording several cross-generation comparisons. The analysis presented here focuses on the changes that were found among participants in civics instruction, one means to improve civic skills.

B. Student Attributes

This study captured part of the ethnic diversity of Indonesia, as there were eighty-four different ethnic groups in this study. This number includes some students from “mixed” marriages. The table below lists the top seven ethnic categories.

Major Ethnic Groups Included in this Study



All five sanctioned religious groups took part in this study. As shown in Table 1, Islamic respondents make up the majority. Only the groups with a large sample size were included in the analysis measuring religious effects (e.g., 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 participation in *Project Citizen*, which suggests that both boys and girls benefited equally from instruction. 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. Overall, 26% of respondents were ranked as Low SES, 40% as Middle SES and 34% as High SES.

C. Statistical Procedures: Repeated Measures MANCOVA

Multiple Analysis of Covariance (MANCOVA) was used to test the hypotheses. MANCOVA is used because I am 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 post-test 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 a sense of powerlessness, "no power"). Appendix A contains index reliabilities and all questions comprising each index.

MANCOVA is a test of mean differences when there is more than one independent variable with multiple dependent variables. It allows me to control for certain variables that may affect the dependent variables. The controlled variables are called covariates, and when held constant, enables me to isolate the effects of the independent variables. For instance, using age as a covariate allows me 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 significant for some measures (see Table 3), which means that participating in civics instruction influenced some skills and attitudes. Interactions are the joint effects of the independent variables.

D. Outcomes

The first analysis was conducted to compare the *Project Citizen* and the control group in their pre-test scores and post-test scores (see Table 2). A repeated measures MANCOVA was used for this analysis. The independent variables were time (pre-test 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, expert research and political participation. “Expert Research” measures whether respondents have gathered information about an existing problem in their community from a wide variety of sources (officials, lawyers, judges, interest groups, scholars) and also whether students wrote a letter or phoned an official. Political participation is comprised of questions about meetings with groups and officials, persuading others to support solutions to community problems, and attending council meetings. Both political participation and expert research increased more in the *Project Citizen* group than in the control group.

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, Table 3 shows results where *Project Citizen* participants improved on five measures: political participation, expert research, basic research, protest, and media use/interest in politics. These 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.

Table 3

Means for Dependent Variables by Treatment Conditions (main effects)			
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	

I also ran a simple T-test on a battery of knowledge items that were administered only in the post-test. The main focus of these multiple choice questions was on knowledge of local politics, with several additional questions tapping knowledge of representative government. Significant differences were found between treatment and control groups, and participating students scored higher.

Civics instruction in *Project Citizen* appears to be effective in improving skills, knowledge, and in increasing political participation. Attitudes, however, appear more resistant to change, a finding consistent with other studies (see Finkel 2003, Finkel and Ernst, 2001). Studies of the attitudinal effects of civic education suggest that explicit content, process (role-playing, simulations), teacher credibility and an open classroom climate may change attitudes.²⁹ The content of *Project Citizen* does not explicitly address themes 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 their level of involvement. It consists of the following: selecting their own policy problem to pursue, competing in a regional competition, identifying public officials responsible for addressing problems they identified, trying to implement their proposal, and success in implementing their 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 pre-test to post-test on three political skills/involvement measures (political participation, expert research, and basic research) and two

²⁹ Torney-Purta et al. 2001, Avery 2002, Finkel et al. 2001, Brody 1994.

civic attitudes (media use/interest in politics and political efficacy, see Appendix A) more than students in the other two groups.

Table 4

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

Also, the results displayed in Table 5 reveal 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 be taken seriously.

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

In another analysis using MANCOVA, I looked at religious differences in combination with SES, age, gender and pre-test scores on tolerance of nonthreatening groups. I found one significant interaction, whereby 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

is that Catholics possessed lower levels of tolerance overall than Muslims or Protestants at the outset.

I found 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 (see Appendix B, Tables 6 and 7). 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. Perhaps instruction in the five principles, "Pancasila," is effective. Recall that the first principle advocates a belief in the "one and only god." Pancasila continues to be taught and I found no generational differences in the conviction of low regard toward atheists (nearly half of respondents were willing to deny free speech, suffrage and demonstration rights to atheists).

Finally, low levels of interpersonal trust were found among adolescents. Over 65% of students surveyed disagreed with the statement that most people can be trusted. This was consistent across waves. Further, 81% of students agreed that you have to be very careful in dealing with people. Low levels of trust did not predict or correlate with other indices tested here, suggesting that among adolescents, this attitude is not yet linked to skills, participation, or other attitudes.

IV. Conclusion

Civic education as part of *Pancasila* has emphasized principles over political engagement. *Pancasila* continues to be taught, but there are also new interactive programs, such as *Project Citizen*, that aim to create politically engaged citizens. *Project Citizen*, for instance, is being implemented across the archipelago in all types of schools. Indonesians, famous for protesting, are less renowned for holding elected officials accountable. Corruption is rampant, the economy vacillates, and frustration is growing about the gap between citizens' image of democracy and the reality they face.³⁰ The majority of the electorate does not fully understand the meaning of democracy, nor how to access or influence officials. However, 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' skills, participation, and knowledge 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. Students' dispositions who participated more fully in the program, by selecting their problems, presenting their proposals and engaging in other programmatic activities, changed more. They became more interested in politics and public affairs. Their confidence in their ability to participate, along with their sense of political efficacy, increased. Further, high-involvement participants increased their expectations of the proper responsiveness of government, an important component of accountability. These findings align with other studies of civics instruction that identify simulations, role-playing, open discussions, teacher

³⁰ Asia Foundation 2003.

competence, and similar factors as necessary to affect political attitudes (Finkel 2003, Torney-Purta et al 2001).

This is the first study of its kind on the effects of civics instruction on Indonesian adolescents. It is encouraging to find positive results from civics instruction among all youth from all ethnic and religious backgrounds. This emerging political cohort consists of over 70 million people, as one-third of the population is under the age of fourteen.³¹ A next step would be to follow adolescents in order to ascertain if the effects persist as they mature into adulthood. This would allow us to test the model of the “virtuous circle,” whereby citizens that engage in the political process feel more empowered and have more positive attitudes toward the regime. It may be that many attitudes examined here, such as efficacy, tolerance, empowerment, interest in politics, responsibility and accountability, arise through or are shaped by various forms of political participation. Overall, the findings suggest that interactive civics instruction that provides experiences for students to engage in the democratic process may foster “unity through diversity,” the national motto of Indonesia.

³¹ 2003 CIA World Factbook, <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/us.html>

Appendix A

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>

Appendix B

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	.009

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

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