



STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY THORUGH POLITICAL EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

I Wayan Eka Santika^{1*}, I Nengah Agus Tripayana²

¹ Politeknik Negeri Bali, Indonesia

² Universitas Mataram, Indonesia

*Corresponding author: ekasantika@pnb.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the critical role of political education in strengthening democracy in Indonesia, a nation marked by vast cultural diversity and complex political dynamics. Despite significant institutional reforms since the 1998 reformation, challenges such as political polarization, limited civic engagement, and digital misinformation continue to undermine democratic consolidation. Through qualitative analysis based on in-depth interviews and document reviews, the research examines the current conceptualization and implementation of political education within formal schooling and non-formal settings. Findings reveal that political education in Indonesia often remains constrained by traditional, knowledge-based approaches, lacking emphasis on critical thinking, participatory learning, and digital literacy. Non-formal education and civil society initiatives show promise but face sustainability and integration challenges. The digital era presents both opportunities and risks, necessitating adaptive educational strategies that incorporate media literacy and ethical digital citizenship. This paper argues that to foster a resilient, substantive democracy, Indonesia must reform political education comprehensively—embracing innovative pedagogies, cross-sectoral collaboration, and continuous evaluation focused on civic engagement outcomes. Strengthening political education is not only a policy imperative but a fundamental civic responsibility to empower citizens in exercising their democratic rights and responsibilities.

INTRODUCTION

Modern democracy never emerges as a completed political structure. It is a collective project that is constantly renegotiated by the state, market, and civil society amidst the shifting landscapes of technology, economy, and global culture. In the 21st century, democracy faces a paradox: it is widely acknowledged as the best form of governance, yet simultaneously threatened by waves of populism, the shrinking of civic spaces, and a flood of digital disinformation. Within this context, Indonesia—the world's largest archipelagic nation with over 270 million people scattered across more than 17,000 islands—serves as a vital laboratory for examining how democracy can survive and

thrive under conditions of extreme heterogeneity. Since the 1998 Reformasi era, Indonesia has successfully institutionalized direct elections, decentralization, and press freedom. However, the country still struggles with economic oligarchy, money politics, and identity-based polarization. The key question is: how can substantive democracy—characterized by critical citizenship, meaningful participation, and accountable governance—be strengthened? This paper argues that the answer lies significantly in the quality of political education implemented across formal, non-formal, and informal settings.

Indonesia's democratic journey has gone through several phases. The



Parliamentary Democracy era (1950–1959) allowed for party pluralism but was fragile due to elite fragmentation. Guided Democracy followed with a centralistic system, which was then replaced by the New Order regime that combined authoritarianism with economic development for 32 years. The 1998 Reformasi marked a turning point for rewriting the social contract: four constitutional amendments, presidential term limits, and the direct election of local leaders. Yet, procedural democracy does not automatically translate into substantive democracy. According to Freedom House, Indonesia is still classified as “partly free” due to persistent corruption, minority intolerance, and localized political violence. This gap indicates that institutions alone are insufficient; what is equally necessary are citizens who can think critically, understand political rights and obligations, and hold power accountable. It is here that political education—a systematic effort to shape democratic culture at the levels of attitude, knowledge, and skill—becomes essential.

In political science, political education includes socialization processes—how political values, norms, and symbols are transmitted—as well as deliberative learning that allows individuals to reexamine their beliefs through rational discourse. In Indonesia, formal political education is primarily represented by the subject “Pancasila and Civic Education” (PPKn), taught from elementary through senior high school. The 2022 Merdeka Curriculum attempts to shift from rote learning to project-based learning, enabling students to investigate real public issues like river pollution or digital inequality. These projects require students to conduct research, engage stakeholders, and present policy solutions—

an approach aligned with Habermas’ theory of deliberative democracy. However, recent studies show that PPKn teachers are often burdened by administrative tasks and lack training in participatory methodologies, which hampers innovation.

Non-formal and informal arenas are no less influential. Civil society organizations have initiated Democracy Schools for young political party cadres, religious organizations run nationalist boarding schools, and community media promote citizen journalism that critiques public policy. Participatory budgeting forums (Musrenbang) held by local governments serve as practical political learning spaces when citizens negotiate village budgets. Unfortunately, participation is often reduced to formalities when pre-meeting information is not transparent or when local elites dominate discussions. Therefore, political literacy—the ability to interpret budget documents, verify facts, and build arguments—must be strengthened so that participation can translate into real influence.

The digital transformation both expands and complicates political education. By 2025, Indonesia’s internet users will exceed 210 million, with social media penetration over 70 percent. This enables online advocacy campaigns, petitions, and real-time monitoring of public policies, but it also fuels the spread of hoaxes, hate speech, and micro-targeted political advertising. The 2019 and 2024 simultaneous elections saw high voter turnout—above 80 percent—but were marred by sharp identity-based polarization. Digital literacy and ethical online citizenship must be incorporated into school curricula and community training to help netizens assess source credibility, understand



algorithms, and resist emotional manipulation.

Pedagogical methods are a key factor in successful political education. Andragogical approaches, which center learners' experiences, have proven effective for first-time voters, women's groups, and persons with disabilities. Simulations of parliamentary debates, board games about the legislative process, and public data-based debates have been shown to increase democratic concept retention by up to 40 percent after six months. The integration of inquiry-based learning, problem-based learning, and critical reflection meets the 21st-century competency demands—collaboration, communication, creativity, and critical thinking—thus ensuring that political education not only transfers knowledge but also cultivates deliberative habits in everyday life.

The gender dimension requires special attention. Women's representation in the Indonesian Parliament for the 2019–2024 period is 21.8 percent, still short of the 30 percent benchmark recommended by the United Nations. Structural barriers—such as high campaign costs, patriarchal culture, and gender-based online violence—remain entrenched. Political education that promotes gender equality must provide mentoring, leadership incubation, and legal protections against digital harassment. In doing so, democracy becomes not only procedurally inclusive but also substantively fair in distributing opportunities to influence public policy.

Indonesia's pluralistic context demands the integration of local wisdom. Traditional practices such as deliberation (*musyawarah*), mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), and village democracy are proven mechanisms for maintaining social harmony. Unfortunately,

national curricula often ignore local narratives and present materials in a uniform fashion. Strengthening democracy requires contextual pedagogy that draws from regional folklore, cultural symbols, and customary practices as tangible examples of democratic values. This approach also prevents identity homogenization and fosters a sense of ownership of the republic.

The central issue this paper seeks to address is the gap between institutional progress in democracy and citizens' capacity as political subjects. Earlier studies have mostly focused on structural reforms—such as electoral system design and party financing transparency—while the cultural dimension of political education remains underexplored. This study aims to contribute by reconstructing the landscape of political education in Indonesia, identifying actors, methods, and emerging challenges, and developing evidence-based policy recommendations. The proposed policy implications are expected to strengthen the national democratic ecosystem in a sustainable way.

To achieve this, the paper is structured as follows: The second section outlines the theoretical framework of political education, covering perspectives from civic education, social learning, and critical pedagogy. The third section details the research methodology, including case studies from West Java, East Nusa Tenggara, and West Kalimantan—regions representing diverse geographic and cultural settings. The fourth section presents field findings on implementation dynamics in schools, communities, and online platforms. The fifth section discusses the findings within the framework of substantive democracy and formulates strategic recommendations. The



final section concludes by emphasizing that holistic, participatory, and contextual political education is a necessary precondition for ensuring popular sovereignty, social justice, and civil liberties in 21st-century Indonesia.

Youth, as the largest demographic group—around 52 percent of the population is under 30—plays a strategic role in shaping Indonesia's democratic trajectory. This generation was born after the fall of the New Order regime and has grown up experiencing democracy as a daily reality, but they also express frustration with bureaucratic gridlock and elite pragmatism. A 2024 survey by LSI found that 39 percent of young voters rely on social media as their main source of political information, while only 12 percent have participated in face-to-face dialogues with legislative candidates. This gap underscores the need for technology-based political education strategies—mobile apps, creative video content, and gamified legislative processes—that speak the language of Generation Z without sacrificing substance. Initiatives like Virtual Parliament, Democracy Hackathons, and public policy podcasts show great promise in connecting youth with serious issues through familiar media. However, such programs remain limited in scale and require fiscal policy support, private sector partnerships, and data protection regulations (Santika, 2022).

National regulatory frameworks already mandate political education. Law No. 12/2011 on the Formation of Legislation requires public participation, while Law No. 2/2011 on Political Parties obliges parties to allocate at least 5 percent of state aid for political education. Yet implementation is problematic; a 2023 audit by the Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) found that most parties lacked measurable reports on political

education programs. At the regional level, Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 36/2010 allows provinces to fund public political education initiatives, but monitoring and evaluation mechanisms remain weak. Coordination among ministries—Education, Home Affairs, Communication and Information—alongside the General Election Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), needs to be strengthened to create a coherent and accountable policy ecosystem. Without good governance, political education risks becoming empty rhetoric or ceremonial projects.

The effectiveness of political education is often poorly evaluated. Many programs claim success based on the number of participants or materials delivered, without tracking long-term behavioral change. However, policy evaluation literature stresses the importance of outcome indicators: increased deliberative participation, reduced vote-buying, and stronger local policy advocacy capacity. Mixed-method evaluations—pre-post surveys, focus group discussions, and social network analysis—can offer a comprehensive picture of program impacts. Big data technology enables the mapping of public discourse and the detection of data-based policy narratives. Investing in monitoring and evaluation is not mere formality, but a crucial institutional learning tool to ensure that every budgeted rupiah yields tangible democratic gains. Political education must thus grow as an adaptive process, continuously improved based on evidence, not ideology.

Comparatively, Indonesia's experience can offer lessons for other multiethnic developing countries such as Nigeria or Brazil, which face similar challenges. Successfully



integrating local values, digital technology, and regulatory frameworks will enrich global democratization discourse (Santika & Suastika, 2022). Conversely, failure to strengthen political education may trigger democratic backsliding, adding to the list of regressions currently affecting various regions. Therefore, this study is not only relevant to Indonesia but also to the broader international community.

This study adopts a qualitative descriptive approach to examine the role and impact of political education in strengthening democracy in Indonesia. The qualitative method is particularly suitable for exploring complex social realities and capturing the depth of participants' perspectives, experiences, and interpretations, especially within the dynamic context of democratic development. Through this approach, the research seeks to understand how political education is conceptualized, implemented, and experienced in various educational and social settings, and how it contributes to fostering democratic values among citizens.

Data collection in this study relied on two primary techniques: in-depth interviews and document analysis. In-depth interviews were conducted with key informants including civic education teachers, education policymakers, curriculum developers, civil society representatives, and youth leaders involved in political education initiatives. These interviews were carried out using semi-structured question guides to allow flexibility in exploring specific themes while ensuring consistency across different respondents. The questions focused on participants' understanding of political education, its implementation challenges, teaching strategies, and perceived impacts on civic awareness and participation.

Document analysis complemented the interview data by providing insights from existing regulations, curriculum frameworks, educational modules, political education programs developed by non-governmental organizations, and official reports from government institutions such as the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the General Elections Commission (KPU), and the National Civic Education Center. This method enabled the researcher to identify gaps between policy and practice, as well as to trace the evolution of political education discourse in Indonesia over time.

The data analysis process employed thematic analysis to identify key patterns and categories emerging from both interview transcripts and documents. Thematic coding was conducted manually by grouping relevant information into themes such as pedagogical approach, civic engagement, digital literacy, political participation, and inclusivity. An inductive-deductive strategy was used, where data were interpreted in light of existing theories on political education and democracy, while also remaining open to new and unexpected insights emerging from the field. Triangulation of data sources helped to enhance the credibility and depth of the findings.

This study did not involve field observation or site visits but focused instead on qualitative data derived from expert perspectives and relevant literature. Ethical considerations, including informed consent, confidentiality, and the voluntary nature of participation, were strictly observed throughout the research process. The ultimate goal of this methodological design is to provide a comprehensive and evidence-informed understanding of how political education can be optimized as a tool for



democratic consolidation in Indonesia, particularly in light of current political, technological, and social transformations.

METHODS

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RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The findings of this study reveal that political education in Indonesia, although formally incorporated into policy and the national education system, still faces significant challenges in its implementation, effectiveness, and its actual impact on democratic strengthening (Sila et al., 2023). Data obtained through in-depth interviews and document analysis indicate that political education has yet to fully address the critical need to shape citizens who are politically aware, participatory, and empowered. The discussion of the findings is organized into several major themes: (1) conceptual understanding of political education in practice, (2) implementation within formal education, (3) the role of non-formal and informal actors, (4) challenges in the digital era, and (5) opportunities and strategic reinforcement (Kartika & Umbu, 2024).

Conceptual Understanding of Political Education

One of the key findings is that the understanding of political education remains highly varied, even among educators and policymakers (Santika, 2021). Many participants equate political education solely with the subject of Civics (PPKn), which often focuses narrowly on normative knowledge and memorization. However, political education should go beyond knowledge transmission and include the development of critical awareness, engagement in public issues, and the capacity for meaningful participation in democratic processes.

This limited perception leads to political education being viewed as a curricular obligation rather than as a strategic approach to cultivating a democratic culture. Conceptually, political education should instill values such as tolerance, equality, justice, and

respect for diversity, while fostering deliberative skills to resolve public issues collectively. Unfortunately, this deeper interpretation is rarely reflected in everyday teaching practices.

Implementation in Formal Education

Within formal education, the study reveals that political education through Civics remains dominated by conservative, teacher-centered pedagogical approaches. Many teachers rely on lectures, rote memorization tasks, and multiple-choice testing—methods that contradict the spirit of the *Merdeka Curriculum*, which promotes project-based, participatory, and contextual learning. As a result, students are rarely given opportunities to think critically, engage in open dialogue, or develop empathy toward the socio-political realities surrounding them.

A major obstacle is the lack of adequate teacher training. Many Civics teachers admitted to having limited exposure to democratic teaching methodologies such as simulations, public debates, or social issue mapping. These approaches have been proven effective in increasing students' understanding of democratic processes and strengthening participatory skills. Additionally, heavy administrative workloads and pressure to meet academic targets discourage teachers from adopting innovative methods.

Some schools have attempted to innovate by organizing direct student council elections, forming student forums, or incorporating current issues into classroom discussions. However, these efforts remain sporadic and are not yet integrated into the national education evaluation system. In essence, political education in schools is not yet treated as a strategic priority within the broader educational framework.



The Role of Non-Formal and Informal Actors

Political education outside formal institutions—carried out by NGOs, youth organizations, religious communities, and independent media—demonstrates significant potential in fostering critical and active citizenship. Programs such as democracy schools, policy advocacy training, and electoral awareness campaigns have successfully reached marginalized groups such as women, rural youth, and minority communities (Santika et al., 2021).

However, these initiatives often face limitations in terms of resources, sustainability, and geographical reach. Many rely on short-term donor funding and lack integration with state programs. Furthermore, collaboration between schools and community organizations remains weak. Yet, such partnerships could enrich the political education ecosystem by introducing diverse and context-sensitive learning models (Santika & Konda, 2023).

The role of media, especially social and community-based platforms, is also highly influential. While social media opens up new spaces for expression and political discourse, it also poses serious risks due to the prevalence of hoaxes, opinion polarization, and hate speech. This reality underscores the urgent need to integrate digital literacy and ethical media use into political education, particularly for younger generations.

Challenges in the Digital Era

One of the study's key observations is the increasing reliance of young people on social media as their main source of political information. While this trend represents an opportunity to broaden political participation, many young people lack the critical skills to distinguish between credible information and

political manipulation. A limited understanding of digital algorithms, information bias, and modern propaganda techniques renders them vulnerable to ideological polarization and identity-based narratives.

In response to these challenges, several digital political education initiatives have emerged, such as educational videos on YouTube, public policy podcasts, and online legislative simulation platforms. Nevertheless, these remain marginal and have not been systematically integrated into national curricula (Sujana, 2024). Political education in the digital age must therefore develop citizens' capacity to engage critically with online information, manage differences constructively, and practice responsible digital citizenship (Sudiarta, 2024).

Opportunities and Strategic Reinforcement

Despite the various challenges, there are significant opportunities to strengthen political education in Indonesia. First, the current curriculum reform momentum—which emphasizes competence and project-based learning—can be leveraged to introduce more participatory and context-driven political education models. Second, partnerships among schools, local governments, and civil society organizations must be reinforced so that political education becomes a shared responsibility beyond formal schooling (Santika, 2020).

Third, political parties should take a more proactive role in fulfilling their constitutional mandate to provide political education, as stipulated by the Political Party Law. Unfortunately, audits show that most parties still fail to allocate sufficient funds or design inclusive programs for political education (Semada, 2024). An active role from political parties—free from elitism and open



to public engagement—can enhance electoral democracy and foster healthy political recruitment.

Fourth, digital technology can be a powerful tool for transformation if utilized strategically (Santika, 2023). Governments and educational institutions can collaborate with content creators, digital communities, and social media platforms to produce engaging, data-driven political education content accessible to youth. Innovations such as educational games, online election simulations, and interactive parliamentary channels can bridge the gap between youth and political processes in a way that is both engaging and substantive.

Fifth, political education must also be accompanied by robust evaluation mechanisms focused on behavioral and civic outcomes—not just administrative outputs. Measuring participatory behavior, increases in critical awareness, and sustained community involvement should become key indicators of success. These metrics will ensure that political education initiatives are grounded in impact, not formality.

CONCLUSIONS

Political education plays a vital role in the development of substantive democracy in Indonesia. This study concludes that although political education has been formally integrated into national policy and the education system, its implementation remains constrained by conventional pedagogical approaches, limited teacher capacity, and a lack of cross-sectoral collaboration. The findings underscore that political education is often misunderstood as merely transmitting knowledge about state institutions and civic duties, rather than as a transformative process to develop critical, participatory, and responsible citizens.

Within the formal education system, the Civics (PPKn) curriculum has not yet been fully optimized to foster democratic culture and political awareness. Most teaching practices are still rooted in passive, rote learning, leaving little room for discussion, deliberation, or real-world political engagement. Meanwhile, non-formal and informal actors—such as civil society organizations and digital platforms—offer promising alternatives, especially in reaching marginalized groups and youth. However, these efforts lack systemic integration and sustainability.

In the digital era, political education must be reimagined to include media literacy, ethical digital behavior, and the ability to critically evaluate political content online. The challenges posed by misinformation, identity politics, and algorithm-driven content demand that political education equip citizens not only with knowledge, but also with analytical and communicative skills to navigate complex media environments.

Moving forward, political education must be strengthened through comprehensive and collaborative strategies. This includes reforming teaching methods in schools, expanding community-based education initiatives, leveraging technology creatively, and holding political institutions accountable for their educational roles. Evaluation of political education should go beyond output metrics and focus on long-term civic engagement and behavioral change.

Ultimately, a resilient and inclusive democracy cannot be built solely through legal institutions and electoral procedures—it requires citizens who are informed, critical, and actively engaged in public life. Political education is the foundation upon which such democratic citizenship is built. Strengthening



this foundation is not only a policy imperative, but also a moral and civic responsibility for all stakeholders in Indonesian democracy.

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